ANNALS OF THE INDIAN REBELLION.

THE machinery (said the Deputy Judge Advocate General of the Army at the trial of the titular King of Delhi,) that has set in motion, such an amount of mutiny and murder, that has made its vibrations felt almost at one and the same moment from one end of India to the other, must have been prepared, if not with foreseeing wisdom, yet with awful craft, and most successful and commanding subtlety. We must recollect, too, in considering this subject, that in many of the places where the native troops have risen against their European officers, there was no pretence even in reference to cartridges at all. Numbers of these mutinied, apparently, because they thought there was a favorable opportunity of doing so;—because they were a hundred to one against those in authority, and fancied that they might pillage, plunder and massacre, not only with impunity, but with advantage. Is it possible that such fearful results as these could have at once developed themselves, had the native army previous to the cartridge question been in a sound and well-affected state? Can any one imagine that that rancorous wide-spread enmity, of which we have lately had such terrible proof, has been the result of feelings suddenly and accidentally irritated? Does it appear consistent with the natural order of events, that such intense malignity should start into existence on one single provocation? Or can it be reconciled with the instincts, the traditions, or the idiosyncracies of the Hindus, that they should, recklessly, without enquiry and without thought, desire to imbrue their hands in human blood, casting aside the pecuniary and other advantages that bound them to the cause of order and of the Government? Or, more than this, can it be imagined that the three regiments at Meerut, even when joined by those at Delhi, could have conceived an idea so daring as that of overthrowing, by themselves, the British Government of India?

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tered in different cantonments from Calcutta to Peshawur. I think that such could not have been accomplished without some secret mutual understanding, and some previous preparation, the establishment of which may appropriately be termed conspiracy.

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In alluding then to the existence of a conspiracy, I do not mean to imply that we have come upon traces of a particular gang of men specially banded together for the fixed definite object of causing the late rebellion in the native army, in any manner similar to that in which we have seen it developed: but such evidence as we have been able to obtain does appear to me to point out that, for a considerable time antecedent to the 10th of May, agitation and disaffection to British rule among the Mahomedans, was more than ordinarily prevalent, and that such disaffection had been stimulated by active and designing men, who have most craftily taken advantage of every circumstance that could be made suitable for such a purpose. The annexation of Oudh to British rule was perhaps one of these. It seems to have been particularly displeasing to the Mahomedans, as anihilating the last throne left to them in India; and for some other reasons, it would appear to have been almost equally unpalatable to the Hindu sepoy. It may perhaps have interfered with his position then as a privileged servant of the Company; so instead of having to rely on the influence and prestige of the British Government in dealings or disputes with the native landholders of that province, he found himself brought at once under direct European control. One of the witnesses, Jat Mall, draws a marked distinction between the Hindu sepoy and Hindu tradesman, in reference to their feelings for the British Government, and perhaps the annexation of Oudh, with other causes, may tend to account for it. Being asked whether there was any difference between the Mahomedans and Hindus in this respect, he replies—"Yes, certainly, the Mahomedans, as a body, were all pleased at the overthrow of the British Government, while the merchants and respectable tradesmen among the Hindus regretted it." He, however, says that the general feeling throughout the army was the same both among the Hindus and Mahomedans, and that they were both equally bitter; and this view of the case is, I think, supported by our experiences of both. The great bulk of the infantry portion of the native army was undoubtedly Hindu; but we have not found this any check or restraint upon their revolting barbarity, and as far as the army has been concerned, Hindus and Mahomedans appear to have vied with each other in the enormity of their crimes. But apart from the army,

the revolt has perhaps assumed many of the features of a Mussulman conspiracy, and it is I think probable that to Mussulman intrigue may eventually be traced, those false and fabricated rumours, which adroitly mixed up with some small portion of truth, have been so instrumental in effacing the last vestiges of fidelity in an army whose faithfulness was at one time perhaps its very chiefest pride and boast. It does not belong to such an occasion as this to revert to past years, and step by step to trace the causes which have combined to destroy the reliance once placed upon those who are now so notorious for their perfidy. Some of these causes doubtless have been beyond Government control, and were perhaps inherent to a state of continued progress on the one side and an inveterate priestly opposition to it on the other. It will be sufficient if I here merely allude to several previous occasions, not of very distant date, when some regiments of the native army showed how little they were to be depended on. On those occasions also it was evident, that a unity of purpose and a singleness of feeling were, in a short time, organized by some process not immediately patent to their European officers: a mutual correspondence either by emissaries or letters was perhaps then initiated, and the lesson thus learnt was not easily forgotten. I do not mean to argue that from that time the native Indian army became one large debating society. Very far from it. I believe that, in their own fashion, most of the sepoys were good and well meaning servants of the Government. *I say in their own fashion*, because it appears to me, they are always deficient in natural firmness, and have no idea of strong moral rectitude; their fidelity as long as it exists, is more of a habit than of a principle, upheld by superstition but wanting the sustaining power of true religion. Among such a body as this, there must always be some discontented intriguers, and who that knows any thing of Asiatic character, will not readily admit, especially with reference to Hindus, that the few are more potent for evil than the many for good?

I have attributed much of what has occurred to the pernicious influence of evil intriguers, and it may naturally be enquired why these should have had a greater effect at the present juncture than at any former one. Some of the causes I have already hinted at, such as the annexation of Oudh, and the progress of European civilization outstriding, and in its natural course, threatening to sweep away the puny barriers upraised by priestly cunning for the preservation of the grossest ignorance, and thus commencing the subversion of religions that are unable to bear the lights of even natural science. I believe too, that the propagandists of sedition

may artfully have availed themselves of some recent acts of the Government to spread panic and alarm in reference to future forcible interference with caste prejudices. I allude to the agitation about the re-marriage of Hindoo widows; the enlistment for general service; the cartridges, &c. * * *

It seems to me, however, apparent, that it was not and could not have been the greased cartridge alone that effected it. There was previous preparation among the sepoys; and there was also a general unsettling of men's minds throughout the country, and among the Mahomedans in particular. I believe indeed that the facts elicited on this point may be ranged appropriately under the head of "Mahomedan Conspiracy;" the chief object of which seems to have been to spread disaffection and distrust of British rule, and, by the dissemination of false and evil reports, and by fabrications of the most insidious kind, to prepare all the people for change and insurrection. As far as can be traced, the commencement of this must have originated with the prisoner (the King of Delhi) or with some of those, such as Hasan Askari and others, who were admitted to his secret and confidential councils. Be this as it may, there cannot, I imagine, be a doubt that in sending Sidi Kambar to Persia and Constantinople as an ambassador with letters to the sovereign of that country, soliciting aid and elevation to a throne, the prisoner became the principal in a conspiracy which indirectly at any rate must have been auxiliary to the recent frightful out-break and its attendant horrors. It is worthy of particular notice, as connecting the two together, that this Sidi Kambar's departure took place, according to the most reliable account, just two years before May, 1857, and that his promised return with the aid sought for was fixed for the time when the out-break actually took place. Coupling this with the prophecy among the Mahomedans that English sovereignty in India was to cease 100 years after its first establishment by the battle of Plassey in 1757,* we are able to form something more than conjecture as to the causes, which have given to Mahomedan fanaticism, its delusive hope of recovering all its former prestige. I have already alluded to the dream † of Hasan Askari, the priest, and his in-

* There is a prophecy of the Saint, the revered Shah Niamut Ulla Moulvy, in verse, to the following effect:—"After the Fire-worhsippers and Christians shall have held sway over the whole of Hindostan for 100 years, and when injustice and oppression shall prevail in their Government, an Arab Prince will be born who will ride triumphantly to slay them."

† The vision alluded to was that of a hurricane that was to rise from the West with a great flood of water, devastating the whole counrty, but bearing up on its surges this King of Dehli, and that this vision, as interpreted by Hasan Askari, the priest, signified annihilation to the English infidels by the power of the King of Persia, who was to restore sovereignty to the heirs of the throne of Hindostan.

terpretation, so plausibly contrived to correspond with the wishes of the King and of those about him. The circumstance may seem trivial to us, but it was doubtless a means well calculated to make a deep impression upon the superstitious minds of those to whom it was addressed, and to cause expectation and belief in what was predicted by one said to be possessed of miraculous powers, and accredited with holding direct communication with heaven. We learn too from the petition of Mahammud Durwesh to Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant Governor, dated 27th March, 1857, that Hasan Askari, had at this time assured the King of Delhi, that he had certain information that the King of Persia had fully taken possession of and occupied Bushire, and that he had entirely expelled the Christians, or rather, had not left one alive there, and had taken away many of them prisoners, and that very soon indeed, the Persian army would advance by the way of Kandahar and Cabul towards Dehli. He moreover adds,—" That in the palace, but more specially in that portion of it constituting the personal apartments of the King, the subject of the conversation night and day was the early arrival of the Persians. Hasan Askari has, moreover, impressed the King with the belief, that he has learnt through a divine revelation that the dominion of the King of Persia will to a certainty extend to Dehli, or rather over the whole of Hindoostan, and that the splendour of the sovereignty of Dehli will again revive, as the sovereign of Persia will bestow the Crown on the King." The writer goes on to say, that " throughout the palace, but particularly to the King, this belief has been the cause of great rejoicing, so much so that prayers are offered, and vows are made, while at the same time Hasan Askari has entered upon the daily performance at an hour and a half before sunset, of a course of propitiatory ceremonies to expedite the arrival of the Persians and the expulsion of the Christians. It has been arranged that every Thursday several trays of victuals, wheat-meal, oil, copper, money, and cloth should be sent by the King in aid of these ceremonies, and they are accordingly brought to Hasan Askari."

The next point to which I shall advert is the circulation of the chapaties in the form of ship-biscuits. Now whether they were sent round under the fiction of a Government order, signifying that in future there should be but one food and one faith, or whether according to another interpretation, they were meant to sound a note of alarm and preparation, giving warning to the people to stand by one another on any danger menacing them, the contrivance was a most insidious one, and calculated to breed distrust and suspicion in the hearts of many who were strangers to such feelings before. That it created no stronger impression on the native mind than it did,

is perhaps attributable only to the early check it received at the hands of authority, and it would doubtless be both interesting and important, if we could discover how and by whom such a proceeding was initiated. This and the false rumour about mixing ground bones with the flour had doubtless one common origin, and it is not going beyond the bounds of fair induction or reasonable inference to attribute both one and the other to the unceasing wiles of Mahomedan conspiracy. We perceive that the Hindu sepoys under the impulse of a final re-action to their feelings reproached the Mahomedans with misleading them, and it is a most significant fact, that though we come upon traces of Mussulman intrigue, wherever our investigation has carried us, yet not one paper has been found to shew that the Hindus, as a body, had been conspiring against us, or that their Brahmins and priests had been preaching a crusade against Christians. In their case there has been no king to set up, no religion to be propagated by the sword. To attribute to them, under such circumstances, the circulation of these chapaties or the fabrications about ground-bones in the flour, would be to ascribe to them acts without a meaning, and a criminal deception without any adequate motive. A very marked feature in this Mahomedan conspiracy is the activity and persistence with which it has been carried out; the circulation of the chapaties having been early prohibited by authority, and thus rendered non-effective for the purpose of extensive sedition, some other expedient was necessary to re-place it. and we at once find the tale of the "bone-dust mingled with flour," very adroitly selected as the substitute. It was in fact still adhering to the material of chapaties, and continuing the symbol of "one food and one faith." It was indeed the chapaty without its form and without its inconveniences. The schemers had apparently learnt that the chapaty was too specific and too tangibly open to European interference to be largely availed of, as an agent for evil, and hence its transformation into flour, the bone-dust being added to the one as the equivalent of the form of the ship-biscuit to the other. To give out then that such was the nature of the flour stored at all the depôts of supplies along the Grand Trunk Road, for from them, during their marches, the sepoys are in a manner, compelled to get their food, was to attain the very object the conspirators must have most desired. If true, the Government had already commenced what would be deemed forcible conversion to Christianity. If they could, then, but establish a firm and general belief in this, their game was in their own hands; and that they did succeed in doing this to a very great extent is, I

imagine, undeniable. I must own that to me this apparently natural transition from the chapaties to its component parts, seems a master stroke of cunning, and evidenced most able leadership in the cause the conspirators were embarked in.

To prove, moreover, that no mean order of talent was at work, and that all the appliances that craft and treachery could avail themselves of, were resorted to, we have only to refer to the extracts from the *Authentic News* and also to the other native publications of that period, and we shall perceive with what stedfast consistency the ulterior aim is always kept in view. The chapaties, the bone-dust in the flour, the greased cartridges were all most appropriate for the Hindus; but a different pabulum was requisite for the Mussulmans, and we shall now see with what subtlety it was administered.

The first paper commences by announcing that the King of Persia had ordered a concentration of most of his troops at Teheran, and then declaring it to be currently reported that such a demonstration against Dost Mahammud Khan was only a strategic move to cloak the King of Persia's real design of fighting against, and conquering the English, the editor makes certain that, at any rate, some change of feeling has taken place amongst the three powers. The next extract is dated 26th of January, 1857, and commences by asserting that all the newspapers agree in declaring that the King of France and the Emperor of Turkey had not as yet openly avowed themselves the allies of either the English or the Persians; but that their ambassadors were secretly visiting and presenting their gifts to both of the belligerents. "Some people," says the editor, "think the King of France, and the Emperor of Turkey will not mix themselves up in the quarrels between the Persians and the English; but most people," he adds, "say that they will both side with the Persians. As for the Russians, however, they make no secret of the readiness with which they are assisting, and will continue to assist the Persians whether it be with funds or with forces. It may be said that virtually the Russians are the cause of the war, and that using the Persians as a cloak, they intend to consummate their own designs regarding the conquest of Hindustan. It is to be believed that the Russians will soon take the field in great force." Here then we have not only Persia and Russia advancing immediately upon India with immense armies, but France and Turkey to assist them, while the forsaken and devoted English, are represented as by no means sure even of the alliance of the Afghans under Dost Mahammud! Well might the editor after announcing

19th of March, it is stated that 900 Persian soldiers, with some officers of high rank, had entered India, and that 500 more were then staying in Delhi itself in various disguises. It is true that this is given out on the authority of one Sadik Khan, a person whose identity not being established, was evidently in disguise even to his name; but this very circumstance was no doubt a part of the scheme. It gave an air of greater mystery to the announcement of the paper, and seems to have been purposely contrived to let the imagination of the reader supply an exaggerated idea of his real rank and importance.

Organisation of a Bengal Regiment.

(By "One who has served under Sir Charles Napier.")

A Regiment of Infantry on the Bengal Establishment is composed of 1,000 privates, 120 non-commissioned officers, and 20 native commissioned officers. It is divided into ten companies, each containing 100 privates, 2 native commissioned, and 12 non-commissioned, officers. The regiment is never quartered in barracks, but in lines—such lines consisting of ten rows of thatched huts—one being apportioned to each company. In front of each of these rows is a small circular building, in which the arms and accoutrements are stored, after having been cleaned, and the key of which is generally in the possession of the havildar (sergeant) on duty. Promotion invariably goes by seniority, and the commanding officer of a regiment has no power to pass over any man, without representing the fact to the Commander-in-Chief. A Sepoy, then, who may enter the service at the age of 16, cannot count on finding himself a naick (corporal) before he attains the age of 36, a sergeant (havildar) at 45, a jemadar (native lieutenant) at 54, and a subahdar (native captain) at 60.* By the time he has attained the age of 50, a native may generally be considered as utterly useless. The blood in his veins and the marrow in his bones have been dried up or wasted by constant exposure to the trying climate of India; his energies are relaxed, his memory impaired, and in governing and controlling the men who are especially under his surveillance in the lines, he can be of but little use to his European superior.

Caste.—But there is a principle at work, unknown to the European soldiers, which operates with tremendous force on the mind of the native, and either essentially adds to, or vitally detracts from, the authority of the native officer. This prin-

* These are the extreme ages. In the regiments engaged in the Affghanistan, Sutlej, and Punjab campaigns, promotion has been attained at much earlier ages than are here set down.

ciple is *caste*. Now the predominating race in a Bengal regiment is the Hindoo; the followers of that religion, as a general rule, being to the Mahomedans in the proportion of five to one. A regiment, a thousand strong, will therefore be found to contain about eight hundred Hindoos. Of these it often happens that more than four hundred are Brahmins or priests, about two hundred Rajpoots (a high caste, but lower than the Brahminical order), and the rest of a lower caste.

The Brahmins are the most influential, as they are the most bigoted of the whole race of Hindoos. In their mythological tales the gods themselves are constantly made to do penance and propitiation to this superior order. As these tales form the only kind of literature circulated amongst the Hindoos, and as the acts they record, however absurd they may appear to the educated, are implicitly believed, it is not to be wondered at that the Brahmins are the objects of veneration to the other castes. "The feet of a holy man are like the waters of life," is a proverb which gains implicit credence from all classes, and is at the same time practically acted upon. His curse is dreaded as a fate worse than death itself, whilst his protection is earnestly sought after by means of small presents, and of what to them is more valuable, constant prostrations or salaams publicly performed, so as to show the world the extent of the belief in their mighty power. When it is considered that in each regiment of the Bengal Army there are several of these men, in many regiments from three to four hundred, the mighty influence they have in their power to exert for good or evil may be imagined.

The manner in which this influence can be brought to bear on the discipline of a regiment may be easily conceived. We will suppose that one company is composed of 20 Mahomedans, 40 Brahmins, and 40 Rajpoots and lower-caste Hindoos. The influence of the Brahmins over the 80 Hindoos is paramount, and the Mahomedans being a small minority, would not contest the palm with them. The whole company may, therefore, be said to be under Brahminical influence.

If a low-caste Hindoo happened at the time to fill the responsible post of subahdar, he would be entirely under the spiritual guiding of the Brahminical clique. Were a mutiny hatching in the lines, he would not dare to divulge it, from the fear of a penalty more dreadful even than death—excommunication.

It is very evident, therefore, that by means of this pernicious system of caste, the men of a Bengal regiment, though nominally subject to the British Crown, are really under the orders and control of a Brahminical clique, formed in each regiment.

constantly corresponding with one another, and acting without any sense of responsibility whatever.

European Officers.—Hitherto it has been supposed that the example of, and association with, their European officers, have done more than anything else to loosen the power of caste. And it has undoubtedly been proved that on many trying occasions, especially during the Affghanistan war, when the Sepoys were exposed to more than ordinary trials, these men, generally so tenacious, have forgotten their prejudices, and have infringed many of their strictest precepts. It was in Affghanistan that the Sepoy earned the character given of him by Major D'Arcey Todd, of Herat renown, that "he would go anywhere, and do anything, if led by an officer in whom he had confidence." He earned and deserved that character in that rude country. Removed from the influences which hourly thrust themselves upon him in India, he was in Affghanistan a different and a far more useful being; but the moment he returned, he indued his prejudices at once, and became again the bigoted, relentless Brahmin. Still, even upon him then, the example of his officer had a certain influence. That is to say, he was prompt to recognise a daring, chivalrous nature, and to pay a sort of homage, not unmixed with fear, to high intellectual powers. Where an officer was at all lax in the performance of his duty, the Sepoy was certain to be lax also; and in cases where a stern strictness was unaccompanied by an occasional warmth, a good word off duty, or an inclination to patronise their sports, the officer was obeyed, but uncared for. Twenty-six officers make up the complement of a native regiment, but of these nearly half were generally absent, and there were seldom more than fifteen present at head-quarters. For the management of a regiment under Brahminical control, as all Bengal regiments are, this number is amply sufficient in times of peace. That is to say the management is not affected by the mere number. In fact, the conduct of Irregular regiments, which possess only three officers, has always contrasted so favourably with that of Line regiments, with their fourteen or fifteen, that the natural conclusion one would arrive at is, that the latter are over-officered.

The officers live in bungalows, or thatched houses, near the lines of their regiments, but too far off to enable them to have any direct control over the movements of their men during the day; and for eight months of the year at least the weather is too warm to allow them to ride out, except in the morning and evening. In order, however, to have the whole regiment under constant European supervision, two sergeants are allow-

ed to each corps, who are required to live in the lines, and to report all that goes on daily to the Adjutant.

Duties of Officers.—The duties of the officers are very similar to those performed in an English regiment. There is a Commander, generally of the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, who commands the regiment; an Adjutant, who superintends the drill, and makes daily reports to the commanding officer; an Interpreter and Quarter-Master, whose duty it is to look after the clothing of the men, and to interpret all orders; then each company is assigned to a separate officer, who is expected to settle all matters connected with his men every morning; or, should he be unable to do so, to refer them to the commanding officer.

Powers of the Commanding Officer.—The power of a commanding officer is of a very limited nature: he can make no promotions to the grade of commissioned officer; even in the ordinary rise from sepoy to naick, should he think fit to pass over a man, his decision is liable to be upset by the Commander-in-Chief: he can make no prompt recognition of distinguished services; and worse than all, by a recent order of Sir W. Gomm, he cannot refuse a court-martial to any Sepoy who may choose to demand it, in preference to the punishment which may have been awarded to him. The commanding officer is therefore quite powerless, and the men know it. Once it was otherwise: there was a time when the Commandant had it in his power to punish or reward, and his decision was irrevocable. But the system has been gradually changed. Commanders-in-Chief fresh from Europe, and accustomed all their lives to command Englishmen, have forgotten the inherent distinction between the European and the Asiatic, and in endeavouring to assimilate the rules for the latter to those which are suited only to the former, have broken down one of the chief barriers to Brahminical supremacy. One consequence of the present system is the gradual decline and final loss of all regard on the part of the men for their officers. As members of a Christian and converting religion they are disliked; as superiors they are no longer feared. Personal qualities may attract a short-lived admiration, but even that would shiver to atoms in the encounter with Hindoo fanaticism.

The Pension List.—But there was one resource upon which the Government relied above all others to influence their Sepoys, and this was by making it their interest to remain faithful to the British standard. The establishment of a pension list on a large and liberal scale, by the operation of which, a fixed monthly stipend was secured to any soldier who might be incapacitated for further duty after a service of fifteen years, and which, moreover, provided for the heirs or

nearest of kin of those who might perish in the field of battle, or from sickness whilst on foregin service, seemed well adapted to secure this end. A nobler or more liberal institution than the pension establishment for native soldiers does not exist, and it was thought by those competent to judge, that the estimation of the benefits accruing from it was fixed so firmly in the minds of the Sepoys, that that single consideration would weigh against all temptations to mutiny or revolt.

The Army in India.

According to Lord Stanley's Statement in Parliament, the Indian Army in January, 1857, consisted of—

Europeans	**45,522**
Natives	**232,224**

The disposition of the Bengal Army on the 30th April, 1857, was as follows:—

Fort William	A detail of Foot Artillery. Her Majesty's 53rd Foot, (5 Companies at Dum-Dum.) Detachment, Native Infantry.
Allipore	Calcutta Native Militia.
Balligunge	Governor-General's Body-Guard.
Barrackpore	Detachment, Her Majesty's 53rd Foot. 2nd N. I. (Grenadiers.) Officers of the late— 19th N. I. 34th N. I. 43rd N. I. 70th N. I.
Dum-Dum	The Head Quarters and the 3rd Company, 5th Battalion, Foot Artillery, with No. 20, Horse Light Field Battery. The Head Quarters and 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 5th Companies of the 9th Battalion, Native Foot Artillery. Five Companies of H. M's. 53rd Foot. Depôt for the instruction of Rifle Musketry.
Chinsurah	Recruit Depôt for Her Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's Troops, H. M's. 84th Foot.
Berhampore	A detail of Native Foot Artillery. 63rd Regt. N. I. (arrived 9th April, 1857.) 11th Irregular Cavalry. 19th Regt. N. I. (just disbanded)
Midnapore	Shekawattee Battalion.
Chittagong	Three Companies of the 34th Regt. N. I.
Arracan	Arracan Battalion. A detail of Native Foot Artillery.

JELPIGOREE	73rd Regt. N. I. Detachment, 11th Irregular Cavalry.
DACCA	A detail of Native Foot Artillery. Two Companies of the 73rd Regt. N. I.
CHERRA POONJEE	Sylhet Light Infantry Battalion, with two 6-pounders attached.
SYLHET	Sylhet Light Infantry Battalion.
CACHAR	Detachment, Sylhet Light Infantry Battalion, Kookee Levy.
ASSAM	1st and 2nd Assam Light Infantry Battalions. A Company of Assam Local Artillery.
DINAPORE	4th Company, 5th Battalion Foot Artillery, with No. 11, Bullock Light Field Battery. Her Majesty's 10th Foot. 7th Regt. N. I. 8th Regt. N. I. 40th Regt. N. I.
SEGOWLIE	12th Irregular Cavalry.
BHAGULPORE	Hill Rangers.
MONGHYR TYTALYAH BUCKALEE PURNEAH	Hill Rangers.
DARJEELING	Convalescent Depôt, consisting of Detachments of H M.'s and E. I. Company's Troops. Sebundy Sappers and Miners.
DORUNDAH *(Chota Nagpore.)*	Ramghur Light Infantry Battalion, with four 6-pounder brass guns. Two Ressallahs of Irregular Cavalry attached.
CHYBASSA PURULIAH SUMBHULPORE KHUNARBIDEAH BANCOORAH	Detachments, Ramghur Light Infantry Battalion.
HAZAREEBAUGH	Detachment, 8th Regt. N. I. Ditto, 40th Regt. N. I.
BOUSEE	32nd Regt. N. I.
BURHAIT SUNGRUMPORE DEOGURH	Detachments, 32nd N. I.
RANEEGUNGE	Detachment, 63rd N. I.
ROHNEE	5th Irregular Cavalry.
SOOREE	Military Police Corps.
BENARES	2nd Company, 3rd Battalion Foot Artillery, with No. 12, Bullock Light Field Battery. 25th N. I. 37th N. I. Regiment of Loodianah.
SULTANPORE *(Benares.)*	13th Irregular Cavalry.

JUANPORE	Detachment, Regiment of Loodianah.
GHAZEEPORE	65th N. I.
CHUNAR	European Invalid Battalion, consisting of two Companies of Artillery Invalids, and two Companies of Infantry Invalids. European Veteran Company. Detachment Regiment of Ferozepore.
MIRZAPORE	Regiment of Ferozepore.
AZIMGHUR	A detail of Native Foot Artillery. 17th N. I.
GORUCKPORE	Detachment, 17th N. I. Detachment, 12th Irregular Cavalry.
CAWNPORE	1st Company, 6th Battalion Foot Artillery. Head Quarters and 6th Company 7th Battalion Native Foot Artillery. 1st Company 8th Battation Native Foot Artillery. 2nd Light Cavalry Depôt of H. M.'s 32nd Foot. 1st N. I. 53rd N. I. 56th N. I.
FUTTEHGURH	A detail of Native Foot Artillery. 10th N. I.
HAMEERPORE	Detachment, 1st N. I.
OORAIE	Ditto, 53rd N. I.
BANDAH	Ditto, 56th N. I.
ETAWAH *(Mynpoorie)*	Detachment, 9th N. I.
LUCKNOW	4th Company, 1st Battalion Artillery, with No. 9, Horse Light Field Battery. 2nd Company, 8th Battalion Native Foot Artillery, with No. 2, Bullock Light Field Battery. 7th Light Cavalry. Her Majesty's 32nd Foot. (Depôt at Cawnpore.) 13th N. I. 48th N. I. 71st N. I. *Oude Irregular Force.* No. 2, Horse Light Field Battery. No. 3, Ditto Ditto. Reserve Company of Artillery. 2nd Regt. Cavalry. 4th Regt. Infantry. 7th Regt. Infantry.
FYZABAD	5th Company, 7th Battalion Native Foot Artillery, with No. 13, Horse Light Field Battery, 22nd N. I. Detachment, 15th Irregular Cavalry. *Oude Irregular Force.* 6th Regt. Infantry.

AAJOODIAH	Detachment, 22nd N. I.
SEETAPORE	41st N. I. *Oude Irregular Force.* 9th Regt. Infantry.
MULLAON	Detachment 41st N. I. *Oude Irregular Force.* 10th Regt. Infantry.
SULTANPORE	15th Irregular Cavalry (left wing at Seetapore.) *Oude Irregular Force.* 8th Regt. Infantry.
PERTABGURH	3rd Regt. Oude Irregular Cavalry.
PERSADEEPORE	1st Regt. Oude Irregular Infantry.
SECRORA	No. 1, Horse Light Field Battery, Oude Irregular Force. 1st Regt. Oude Irregular Cavalry. 2nd Regt. Oude Irregular Infantry (one wing).
BARAITCH	Left Wing 2nd Regt., Oude Irregular Infantry.
GONDAH	3rd Regt. Oude Irregular Infantry.
DURRIABAD	5th Regt. Oude Irregular Infantry.
ALLAHABAD	6th Company, 9th Battalion Native Foot Artillery. 6th Native Infantry. 47th Native Infantry.
FUTTEHPORE	Detachment, 6th Native Infantry.
NOWGONG	4th Company, 9th Battalion Native Foot Artillery, with No. 18 Bullock Light Field Battery. Head Quarters and Right Wing, 12th N. I. Left wing, 14th Irregular Cavalry.
JHANSI	A detail of Native Foot Artillery. Left Wing, 12th N. I. Head Quarters and Right Wing, 14th Irregular Cavalry.
SAUGOR	1st Company, 3rd Battalion Foot Artillery, with No. 4, Bullock Light Field Battery. 31st N. I. 42nd N. I. 3rd Irregular Cavalry.
DUMOH	Detachment, 31st N. I.
JUBBULPORE	52nd N. I.
MHOW	2nd Company, 6th Battalion Foot Artillery, with No. 8, Horse Light Field Battery. 1st Light Cavalry (left wing at Neemuch.) 23rd N. I.
NAGODE	50th N. I. Detachment, 31st N. I.
NEEMUCH	4th Troop, 1st Brigade Native Horse Artillery. Left Wing, 1st Light Cavalry. 72nd N. I. 7th Infantry, Gwalior Contingent.

Nusseerabad	2nd Company, 7th Battalion Native Foot Artillery, with No. 6, Horse Light Field Battery. 15th N. I. 30th N. I.
Jeypore	Detachment, 30th N. I.
Ajmere.....	Detachment, 30th N. I.
Meerut	Head Quarters of the Regiment of Artillery. Head Quarters, 2nd Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery. Head Quarters, 3rd Company, 3rd Battalion, Foot Artillery, with No. 14, Horse Light Field Battery. H. M.'s 6th Dragoon Guards. H. M.'s 60th Rifles. 3rd Light Cavalry. 11th N. I. 20th N. I.
Roorkee	Head Quarters of the Corps of Sappers and Miners, with 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th Companies.
Delhi	3rd Company, 7th Battalion, Native Foot Artillery, with No. 5, Horse Light Field Battery. 38th N. I. 54th N. I. 74th N. I.
Allyghur.....	9th N. I.
Bolundshuhur.....	Detachment, 9th N. I.
Deyrah	Sirmoor Battalion.
Landour	Convalescent Depôt, consisting of detachments of H. M. and E. I. Company's Troops.
Mussooree	*Nil.*
Agra	2nd Company, 5th Battalion Foot Artillery. 3rd European Regt. 44th N. I. 67th N. I.
Muttra	Detachment, 44th N. I. Ditto, 67th N. I.
Bareilly	6th Company, 8th Battalion Native Foot Artillery, with No. 15, Horse Light Field Battery. 18th N. I. 68th N. I. 8th Irregular Cavalry.
Moradabad	A detail of Native Foot Artillery. 29th N. I.
Shahjehanpore ...	A detail of Native Foot Artillery. 28th N. I.
Almorah	3rd Company, 8th Battalion Native Foot Artillery. 66th or Ghoorkah Regt.

LOHOOGHAUT	Detachment of 66th or Ghoorkha Regt.
NYNEE TAL	*Nil.*
GWALIOR	2nd Company, Gwalior Artillery. 4th Company, ditto. 5th Company, ditto. 1st Regt., Gwalior Cavalry. 1st Regt. Gwalior Infantry. 2nd Regt. ditto. 3rd Regt. ditto.
GOONAH.....	Detachment, 1st Regt. of Gwalior Cavalry.
AUGUR	3rd Company, Gwalior Artillery. 2nd Regt. Gwalior Cavalry. 5th Regt. Gwalior Infantry.
SEEPREE	1st Company, Gwalior Artillery. 3rd Regt. Gwalior Infantry.
SULLUTPORE	6th Regt. Gwalior Infantry (left wing at Asurgurh.)
SIRDARPORE	Malwah Bheel Corps.
MUNDLAISIR	Nimar Police Corps Detachment, Malwah Bheel Corps.
MEHIDPORE	United Malwah Contingent, consisting of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry.
SEHORE	Bhopal Contingent, consisting of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry.
DEOLEE.....	Kotah Contingent, consisting of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry.
BEWAR	Mhairwarrah Battalion.
AJMERE.....	Detachment, Mhairwarrah Battalion.
ERINPOORAH	Joudpore Legion, consisting of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry.
KHERWARAH	Meywar Bheel Corps.
KOTRAH	Meywar Bheel Corps.
UMBALLAH	Head Quarters, 2nd and 3rd Troops, 3rd Brigade Horse Artillery. H. M.'s 9th Light Dragoons, (lancers.) 4th Light Cavalry (lancers). 5th N. I. 60th N. I. Detachment, 9th Irregular Cavalry.
HANSI	Hurrianah Light Infantry Battalion. 4th Irregular Cavalry.
SIRSA	Detachment, Hurrianah Light Infantry Battalion. Ditto, 4th Irregular Cavalry.
HISSAR	Detachment, Hurrianah Light Infantry Battalion. Ditto, 4th Irregular Cavalry.
LOODIANAH	Detachment, 4th Light Cavalry (lancers). Ditto, 3rd N. I. Ditto, 9th Irregular Cavalry.
SIMLA	*Nil.*
JUTTOG, SIMLA	Nusseeree Battalion.

Dugshai	1st European Bengal Fusiliers.
Kussowlee	H. M.'s 75th Foot.
Subathoo	2nd European Bengal Fusiliers.
Jullunder	1st Troop, 1st Brigade Horse Artillery.
	Head-quarters, 1st Battalion Foot Artillery.
	6th Light Cavalry.
	H. M.'s 8th Foot.
	36th N. I.
	61st N. I.
Phillour	3rd N. I.
Hosheyarpore	5th Troop, 1st Brigade, Native Horse Artillery.
	33rd N. I.
	9th Irregular Cavalry.

PUNJAB.

Lahore	Head-quarters, 2nd and 3rd Troops, 2nd Brigade Horse Artillery.
	Head-quarters and 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Companies, 4th Battalion Foot Artillery (Meean Meer.)
	8th Light Cavalry (Meean Meer.)
	H. M.'s 81st Foot (Meean Meer.)
	16th N. I. (Meean Meer.)
	26th N. I. (Meean Meer.)
	49th N. I. (Meean Meer.)
Jhung	Detachment, 26th N. I.
Goojeerat	Detachment, 16th N. I.
	Ditto, 35th N. I.
	Ditto, 46th N. I.
Umritsur	5th Company, 8th Battalion, Native Foot Artillery, with No. 16, Horse Light Field Battery.
	59th N. I.
Govindghur	Detachment, Native Infantry.
	2nd Company, 1st Battalion, Foot Artillery.
Fezozepore	Head-quarters and 3rd Company, 6th Battalion, Foot Artillery, with No. 19, Horse Light Field Battery.
	4th Company, 6th Battalion, Foot Artillery.
	10th Light Cavalry.
	H. M.'s 61st Foot.
	45th N. I.
	57th N. I.
Goordaspore	Detachment, 59th N. I.
	2nd Irregular Cavalry.
Mooltan	4th Troop, 2nd Brigade, Native Horse Artillery.
	4th Company, 3rd Battalion, Foot Artillery.
	62nd N. I.
	69th N. I.
	1st Irregular Cavalry.

Sealkote	3rd Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery. 3rd Company, 1st Battalion, Foot Artillery, with No. 17, Horse Light Field Battery.
Shahpore	Detachment, 35th N. I. Ditto, 46th N. I.
Goojranwallah ...	Ditto, 35th N. I.
Noorpore	Half of 1st Column, 7th Battalion, Native Foot Artillery. Head-quarters and Right Wing, 4th N. I.
Kangra	Half of 1st Column, 7th Battalion Native Foot Artillery. Left Wing, 4th N. I.

European and Native Troops in the Punjab.

There were then, in the Punjab Territories, from Kurnaul to Peshawur, about 36,000 native troops of all arms, infantry, regular and irregular cavalry, and artillery. These were all men from Oudh and Hindoostan, except a fraction, who were Punjabees. Against these there were eleven regiments of European infantry, and one of cavalry, and some 2,000 European artillery. The European Force may have numbered 10,500 men. Of this force half was massed at the extremes of the Province, *viz.* three regiments at the Simla Hills and three at the Peshawur Valley. Of the principal fortresses that of Lahore was held by some European infantry; those of Govindgurh (Umritsur) and Mooltan were held by one company of European artillery each; while those of Philore on the Sutlej, Attock on the Indus, Kangra and Noorpoor, were held by native troops. Our chief arsenal, that of Ferozepoor, was at a station held by European infantry. The second arsenal was at Philore, held by native infantry. Our frontier, 800 miles in length, bordering throughout upon fierce and independent tribes, was held in strength at one point, and that the most important, namely, Peshawur; but the greater part was occupied by about 10,000 irregular troops, cavalry and infantry, of the best possible description. There were also some 9,000 Military Police, horse and foot. Thus the aggregate of Punjabee troops was about 22,000 men. These were, for the most part, natives of the Punjab; a portion something less than one-fourth were Hindoostanees. Immediately after the outbreak, three regiments of European infantry, and one of cavalry, marched away from the Punjab for Delhi, while the Punjab was relieved of only two native infantry corps; so that if the Umballa force be deducted, there were about 7,500 Europeans to 33,000 Hindoostanee soldiers, or 1 to 4½. In the event of

collision, however, the assistance of a portion of the Punjabee troops might always be counted on. The circumstances of difficulty were therefore considerable. The European Force was limited. There was a large section, nearly one-third of the mutinous Bengal Army, to be either encouraged in their duty, overawed, or coerced, as the case might be. There were martial and fanatical tribes along the frontier to be kept at arm's length. There were numerous Native Princes to be held firm to their allegiance. There was a large population exposed to evil influence from the proximity of the seat of Rebellion to be maintained in subjection. And beyond all this, there were powerful reinforcements from time to time to be despatched to Delhi.

In order to apprehend rightly what was the feeling as well as the conduct of the mass of the people when the mutiny broke forth, Mr. C. Raikes gives the subjoined short analysis of the component parts of the human mass in the N. W. Provinces.

The male population was divided into the following classes:—

HINDOOS.

Agricultural	9,549,192
Non-Agricultural.....	4,254,453

MAHOMEDANS.

Agricultural	996,950
Non-Agricultural.....	79,941
Total.....	16,180,536

Now of these sixteen millions not one-twentieth part resided in districts which had any European soldiers stationed within their limits. The mass of the people knew and acknowledged the supreme power of their English masters, but they attributed that power entirely to the bayonets of the Bengal Native Infantry, which held the forts, arsenals and treasuries throughout the country.

Therefore when the native soldiers rose as one man to burn and slay, to pull down the halls of justice, and to break open the jails, the people at large who knew little and thought less of the distant resources of England, concluded naturally enough that our day had gone by.

The Chuppatees.

For some time reports had been received of a novel and curious proceeding among the village chowkeydars of many districts of the N. W. Provinces.

It has not yet been definitely ascertained whence the movement originated, or what was its precise motive and object, but the chowkeydars were, in a line of country extending from Furruckabad and Goorgaon to Banda, actively employed in the distribution of small wheaten-cakes, for the delivery of which, receipts were in some instances demanded in the hand-writing of the village Putwarries, and after authentication at the thannah. The chowkeydars seemed to suppose themselves to be acting under some general order sent forth by Government.

The thing was done in this way.—A chowkeydar appeared in the village adjoining his own, with two small chuppaties, which he delivered over to his brother chowkeydar, with an injunction to make ten others to be then delivered by him, two and two, to the chowkeydars of the adjacent villages, with instructions to act in a similar manner; each chowkeydar to keep two for presentation to the Hakim, or when called for; obedience was given to the instructions, and the cakes passed on from village to village.

All enquiries at the time pointed to some superstition connected with the previous sickly season, as the most probable origin of the strange procedure.

A letter from the Collector of Goorgaon illustrates the method in which the chowkeydars of a district took up the message received from a neighbouring one :—

" *To S. Fraser, Esquire,*
Commissioner, Delhi.

" Sir,—I have the honor to inform you that a signal has passed through numbers of the villages of this district, the purport of which has not yet transpired.

" 2nd. The chowkeydars of the villages bordering on those belonging to Muttra, have received small baked cakes of atta, with orders to distribute them generally through this district.

" 3rd. A chowkeydar upon receiving one of these cakes has had five or six more prepared, and thus they have passed from village to village ; so quickly has the order been executed that village after village has been served with this notice.

" 4th. This day cakes of this description have arrived and been distributed in the villages about Goorgaon, and an idea

has been industriously circulated, that Government has given the order.

(Sd.) W. FORD, *Magistrate.*

GOORGAON MAGISTRACY,
19th February, 1857.

THE FANATIC FAQUEER AT FYZABAD.

On Monday evening, the 16th February, 1857, a fanatic Faqueer, with a gang of armed men, established himself in a serai in Fyzabad, and addressing the mob, informed them that his mission was the destruction of the Feringhees. They were informed by one of the public officers, that carrying arms in the city by bodies of men is prohibited, and their swords demanded. They not only refused, but when he advanced, drew their swords upon him, so that he was obliged to retire. The Military Police were brought up, and were with difficulty prevented from attacking the party at once. Guards were posted, and a company of sepoys came from the cantonments and surrounded them. On the following morning, the Deputy Commissioner tried in vain to persuade them to give up their swords. They remained seated in a verandah with their swords in their hands. The leader of the party would listen to no persuasion, though he was promised that if they would submit, they should not be sent to the prison, nor suffer any indignity; but having drawn their swords on a British officer and excited the populace, they must submit to be tried on this charge. The Moulvie declared they might take his headless corpse, but that he would not surrender alive.

It was proposed to rush upon and secure them when relieving the guard, which was stationed within a few yards of them. It was intended that the guard of fourteen men, when the word "march" was given, should rush on them without fixing bayonets. Whether they suspected the plan or not, or a moment's delay alarmed them, is not certain, but they made a furious attack on the sepoys, some of them with a sword in each hand. The officer in command of the guard and three sepoys were wounded, the officer severely; three of the fanatics were killed, five much wounded, and four taken unhurt. The Moulvie was slightly wounded, and taken to the regimental hospital, where he is supposed to be mad. He said he had come from the Cheen Pultun at Madras, but he was not a Madrassee. He and his followers had been visiting the tombs of the men killed in the religious quarrel just before the annexation.

The Moulvie, who was a foreigner in those parts, shewed no disposition whatever to be communicative. He, however, said that he came from some place on the coast; but his appearance, demeanour and dialect, betrayed him to be a native of Mooltan, or some place in that direction. He was said to understand English. The circumstances of his having been taken in the act of reading the Jehad, and several copies of the "Sujra" (war proclamation) being found in his possession, leaves no doubt as to his real intentions. These were evidently to incite the people to rebellion. Indeed, it was expected that he, after all would turn out to be an emissary from some distinguished quarter, where not the best of feelings for our rule were cherished. The Moulvie was accompanied by fourteen apparently staunch and gaunt followers. The Moulvie's name was Sekundur Shah. He was said to have resided in Lucknow up to within a very short time of his proceeding to Fyzabad, though, as already mentioned, he was not a native of the country.

Uneasiness at Dum-Dum regarding Greased Cartridges.

Lieutenant Wright to Ensign Smith, Adjutant, Rifle Depôt Dum-Dum.

Dum-Dum, January 22, 1857.

I have the honor to report for the information of Major Bontein, commanding the depôt, that there appears to be a very unpleasant feeling existing among the native soldiers who are here for instruction, regarding the grease used in preparing the cartridges, some evil-disposed person having spread a report that it consists of a mixture of the fat of pigs and cows.

2. The belief in this report has been strengthened by the behaviour of a classie attached to the magazine, who, I am told, asked a sepoy of the 2nd Grenadiers to supply him with water from his lota. The sepoy refused, observing, he was not aware of what caste the man was; the classie immediately rejoined, "You will soon lose your caste, as ere long you will have to bite cartridges covered with the fat of pigs and cows," or words to that effect.

3. Some of the depôt-men in conversing with me on the subject last night, said that the report had spread throughout India, and when they go to their homes their friends will refuse to eat with them. I assured them (believing it to be the case) that the grease used is composed of mutton-fat and wax, to which they replied, "It may be so, but our friends will not

believe it: let us obtain the ingredients from the bazar, and make it up ourselves; we shall then know what is used, and be able to assure our fellow-soldiers and others that there is nothing in it prohibited by our caste."

Major-General J. B. Hearsey, C. B., to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.

Barrackpore, January 28, 1857.

I beg leave to report for the information of Government that an ill feeling is said to subsist in the minds of the sepoys of the regiments at Barrackpore. A report has been spread by some designing persons, most likely Brahmins or agents of the religious Hindoo Party in Calcutta (I believe it is called the "Dhurma Sobha,") that they (the sepoys) are to be forced to embrace the Christian faith. On this report was grafted, as an overt act to cause them to lose caste, the distributing amongst them ball cartridges for the new Enfield rifle that had the paper forming them greased with the fat of cows and pigs.

2. I should not have allowed these idle and groundless rumours to have had any weight on my mind, knowing that the latter circumstance (regarding the cartridges) would be remedied as soon as reported to higher authority, and trusting to the well-known repugnance of all officers with native regiments to act or do anything that could be construed into a wish or desire to interfere with the religious prejudices of the men under their command.

3. But the circumstance of a serjeant's bungalow being burnt down at Raneegunge, supposed to have been caused by an incendiary (a wing of the 2nd Grenadiers from this station being now there), and also three incendiary fires having occurred at this station within the last four days—one, the electric telegraph bungalow, and since then, two bungalows that were unoccupied (the second occurred only last night), as also Ensign Chamier, of the 34th Regiment, having taken a lighted arrow from the thatch of his own bungalow, has confirmed in my mind that this incendiarism is caused by ill-affected men, who wish thus to make known or spread a spirit of discontent, and induce the sepoys to believe they are all laboring under some grievance which they have not the manliness to make known to their officers.

4. Perhaps those Hindoos who are opposed to the marriage of widows in Calcutta are using under-hand means to thwart Government in abolishing the restraints lately removed by law for the marriage of widows, and conceive if they can make a party of the ignorant classes in the ranks of the army believe

their religion or religious prejudices are eventually to be abolished by force, and by force they are all to be made Christians, and thus, by shaking their faith in Government, lose the confidence of their officers by inducing sepoys to commit offences (such as incendiarism) so difficult to put a stop to or prove, they will gain their object.

5. Brigadier Grant directed commanding officers of regiments at this station the day before yesterday to parade their corps and ask them if they had any grievance to complain of. Three of the officers have reported their men to be perfectly satisfied; and Colonel Wheler, commanding the 34th Native Infantry, assured them the rumour so industriously circulated was false, and the native officers and men said they were satisfied it was so. But one native officer respectfully asked if any orders had been received regarding the Enfield rifle cartridges. This he could not answer, as the letter permitting the ghee, or other material, to be used for that purpose by the men, only arrived this morning. I have, however, directed its contents to be made known to every regiment in the cantonment, and a copy to be sent to Colonel Reid, commanding at Dum-Dum, for Major Bontein's information.

6. It is my purpose, should this uneasy feeling not abate, to parade the brigade and myself explain the absurdity of the notion that any, the most distant intention to interfere with their prejudices was contemplated by Government.

7. I am sorry to add that I this morning heard that the officer commanding Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment in Fort William wrote to the officer in command of the wing of that regiment at Dum-Dum, to warn a company to be ready to turn out at any moment, and had distributed to the men of the company ten rounds of balled ammunition, informing that officer that a mutiny had broken out at Barrackpore amongst the sepoys.

Major-General Hearsey to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.

Barrackpore, February 8, 1857.

I have the honor to report, for the information of Government and of the Commander-in-chief, the following circumstances which have taken place at this station.

2. On receiving the orders of Government that an allowance would be authorized for the purchase and preparation of a grease, such as the sepoys would have no objection to, for applying to the cartridges of the Enfield rifle, and having

been supplied by Colonel Abbott, C. B., Inspector-General of Magazines, with some cartridges made up at the arsenal, also the paper in sheets, I directed Brigadier Grant, C. B., to make known to commanding officers of regiments my desire that the order of the Government should be distinctly explained by them to their respective battalions on parade, and that the paper sent by Colonel Abbott with the cartidges, should be shown to all the native officers and men.

3. This was accordingly done, and I confess I was surprised to learn that the paper (which has a somewhat glazed appearance) excited their suspicion that it had been prepared with grease as one of the materials, and Captain Boswell, who commands the wing 2nd Grenadiers, at this station, sent me a report that such was the impression on the minds of his men.

4. Colonel Wheler, commanding the 34th Native Infantry, also waited on me, and stated that the same objection had been raised by the men of his corps.

5. I lost no time in ordering Brigadier Grant to assemble a special court of inquiry to investigate this matter, and the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the wing 2nd Grenadiers were to be directed to attend, and to state fairly and plainly any objection they had, or could possibly have, to the use of this new ammunition.

6. The Court accordingly met, and was attended by my son, Lieutenant John Hearsey, a college-passed officer, who is now residing with me, and had been instructed in the Musketry School at Hythe, when lately in England on sick furlough. Lieutenant Hearsey took with him to the Court one of those Enfield rifles, and materials for making up the cartridges, to show to the native officers. This was done. The rifle was much admired, but they still objected to the glazed paper, frankly stating their suspicion that it contained grease, and they would prefer to have the cartridge made up of the old paper, which had been so long served out to them. In short, their suspicions were fairly roused on the subject of cow and pig-fat, and it will be quite impossible to allay them, unfounded though they be.

7. The proceedings of the Court of Inquiry were yesterday transmitted to you, for the purpose of being laid before Government and his Excellency the Commander-in-chief.

8. On Friday night, the 6th instant, between the hours of 8 and 9 o'clock, Brigadier Grant, C. B., Colonel Wheler, and Lieutenant Allen of the 34th N. I., waited upon me at my quarters, and the two first-named informed me that Lieutenant Allen had startling matter to communicate. This will be

found in the written statement of that officer hereto appended. A descriptive roll of the sepoy who gave the information in question is likewise attached to this letter.

9. I immediately directed the Brigadier to order Lieutenant Allen and Ensign Harris, Adjutant 70th N. I. (an intelligent young officer), to mount their horses and ride in the direction of the spot indicated where these delegates were to meet, and to bring me intelligence if they saw them assembled, or were any men returning from that direction. I also instructed the Brigadier to lose not a moment in having the roll of every company called in its battalion lines, and all men absent to be reported to him. Brigadier Grant's official report on this subject is hereto annexed, from which it will be seen that all were present in their respective lines, save a few whose absence was satisfactorily accounted for. It is likewise shown by this report that the two officers returned from their mission without having seen any party assembled or proceeding to their lines from the spot indicated.

10. There can be little doubt but that a bad spirit prevails among the sepoys, particularly in the 2nd Grenadiers. The simultaneous fires at Barrackpore and Raneegunge (certainly by incendiarism) afford strong and reasonable ground for such a suspicion, though I am happy to add that none have occurred for several nights past, which may be parhaps attributed to there being strong piquets posted in the officers' lines, from which patrols are constantly sent to watch and apprehend any suspicious person who may be moving about.

11. I have also directed that a register shall be taken of all bazar people and camp followers, in order that the bad characters may be summarily ejected from cantonments, and I have further offered a reward of 1,000 rupees to be paid to any person who may come forward and produce such evidence as will convict the incendiary or incendiaries of the telegraph and other bungalows.

12. Deeming it my duty to keep the Government fully informed of all that may be occurring at this station, I have thought it proper to enter into these details.

13. I moreover consider it necessary to add my conviction that the sepoys are tampered with by designing villains, when on duty in Fort William and Calcutta, it having been frequently noticed by old military residents at the station, that after frequent absences on such detached duty, many of them returned to their lines with strange ideas and unsettled minds. I therefore think that if it could be possibly managed to have all the duties in that garrison and in Calcutta exclusively taken by the European regiments and the Native Militia, especially in Calcutta, the arrangement would be highly desirable.

Major-General Hearsey to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Barrackpore, February 11, 1857.

We have at Barrackpore been dwelling upon a mine ready for explosion. I have been watching the feeling of the sepoys here for some time. Their minds have been misled by some designing scoundrels, who have managed to make them believe that their religious prejudices, their caste, is to be interfered with by Government; "that they are to be forced to turn Christians."

Any reasonable person would doubt, after the experience we have had, that such an absurd notion could possess them; but nevertheless it is a fact, and it will take time to dispossess their minds of this stupid idea.

I was told that a circumstance occurred at Dum-Dum, where the School of Practice for the Enfield rifle is assembled, which, I may say, gave evidence amongst them to this supposition.

A sepoy from one of the regiments here was walking to his chowka, to prepare his food, with his lota full of water. He was met by a low-caste classie (it is said one of the magazine or arsenal men). This classie asked him to let him drink from the lotah. The sepoy (a Brahmin) refused, saying, "I have scoured my lotah; you will defile it by your touch." The classie rejoined, "You think much of your caste, but wait a little, the Sahib-logue will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork-fat, and then where will your caste be?" The sepoy made this speech known amongst his comrades at Dum-Dum. The report is not long in travelling to this station: the men brooded over it for some time at Dum-Dum; and though it seems to have been known to the officer there, it was treated as a silly and foolish notion until Major Bontein perceived it had taken hold of their minds as a fact. When he reported it to me, I lost no time in writing to Calcutta, making known what had occurred, and suggesting a small allowance might be granted to the officer at Dum-Dum to purchase wax and ghee, or cocoa-nut-oil, by the hands of one of the high-caste men, and direct him to grease the bullet portion of the cartridge before the men when they were served out for practice.

This I had every reason to believe would practically convince the men of the falsity of the classie's speech, and that every care would be taken that their caste would not be interfered with. It seems to have had all the effect desired at the School of Practice at Dum-Dum; and as no cartridges were to be served out or practice was to take place

here, I could not dream that it would become a cause of trouble or disaffection at this place.

Colonel Abbott sent me a parcel of cartridges and paper; and as the burning of the telegraph bungalow and several thatched officer's houses had occurred at this station, certainly by incendiaries—for Sontal arrows with lighted match attached to them had been taken out of the thatch—I ordered officers commanding corps to parade their men, explain to them that no grease would be used to the cartridges, but what would be applied by one of themselves when they were required to use the new Enfield rifle. The paper sent by Colonel Abbott was not the same kind of which the common cartridge was made, and had a glazed or shining appearance. This excited suspicion in their minds, and such was reported to me by Captain Boswell, commanding a Wing of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment; and Colonel Wheler, commanding the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, also waited upon me, and made known that this shining appearance was deemed by the native officers and men to be caused by the objectionable fat or grease mixed with the paper in the process of making it.

I had a Court of Inquiry assembled, before which the native commissioned, and non-commissioned officers of the Wing of the 2nd Regiment Grenadiers were examined as to their opinion and feelings on this point. The proceedings have been sent to Government.

Amidst all this business the alarm in Fort William took place. The company of Europeans was hurried from Dum-Dum without any report being made to me. I had succeeded in putting a stop to the incendiarism hereby posting strong picquets, and sending patrols constantly through the lines of thatched bungalows, and by issuing an order that all houses burnt were not to be rebuilt with thatched roofs, and that all thatched verandahs "or lean-to" affixed to puckka houses were to be removed, for the last attempt at incendiarism was the firing of one of these thatched verandahs.

The fires occurring at Raneegunge about the same period, fixed suspicion strongly on the men of the 2nd Grenadiers, as Sontal arrows had been used in igniting the bungalows, and that regiment had been employed in the Sontal district.

I reported the objection the native officers and men had raised to the glazed paper to Government, and as I deemed it folly to fight with such shadows, recommended it should be changed to the old cartridge-paper. To this I have received no answer.

On the instant a (Kaet) sepoy, who can read and understand English, waited in the evening on Lieutenant Allen, of the

34th Native Infantry, and informed him that a meeting was to take place among the disaffected men of the different regiments, between 8 and 9 at night, to discuss what should be done to prevent their religious prejudices or trusts from being abused by the Government and Sahib-logue. This was immediately made known to me as I have reported, and I took measures to find out if it was true. I learnt nothing. The native officers of the different regiments must have known it, yet they reported it not to their European officers.

The day before yesterday a Jemadar of the 34th Native Infantry sent one of my orderlies (or a sepoy) to me, to ask my permission to wait upon me. I replied, by all means; but the rules of the service required that he should have the consent of his immediate commanding officer. The Jemadar asked for the permission he desired. The next day, when questioned by Colonel Wheler, and Lieutenant Bunbury, he stated he wished to communicate all he knew on the subject of the evil disposition now prevailing amongst the sepoys. This was made known to Brigadier Grant, who instantly waited upon me to report the circumstance. I directed a Court to be formed, and that the Jemadar's statement should be taken on solemn affirmation, which was done; and I forwarded it yesterday to Government.

I must mention that I had the whole brigade paraded on Monday afternoon, the 9th, and myself energetically and explicitly explained, in a loud voice to the whole of the men, the folly of the idea that possessed them that the Government, or that their officers, wished to interfere with their caste or religious prejudices, and impressed on them the absurdity of their, for one moment, believing that they were to be forced to become Christians. I told them the English were Christians of the Book, *i. e.*, Protestants; that we admitted no proselytes but those who, being adults, could read and fully understand the precepts laid down therein; that if they came and threw themselves down at our feet imploring to be made "Book" Christians, it could not be done; they could not be baptised until they had been examined in the tenets of the Book, and proved themselves fully conversant in them, and then they must of their own good will and accord desire to become Christians of the Book ere they could be made so. I asked them if they perfectly understood what I said, especially the 2nd Grenadiers; they nodded assent: I then dismissed the brigade.

I have since heard from officers commanding regiments that their native officers and men appeared quite "koosh" (pleased,) and seemed to be relieved from a heaviness of mind that had possessed them.

I cannot but with great caution put any man into confinement, unless I can get full proof of his being one of, or a leader at, a mutinous meeting, and this is yet wanting.

May I state my opinion in regard to the policy of having five or six regiments of Native Infantry assembled in brigade here without any European corps of Infantry, or Artillery, or Cavalry, as a *point d' appui* in case of a mutiny occurring. You will perceive in all this business the native officers were of no use; in fact, they are afraid of their men, and dare not act: all they do is to hold themselves aloof, and expect by so doing they will escape censure as not actively implicated. This has always occurred on such occasions, and will continue to the end of our sovereignty in India. Well might Sir C. Metcalfe say, "that he expected to awake some fine morning and find India had been lost to the English Crown."

Seditious Meetings at Barrackpore.

Deposition of a Jemadar of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, taken at Barrackpore on the 10th day of February, 1857, in presence of Brigadier C. Grant, C. B., commanding at Barrackpore; Colonel S. G. Wheler, commanding 34th Regiment Native Infantry; Captain C. C. Drury, 8th Company 34th Regiment Native Infantry; Lieutenant B. H. Baugh, Adjutant, 34th Regiment Native Infantry; Interpreter, Lieutenant Corbett, 43rd Regiment, Native Infantry.

Jemadar ————, 34th Regiment Native Infantry, having been solemnly affirmed, states as follows:—

On the night of the 5th instant, February 1857, soon after 8 o'clock roll-call, two or three men, sepoys, came to me, and made me accompany them to the parade-ground, where I found a great crowd assembled, composed, to the best of my belief, of the men of the different regiments at this station. They had their heads tied up with cloths, having only a small part of the face exposed. They asked me to join them; and I asked them what I was to join them in. They replied, that they were willing to die for their religion, and that, if they could make an arrangement that evening, the next night (February 6, 1857) they would plunder the station, and kill all the Europeans, and then go where they liked. I told them they had better go to their lines, and explained to them that if they did anything of this kind they would not get such good masters in future. I went away after this, and the crowd dispersed.

Q. How many men do you suppose were assembled? —*A.* About 300.

Q. Did you recognize anybody in the crowd? —*A.* The two men who took me away were sepoys.

Q. Were there any non-commissioned officers, or commissioned native officers, in the crowd? —*A.* I cannot say; they all had their heads so tied up that I could not recognize any.

Q. How long were you with the crowd before they dispersed?—*A.* About a quarter to half-an-hour.

Q. What arrangements were made with regard to killing the Europeans, and the plunder of the station?—*A.* Nothing further than that if they could settle anything that night, then the affair was to come off on the ensuing night, February 6, 1857.

Q. Did you recognize the voices of any of the speakers in the crowd? —*A.* I think I recognized that of Mookta Persaud Pandie, Drill Havildar, 34th Regiment Native Infantry.

Q. What prevented the proposed assembly taking place on the night of the 6th February, 1857? —*A.* I don't know.

Q. Has any similar meeting taken place since the 5th instant, or do you know if any such is contemplated by the men? —*A.* There has been none since, nor do I know if any meeting is contemplated.

Q. You say you recognised the voice of the Drill Havildar, 34th Regiment; can you state anything that he said ?—*A.* No, I cannot.

Q. Are you aware of any particular regiment that takes the lead in these disturbances?—*A.* No, I think they are all equally implicated.

Q. Do you know how the late fires in the station originated, and whether they were the work of sepoys, or others?—*A.* I do not know; I was only relieved from fort-duty on the 3rd February.

EXAMINATION OF A SEPOY OF THE 8TH COMPANY 34TH REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY.

Question.—Are you aware that a meeting of the Sepoys of the different regiments at this station was held on Thursday, the 5th instant?—*Answer and Statement:*—Yes, there was; but I only heard of the assembly next day, and cannot state with certainty what took place then. I only know that a second meeting was arranged for the following night (Friday), at which

I heard that the Sepoys intended taking an oath and arranging what their future proceedings were to be. I understood that delegates or representatives, from each of the four regiments at Barrackpore, were to attend on this occasion; this is all I know on the subject of the first meeting, but I considered it my duty to go to the officer in charge of my company, and whom I knew well, having been in the habit of writing for him for several years, and whom I believed to have confidence in me. I waited till evening on Friday before I gave the information, as I was anxious to be quite certain that the second meeting was to take place, and having ascertained that it actually was to be at the time appointed, I then proceeded to the quarters of Lieutenant Allen, the officer in question, and imparted the information to him, at the same time begging that if he doubted me he would go himself to the appointed place between 8 and 9 o'clock, when he would be sure to perceive some assembly or meeting going on. I returned to the lines of my regiment, and shortly afterwards at 8 o'clock, roll-call was held as usual, when all were present; but on their names having been answered, and between 8 and 9 o'clock, the men began to proceed to the place of assembly; this I saw with my own eyes, and forthwith returned to Lieutenant Allen's quarters to tell of it, and suggest his proceeding to the place indicated at once; Lieutenant Allen was not in his house, but returned in a short time, when I mentioned these circumstances to him, and I then went back again to the lines. Shortly afterwards the roll was called, when all were found present in their lines. I am convinced the reason of there being no assembly that night was owing to a suspicion having gone abroad among the men of the different regiments that their intentions had been discovered, and that, consequently, it would be both unadvisable and dangerous for them to meet together that night; but if Lieutenant Allen had gone to the parade-ground, near the magazine, about 9 o'clock, he must have seen some sepoys about the place, either going or returning. I do not think that the calling of the roll about 10 P. M. had any effect in preventing their assembling, as their intention was abandoned for that night on their becoming aware that news of the affair had got abroad, and come to the knowledge of the authorities. The various orderlies or sepoys of the different guards about cantonments could easily have sent information to the different lines that something was going on connected with their intended proceedings.

Kossid sent from Barrackpore to tamper with the Sepoys at Dinapore and Berhampore.

Statement sent by Major Matthews, commanding 43rd Regiment Native Infantry, February 12, 1857.

A native doctor states as follows :—" I overheard a sepoy of the 2nd Grenadiers mention at the hospital to some one that a kossid had been sent to the Ungka Pultan at Berhampore, and to the regiments at Dinapore, informing them that ten or twelve of us have raised a disturbance, and we want you to support us."

He said he did not remember the date that he heard the above, but it was some days ago. I told him to try and find out the sepoy's name and company whose conversation he had overheard.

The Secretary to the Government of India to Major-General Lloyd, Commanding the Dinapore Division.

Fort William, February 13, 1857.

It is understood that a kossid has been sent to the native regiments at Dinapore, with a letter from some men of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment, requesting the men at Dinapore to support them in raising a disturbance. Measures should be taken without delay to trace this letter, and, if possible, to secure the kossid.

The Mutinous Jemadar Salickram Sing.

This native officer of the 70th Regiment N. I. was brought to trial for having begun a mutiny and excited others to join in a meeting in the regiment to which he belonged, in the following instances :—

1st. In having at Barrackpore, on the evening of the 5th March 1857, in presence of Issuree Sing Havildar of the Light Company, addressed Jamadar Sewbuccus Sing of the Light Company, 70th Regiment N. I., in words to the following effect :—" My only hope is in you—what do you say ? the sepoys may bite the new cartridges if they like, but I will not bite them ;" thereby endeavouring to persuade the said Jamadar and Havildar, to combine with him in resistance to lawful authority.

2nd. In having at Barrackpore, on the evening of the same day, endeavoured to persuade the men of his Company to disobey the order they had received to thatch their huts without delay ; informing them that they need be in no hurry

in thatching their huts, as there would shortly be a disturbance, thereby exciting the men to resist authority.

3rd. In having at Barrackpore on the evening of the 8th March 1857, had a meeting of non-commissioned officers and sepoys of his regiment, at his hut in the lines of the 1st Company, 70th Regt. N. I. in breach of the standing orders of the army and of the regiment.

Second Charge.—For conduct unbecoming an officer in having made no report to his Commanding Officer of any intended disturbance, although he informed the men that disturbance was intended, as set forth in the second instance of the 1st charge.

The Jemadar was convicted of the charges and sentenced to dismissal which was carried into effect.

STATEMENT OF DURRIOU SING, JEMADAR, 34TH REGIMENT N. I.

On the 26th of January, there was a halt of the three Companies which went to Chittagong, at Calcutta, near the fort; Subadar Major Ram Lall, of my regiment, was on guard at the Lieutenant Governor's at Allipore. On that day the guard was relieved and returned to Barrackpore. The Subadar Major Ram Lall and Subadar Muddeh Khan, and Subadar Lalla Gopal, and Jamadar Lalla Gunness sent for the moonshee of the regiment, and had a letter written and sent off to Rajah Maun Singh. Ram Lall Subadar Major came to my guard which was at the treasury on the day that the guards were relieved. He arrived about ten o'clock and remained till twelve talking in a treasonable manner, loud enough for all the men to hear; telling them what they were to do, and that he was going off to Barrackpore, and could not remain there to conduct matters. On my guard, there was a Havildar, Peer Ally, who used to go to Subadar Muddeh Khan, who commanded the mint guard to read with him. Peer Ally came to me and awoke me on the night of the 26th January, and told me an order had come to get ready my guard. I sent two men—sepoys Gopal Ram Light Company, and Chunder Sukul or Tewary Grenadier Company—round to tell all the guards to be on the alert. Muddeh Khan sent word to me to say that if there was any noise in the fort to let him know. From that day Subadar Muddeh Khan is in the habit of abusing me. After we arrived here about the 10th or 11th of February I went up to see Capt. Drury, commanding 8th Company; and on my return saw Muddeh Khan Subadar crying,

On the 14th February Muddeh Khan sent Havildar Peer Ally to me to ask if I had told any thing when at the Sahib's bungalow. I found great difficulty in making my communication; Capt. Drury would not listen to me; and when I went to the Colonel's, Colonel Wheler, he would not listen to me, because I did not come from Capt. Drury. Then I went on duty to Ishapore and told the sahib there; since that I fell ill; the Subadar Major, and Mooktar Persaud Havildar, formerly Drill Havildar, are trying to destroy me; I am afraid to leave my hut.

Q. How do you know these persons sent for the Moonshee and wrote a letter to Raja Maun Sing?—*A.* Peer Ally Havildar was my informant.

Q. Do you know if a regular communication was carried on by them with Rajah Maun Sing?—*A.* I only know it from hearing it from Peer Ally.

Q. What part was your guards to take in the arrangements on the 26th January?—*A.* We were to remain on the alert.

Q. What treasonable thing did Subadar Major Ramlall say?—*A.* He talked about the cartridges and said he would not serve any longer, and some sepoys said the same.

Q. What arrangements did the Subadar say were going on?—*A.* He did not say what arrangements were made, but that he would not bite the cartridges, and the same sepoys said the same, and that arrangements would be made. I understand that he was going up to Barrackpore and would then make arrangements, and a place was fixed upon.

Q. Were the sepoys aware that unusual precautions were taken in the Fort?—*A.* Yes, a sepoy came out and told us that precautions were made, and that Europeans were posted at the gates.

Q. Have you heard what would have been attempted if these precautions had not been taken? *A.* Subadar Major Ram Lall would have taken the fort. I heard afterwards on the 14th February, that it was the intention on the 26th January, if the Subadur Major had not been relieved from the Lieutenant Governor's guard, with the aid of the three Companies that were on the way to Chittagong, and with the assistance that was to have been received from the King of Oude to have taken the fort. Muddeh Khan, commanding the Mint guard and the Subadar Major, were the ringleaders of this conspiracy. I heard afterwards that all the guards were to join.

Q. How did you hear this?—*A.* Peer Ally told me that he had overheard the Subadar Major and Muddeh Khan, Gunness Tewarry and Mooktar Persad talking about it.

Q. How were the king of Oude's people to assist?—*A.* By all his men joining. All the four regiments were here to join, also the Calcutta native militia.

Q. Did you hear how the troops were to be rewarded?—*A.* Their pay was to be increased to Rs. ten a month. It was the common talk in lines. I heard it mentioned too on the 6th February and on the 5th at the meeting at the parade.

Q. Have you heard what caused the abandonment of the design on the 26th?—*A.* I afterwards heard that a rumour had been sent up to Barrackpore to tell them that the authorities were on the alert in the Fort, and that Maddeh Khan had said that I had spoilt the plan by sending my two men to warn the guards in town to be on the alert. The sepoy came from the Fort, and I believe from the authorities. The design would have been attempted if the Soubadar had not been relieved from the Lieutenant Governor's guard.

Tampering with the Guard at the Calcutta Mint.

Statement of Subadar Muddeh Khan, 34th Regt. N. I.

At about the time of half past 10 o'clock on the night of the 10th March 1857, I was sitting on my charpoy, reading. These two sepoys, (Boodelal Tewarey and Bahadoor Sing, both of the 4th Company 2nd Regiment Native Infantry, Grenadiers,) came up to me. I said to them where do you come from, and who are you? This sepoy (Boodelol) said I have come from the fort and from the men off duty on the reserve guard. I said, well—the sepoy, the one who was speaking, said,—"At 12 o'clock the Calcutta Militia is coming into the fort and do you also bring the Mint guard at that time into the fort; the Governor General is going up to Barrackpore at 10 o'clock, and after taking possession of the magazine, there will be some fighting." I was angry and told him to be silent, saying hold your tongue, you rascal, how can you say such improper things. I said get out of this. They went to the door of the guard room, and again stopped, I called out for the naick of the guard, Allah-oo-deen, and told him to place them in confinement and place an extra sentry over them. I gave orders that no one should be allowed to come near to them, or speak to them. They remained all night in confinement, and next morning I sent them off with a naick and four, with the Havildar, who goes to make the daily report to the Town Major. When they were being taken off with the guard, they both joined their hands and begged to be pardoned. I said I have no power, I cannot pardon such an act.

Minute by the Commander-in-Chief.

Death would be the appropriate punishment for the crime of which the prisoners have been convicted.

There is none of which a soldier can be guilty, which more imperatively calls for the severest sentence which can be awarded by a Court martial, but fourteen years of disgraceful labor may be to some severer than death; and the Commander-in-Chief will not therefore call for a revision of the sentence. He is disposed to believe that many of the native officers who composed the Court would agree with him in this view, and he therefore has unhesitatingly approved and confirmed their award. The miserable fate which the prisoners have brought upon themselves will excite no pity in the breast of any true soldiers.

The Commander-in-Chief has noticed with satisfaction the conduct of Subadur Muddeh Khan, who when the prisoners first dared to speak to him of mutiny at once ordered them into confinement and reported the circumstance without delay. It is in this prompt manner that the least approach to mutiny should invariably be met, and General Anson will have much pleasure in bringing the Subadar's behaviour on the occasion in question to the favorable notice of Government.

Farther proceedings at Barrackpore.

Major-General Hearsey to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Barrackpore, March 18, 1857.

Having received the reports from Brigadier Grant, and the officers commanding regiments at the station, that the native commissioned officers warned on Court-martial duty at Calcutta, had left this cantonment, I ordered the brigade to parade in contiguous quarter-distance columns for my inspection; and having received their salute, I addressed them, and told them to call to mind what I had said to them on a former occasion, viz., that men of bad character had got amongst them, and were endeavouring to mislead them ; that two of such men in the 2nd Grenadiers had been detected at Calcutta, who had tried, by lies, to induce the Subadar of the 34th Native Infantry, and his guard, to quit their post; but that officer was not to be deceived, and had seized and confined the two offenders, reporting to superior authority the whole circumstance the next morning, and that these two sepoys were now under trial for mutiny. I again bade them beware of such characters, who endeavoured to take the bread from the mouths of good sepoys by making them the instruments of their bad designs.

I then spoke of the discontent still prevailing in regard to the cartridge-paper having grease of any kind in it, and that its glossy appearance had caused this supposition. I explained to them that this shining of the paper was caused by the starch mixed with the pulp of cotton and hemp, to make the paper tough and consistent: that it was to be found in all writing and fine paper made by the natives of Hindoostan. I then took a letter I received many years ago from Maharaja Golaub Sing, from a gold tissue "khareeta," and handed it successively to all the native officers, and bid them open it and look at it, and tell me if it was not more glossy than the cartridge-paper they suspected, and to go into the ranks and show it to their men; having done this, I asked the native officers and men if it was likely a Dogra Brahmin, or Rajpoot, who so strictly protected kine, would himself write on paper that had grease in it of such nature. I then asked them if, during their festivals, they did not make lanterns of oiled and greased paper, and having so oiled and greased it, whether they could get the grease out of it again; nay, that if even one drop of grease fall on paper, it would be spoiled, and any child could detect that part of the paper on which it had fallen. In conclusion, I told them if they did not believe me, I would give them leave to visit the paper-manufactory at Serampore, and watch the process of making it, and they would find that allum and starch of rice, or potatoes, were used, and which gave it the shiny appearance they had so strongly objected to.

I then said this silly view of the manufacture of paper had caused much annoyance to them; and had I not so fully explained to them, on a former occasion, that grease being mixed with it was a falsehood, they might have been misled by designing men; that such had, unfortunately, occurred in the 19th Native Infantry at Berhampore; that that corps had mutinied; had turned out in a disorderly manner at 11 P. M.; had broken open their bells of arms, and had seized their muskets, balls, and powder, and would not lodge them again, though repeatedly ordered to do so by their commanding officer, Colonel Mitchell; that the investigation of this disturbance had been sent to me, and that I had laid it before Government; that Government was exceedingly angry, and it would, in my opinion, order me to disband the regiment: that the 19th Native Infantry had been ordered to march to this cantonment, and if I received orders to disband it, all the troops of this division, within two marches, would be assembled here to witness the disbandment, whether Artillery, Europeans, or Cavalry; and that the ceremony of striking the name and number of the re-

giment (the 19th Native Infantry) from the list of the army would be carried out exactly in the same manner as the old 36th Native Infantry was disbanded at Meerut.

I said, I inform you of this beforehand, because your enemies are trying to make you believe that European troops, with cavalry and artillery, will be sent here suddenly to attack you; these, and such lies, are fabricated and rumoured amongst you to cause trouble; that no European or other troops would come to Barrackpore until ordered to do so by me, and that I would give them timely intelligence of their coming here.

I finished by telling them no fault had been proved against them; then why should they dread being attacked? But that I expected them to obey orders, and keep clear of any act that could be construed into mutiny; that their officers and I myself were open to all representations made in a proper manner; that their caste and religious prejudices were safe under my protection, and that any endeavour to interfere with such would meet with most severe punishment.

I then deployed the columns, opened the ranks to double distance, and rode my horse slowly and quietly up and down them, speaking to the men bearing medals, and asking them in what actions they had earned them. The brigade was then dismissed in the usual manner to its lines.

Mutiny of the 19th Regt. N. I., at Berhampore.

Lieut.-Col. Mitchell to the Assistant Adjutant General, Barrackpore.

Berhampore, Feb. 27, 1857.

On the 25th, a detachment of European invalids, under the command of Lieut. Ferris, H. M.'s 29th Regt., arrived at this station, bringing with them a guard of one Havildar, one Naick and twelve Sepoys of the 34th N. I., which was relieved the same day by a guard of the same strength from my regiment. The Havildar's party of the 34th N. I. were encamped on the left of our lines about 100 yards yesterday.

Yesterday I ordered parade for this morning for exercise, each man to be served with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition. It is the custom in this regiment to serve out the caps to the men in the afternoon, and the blank cartridges in the morning; the men refused the caps saying there was a doubt how the cartridges were prepared. This information was given to me by my Adjutant between 7 and 8 o'clock. I went down with him to the lines and called upon all the native commissioned officers in front of the quarter guard and explained to

them that the cartridges about to be served out in the morning were made up by the 7th Regiment N. I. upwards of a year ago; and that they had better tell the men of their Companies that those who refuse to obey the orders of their officers, are liable to the severest punishment. The Native Officers said they would speak to the men of their Companies, and they had no doubt every thing would pass off quietly.

I ordered a general parade in the morning of all the troops at the station. Between 10 and 11 o'clock at night, as I was about to sleep, I heard the sound of drums and a shout from the direction of the lines. I dressed immediately, went over to my Adjutant's quarters and directed him to assemble all the officers at my quarters quietly. I then went to Captain Alexander's and directed him to bring his Cavalry as soon as possible into cantonments, and to be ready at some distance on the right of our lines. I then went to the Artillery lines and got the detatchment of Artillery, guns and ammunition ready for immediate action. I must explain that by the time I got to the Adjutant's quarters the Drill Havildar of the regiment was making his way to the Adjutant's quarters. I asked him what the disturbance was in the lines, he said that the regiment had broken open the bells of arms, and had forcibly taken possession of their arms and ammunition, and that they had loaded their muskets. As soon as I got the Cavalry and Artillery ready, I marched down with the Officers to the lines. I found the men in undress, formed in lines and shouting; some among them called out, "do not come on, the men will fire." I loaded the two guns with grape, dismounted some of the troopers and marched down on the men (leaving the guns within range behind) I called a bugler, sounded the officer's call, on which the native Officers and a number of men surrounded us, and I asked them the meaning of all this disturbance. The Native Officers made all kinds of excuses, begged that I would not be violent with the men. I then addressed the men and asked them what they had to complain of. I told them that I had explained to the native officers some days ago that if grease was required to be used for the new cartridges, that I would apply to the Major-General commanding the division, to allow the Pay Havildars of Companies to make what was required for their Companies, the men said they were never told so by the native officers.

I told the officers they must immediately call upon their men to lay down their arms. The Native officers told me the men would not do so in the presence of the guns and cavalry, but if I would withdraw them they would go off quietly to their lines; this was about three o'clock in the morning. I

ordered parade at sun-rise and retired sending the cavalry to their lines, and the guns to the magazine.

This morning at sun-rise I went to parade, the regiment turned out as usual. I inspected the arms and examined the powder; several of the men had not then ten rounds of ammunition in pouch, some had nine rounds and a bullet with the mark of the screw in it, as if a charge had been drawn. This morning was quiet and orderly; after inspection I had the articles of war read to the men, saluted the columns and dismissed the parade. I have ordered a European Court of Inquiry to assemble at the Mess house at eleven o'clock, the proceedings of which I will forward without any delay to you. It is 9 A. M. I have just returned from parade, all is quiet.

The Governor General on Lieut.-Col. Mitchell's proceedings.

A careful perusal of these papers satisfies me, that Lieut. Colonel Mitchell, in dealing with the outbreak of the 19th Regiment N. I., on the 26th of February, did not show the temper and firmness which is required of a Commanding Officer in such circumstances.

I cannot doubt that during the first part of the proceedings, Lieut. Colonel Mitchell was, as some witnesses have testified, very angry. The inconsiderate threat, that if the men did not receive the cartridges he would take them to Burmah or China, where they would die, which is not denied by Lieut. Colonel Mitchell, could not have proceeded from an officer speaking advisedly on a matter in which calmness and self-possession were urgently needed.

But it is especially in the time and manner of withdrawing the Artillery and Cavalry, which he had brought upon the ground for the purpose of compelling to obedience the regiment which had then taken up arms, that Lieut. Colonel Mitchell's gravest error of a want of firmness consists. The evidence upon this point varies somewhat, but not materially.

Lieut. McAndrew, Adjutant of the regiment, thinks that the submission of the sepoys in lodging their arms was simultaneous with the withdrawal of the Artillery.

Captain MacDougall did not see any men lodge their arms; fifty men of his own Company agreed to do so, but they did nothing more than sit down with their arms in their hands.

Captain Manning did not see the arms loaded by the few men of his Company who had them.

Captain Newhouse says that the arms were not loaded until after he saw the torches which accompanied the Artillery move off the ground.

Lieut. Colonel Mitchell's statement is, that he made no compromise with the men, and that before he ordered the guns and Cavalry off, the native officers declared to him that some of the Companies had lodged their arms, and that the rest were doing so.

It is no doubt true, that there was no arranged bargain between Lieut. Colonel Mitchell and his men; but whereas it was his duty to listen to no proposals, and to accept no assurances, until he had satisfied himself, through his European Officers, that every musket in the ranks was laid down, he did yield to representations made on behalf of the regiment in mutiny with arms in its hands, and he did so in order to obtain from them that which he ought to have extracted as an act of obedience. It is impossible not to view the mode in which Lieut. Colonel Mitchell withdrew the coercing force as a triumph to the mutinous sepoys.

Minute by the Governor-General on the Mutiny of the 19th Regt. N. I.

The time is arrived at which it is necessary to place upon record connectedly, the principal facts in the recent conduct of the 19th Regiment of Native Infantry at Berhampore, and the measures adopted, or about to be adopted by the Governor-general in Council, in consequence thereof.

On the 22nd of January last, Captain Wright, one of the officers attached to the School of Musketry at Dum-Dum, reported that a feeling of uneasiness had manifested itself amongst the sepoys regarding the ingredients used in the arsenal for greasing the cartridges of the new Enfield rifle.

Inquiry was immediately made as to the composition of the grease. The tallow used had been supplied by a contractor; and it was ascertained that no sufficient precautions had been taken in the arsenal to insure the absence from it of all matter which might be objectionable to the sepoys. Hereupon, the Government, on the 27th of January, authorized the officer, commanding the depôt, to obtain from the bazar the proper ingredients, and directed that the men themselves should apply the grease to the cartridges. The cartridges to which the grease had been applied were withdrawn, and ungreased cartridges were supplied.

Nothing at this time had been said about the paper of which the new cartridges were made.

This paper is received from England. It is finer than the paper heretofore used for cartridges, is of a lighter colour, and has a glossy surface.

On the 28th of January, Major-General Hearsey, Commanding the Presidency Division, reported that an ill-feeling existed amongst the troops at Barrackpore, and that the sepoys believed that the new paper was greased with the fat of cows and pigs.

Some men of the 2nd Grenadiers having raised objections to the paper, a Court of Inquiry was assembled. The men examined stated that their doubts regarding the paper were caused by its being different in appearance from that which had formerly been used; that when burnt, it gave out a noise and smell as if there were grease in it; and that they objected to use it because it was the general opinion that it was made up with grease.

The paper was sent to the Chemical Examiner for analysis. After a careful examination, Dr. McNamara reported the paper had not been greased, or treated wtih any greasy or oily matter, during or since its manufacture.

Major-General Hearsey explained to the troops at Barrackpore assembled on parade the cause of the glossy appearance of the paper, and that there was no grease in it; and he assured them, apparently with good effect, that there was no intention to lead them to use anything to which they could object.

It having, however, been represented that a messenger had been dispatched from certain men at Barrackpore to the regiments at Dinapore and Berhampore, giving intelligence of what was doing at the first-named station, a communication was made to the officers commanding at Dinapore and Berhampore.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, commanding at Berhampore, replied in a letter dated the 17th of February, that the 19th Native Infantry, the only infantry regiment at that station, had shown no feeling of uneasiness, and that he had explained to the native officers that he would apply to the General Officer commanding the Division to allow the Pay Havildars to prepare the grease required for the new rifles.

It appears by a letter from Colonel Mitchell to Major Ross, that a fortnight before the above date a Brahmin Pay Havildar had brought to his notice the report in circulation, that the Government intended to make the native army use cow's and pig's fat with the ammunition of the new rifles.

On the 26th February, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell ordered the 19th Regiment to parade the following morning for exercise, with fifteen rounds of blank ammunition per man.

It has been the custom in the 19th Regiment to serve out

the percussion cap over night and to give the ammunition to the men in the morning. When the percussion caps were about to be issued, the men refused to receive them, saying that there was some doubt as to how the cartridges were made. This was reported between 7 and 8 P. M. to Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, who immediately went to the lines, sent for the native officers and explained that the cartridges about to be served out had been made up by the 7th Native Infantry about a year before. He then desired the Native officers to tell their men that those who refused to obey their officers were liable to severe punishment.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell says that he ordered a general parade in the morning of all the troops at the station. It appears from the evidence of the Adjutant that on returning from speaking to the native officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell directed him to order Captain Alexander, commanding the 11th Regiment of Irregular Cavalry, to have his regiment on the parade of the 19th at 6 o'clock the following morning; and that the post guns should also be present at the same time.

Between 10 and 11 o'clock the men of the 19th Regiment broke open the bells of arms, took possession of their muskets and ammunition, and carried them to their lines.

On hearing that the men had taken their arms, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell called out the cavalry and the guns at once. When the cavalry arrived on the parade, between 12 and 1 o'clock at night, the men of the 19th rushed out of their lines, shouting, and assembled near their bells of arms.

As soon as the guns were ready, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell proceeded with the officers of the regiment to the parade ground where he found the men in undress but armed, formed in line, and shouting.* Some voices from among the men called out, "Do not come on, the men will fire."

The guns having been loaded, the native officers were called to the front. They made excuses for the men.

After addressing the men Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell told the officers that they must call upon the men to lay down

* This is Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's account in his letter of the 27th of February, but it appears from the evidence before the Court of Inquiry that the men had assembled without any regular order: that after Colonel Mitchell's arrival the officers were ordered to separate their Companies and to call the roll, and that they tried, but were unsuccessful.

their arms immediately. The native officers said that the men would not do so in the presence of the Artillery and Cavalry, but that if these were withdrawn they would go quietly to their lines. The guns and Cavalry were accordingly ordered away, and the men dispersed to their lines. This took place about 3 A. M. At 6 o'clock the same morning there was a parade, when the regiment turned out as usual. The men were quiet and orderly. The arms and ammunition were examined. It was found that some of the men had in their pouches only nine rounds of ammunition, the proper complement being ten rounds; whilst with others who had their ten rounds complete, one of the rounds bore the mark of the worm in the bullet, as if it had been drawn from the musket.

On the night of the 27th the men, instead of sleeping in their lines, assembled round the bells of arms. They were quiet and orderly, but seemed afraid to leave the neighbourhood of their arms.

The regiment was paraded on the morning of the 28th, and the men were asked what objections they had to the cartridges. They said they were doubtful whether the cartridges were not greased. Several cartridges were produced and opened before the men, the paper of some being burnt. Among the blank cartridges which had been left at Berhampore by the 7th regiment of Native Infantry, some were made of a paper differing somewhat in colour and appearance from that of the rest. With one kind, of a brownish tint, the men were satisfied, but the other they mistrusted.

The paper used for the last eight years has been made at Serampore. The cartridges left by the 7th Native Infantry were all made of this paper.

The reason assigned by the men for arming themselves, is that they were afraid that the Cavalry, and the guns, and European troops were coming; and they said they were prepared to die rather than lose caste.

On the 5th of March a petition addressed by the men of the 19th to Major-General Hearsey, was received by that officer. In this, they solcited permission for the men to make up their ammunition as formerly. This petition was submitted to Government, but was returned to the Major-General, in order that Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell might be called upon for any observations he might have to offer on the statements made by the men. Some of the statements bore upon Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's conduct towards them.

Upon the whole, the petition contains a fair account of what took place on the occasion of the outbreak, the main points being borne out by the evidence at the Court of Inquiry.

It appears that on the 25th of February, the day before the outbreak, a party of European convalescents arrived at Berhampore, accompanied by a Havildar's guard from the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, at Barrackpore. This guard was relieved by a detachment from the 19th Regiment. Some time previously, another party from the 34th Regiment had reached the station in charge of Government stallions. It was about the time of the arrival of this first guard that the subject of cartridges was first talked about. Subadar Kurreem Bux states that the doubt which the men felt about the cartridges was confirmed on the arrival of the second guard with the convalescents.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell denies that he made use of the expression attributed to him by the petitioners, viz., "If you will not take the cartridges, I will take you to Burmah, where, through hardship, you will all die." He says that he cautioned the men against the serious consequences of refusing to obey orders. The Adjutant, in his evidence before the Court, says that Colonel Mitchell told the native officers that he would parade the regiment in the morning; that the officers of Companies should serve out the cartridges to the men according as their names stood on the rolls; and that the first man who refused to take the cartridges should be tried by a Court-martial.

Subadar Kurreem Bux says, that Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell told them that the men must take the cartridges, "otherwise they would be sent to China and Burmah, where they would all die;" and he testifies to what was reported by the Adjutant as having been said of the cartridges being distributed by the officers on parade.

Subadar Major Sheik Murad Bux says the men were threatened with Rangoon and China: and gives the same evidence as the other respecting the distribution of the cartridges by the officers.

Two other witnesses, Doolum Sing, Pay Havildar, and Bejar Sing, Havildar-Major, repeat what has been said about the cartridges being distributed by the officers, but say nothing about China and Rangoon. With reference to the expression attributed to Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell,—"This is a very bad business; we don't fear to die, and will die here;"—that officer observes that he does not remember, exactly, the words which he used; but they were to the effect that "we the officers of the regiment, were prepared to do our duty, should the men of the regiment not yield obedience."

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell says that it was not until after the regiment had broken into the khotas and armed themselves, and were in a state of mutiny, that he called out the Artillery and Cavalry.

The Artillery and Cavalry were ordered to parade at 6 o'clock the following morning, on Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell's return from the lines between 7 and 8 P. M. The Cavalry lines are distant about three miles from the lines of the Infantry.

Between 10 and 11 o'clock P. M., when it must have been known that the Cavalry and Artillery were to be present in the morning, the men broke open the bells of arms and took their arms and ammunition with them to their tents. On hearing this Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell ordered out the Artillery and Cavalry at once; and it was on the Cavalry reaching the parade, that the men ran out of their lines to the parade armed.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell says that it was only when those four companies had given up their arms, and the rest were doing so, that he ordered away the Artillery and Cavalry.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell feels certain that the mutinous proceedings did not arise from anything that took place on parade; but that the men were ripe for an outbreak, owing to the communications which they had received for some time from their comrades in regiments at Barrackpore. These are the principal features of this unfortunate event.

With respect to the share borne in it by Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, I think it essential to a right judgment of that officer's conduct that further investigation should be ordered, and I propose that directions be given to Major-General Hearsey to this effect, with the view to the insititution of a Court of Inquiry of Field Officers, so soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell shall reach the Presidency. The demeanor of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell to his men, and the circumstances under which the Artillery and Cavalry were withdrawn, has not been satisfactorily established.

But as to the conduct of the regiment, the case is simple. From the moment when the main facts of the outbreak were established, it was clear that no penalty short of disbandment would meet the case. Additional guilt might possibly, by closer inquiry, be fixed upon individuals as instigators or ringleaders, and to these additional punishment might be found to be due; but the open refusal of the whole regiment to obey orders, the seizure of arms with violence, and a tumultuous but combined resistance of the authority of its officers with arms loaded, is an offence for which any punishment less than dismissal from the service of the State would be inadequate.

Mutiny so open and defiant cannot be excused by any sensitiveness of religion or caste, by fear of coercion, or by the seductions and deceptions of others.

It must be met promptly and unhesitatingly, and without the delay of a day more than may be necessary.

Accordingly, it has been resolved by the Governor-General in Council, that the 19th Regiment shall be disbanded immediately, and regard being had to the situation of Berhampore relatively to other military stations, and to the actual distribution of regiments, especially European regiments, it is determined that the disbandment shall take place at the head-quarters of the Presidency Division.

The 19th Regiment has therefore received orders to come to Barrackpore, and is on its march. Its arrival may be expected on the 31st instant, and I propose that instructions should now be sent to Major-General Hearsey to disband it as soon as it shall reach the parade-ground of the station.

I propose that this shall be done in the presence of all the troops of all arms which are within two days' march of the station.

There are many indications that the seeds of insubordination, which have grown to a head in the open mutiny of the 19th Regiment, were first sown in some of the regiments now quartered at Barrackpore. Unfortunately the acts of incendiarism, and the tendency to insubordination, which during the last two months have prevailed at Barrackpore, have not been traced to the individual agents; but whoever these may be, I believe that no more effective warning can be given to them of the danger to which their present courses expose themselves and their comrades, than that the 19th Regiment, in the guilt of which there is reason to believe they have a large share, should receive its sentence and its punishment before their eyes.

I anticipate no show of resistance or disaffection from selecting Barrackpore as the scene of the measure.

The presence of a considerable force of Artillery now at Dum-Dum, of the Body Guard, and of the main portion of two European regiments, one of which, the 84th, has been brought from Rangoon for the purpose, will be sufficient to repress any tendency of the kind, even if the bad feeling to which I have referred were much more widely spread than I believe it to be. I propose that the accompanying General Order be read to the 19th Regiment, and to the troops assembled at Barrackpore, upon the occasion of the disbandment of that regiment by the Major-General, commanding the Presidency Division.

Major-General Hearsey to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Barrackpore, March 31, 1857.

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Governor-General, that agreeably to the instructions received from you, I this morning paraded all the troops now at this station at gun-fire or at a quarter after 5 A. M., and then, accompanied by Major Ross and my Aid-de-camp, Captain J. Hearsey, proceeded about one mile on the road towards Barraset, to meet the 19th Regiment Native Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, as it marched into this cantonment; and placing myself between the advanced guard and head of the column, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell to proceed towards the parade-ground; and on reaching the open space to the right of the body-guard, the regiment from sections was formed into open column of Companies, which were closed to quarter distance; and in that formation were brought in front of the two field-batteries of Artillery, and then wheeled to the left so as to face them at about eighty yards distance.

I then made a short address to the 19th Regiment in Hindoostanee, informing the men and native officers of the reason of their being ordered to this the head-quarters of the Presidency Division of the army, and directed Lieutenant Chamier, Interpreter and Quarter-master, 34th Regiment Native Infantry, to read out in a loud voice the translation he had prepared of the orders of Government for the disbandment of the corps.

This being done, Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell solicited me to permit the native officers to address a petition to Government. I replied I could receive no petition until the regiment had laid down its arms, and obeyed such orders as I gave it.

The ranks were then opened, and the order distinctly given by Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell to pile arms. This being done, the next order, to take off their belts and hang them on their bayonets, was given, and immediately complied with. The colours were then brought to the front of the column (encased), a pile of three muskets put in front, and the colours placed resting on them. The order was then given, "Left face (to the open ranks), file to your left—march," and instantly complied with. The men having gone about 150 paces from their arms, the column was halted and fronted, ranks closed, and the tumbril, with pay, was brought to its front, and orders given to Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell for the native officers and men to be paid up to this date.

I then made known to the native officers of the regiment,

any petition they chose to send to me would be forwarded by me to Government, but I could give them no hope. I told the men that Government, though it had punished them by summary dismissal from the service, did not wish to disgrace them by stripping them of their uniform, but all clothing belonging to the State, agreeably to the Clothing Regulation, must be given up. This evidently affected them. I continued, "Since you have behaved so well and so penitently during your march from Berhampore, and since the occurrence for which you have now been punished, I have further to inform you, the Government, though firm to correct, was merciful and just, and that the hackery hire and hire of cattle for their journey, and also the hire of the boats that had brought down their families and heavy baggage from Berhampore, would be defrayed by Government. This gracious act was keenly felt, and they loudly bewailed their fate, many men saying the regiment had been misled (and as I understood) by the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, on which corps they vowed vengeance.

Whilst their accounts were being settled, and the men receiving their pay, I narrowly inspected the troops that had marched in yesterday.

The Government orders disbanding the 19th Native Infantry were read by the Interpreters to the 2nd Grenadiers, the 34th Native Infantry, the 43rd and 70th, in their formation of contiguous close columns, at quarter distance. I then addressed this brigade pointing out the mercy and justice of the Government, and pressing on their attention that no attempt had been made from any quarter to injure their caste, or interfere in their religious prejudices in any way; that the 19th Native Infantry, in which there were 409 Brahmins and 150 Rajhpoots, were now sent to their homes, paid up to the uttermost farthing of their claims, and were at liberty to visit any shrine they chose, or to go and worship at the temples of the villages where they were born, and where their fathers had worshipped before them, without hindrance or molestation, making a strong proof that the reports so industriously circulated of the intention of Government to interfere with their religion was a base falsehood, intended by their enemies to ruin their prospects in life, and to take the bread from the mouths of their parents, the widows of their lost companions, and from their own wives and children. I again pointed out to them that our Government and their officers were Christians of "the Book," and that no adult person could be baptized to our system of religious faith, but by his own full consent, and then only after being strictly examined in the truths written in "the Book," we put our faith and trust on.

I was listened to most attentively.

This discourse I repeated a second time to the Barrackpore Brigade before it was dismissed.

The 19th Native Infantry was paid up by 20 minutes to 9 A. M.

The morning was cool with a fresh breeze. I had during the night made every arrangement for five companies of Her Majesty's 84th Foot to encamp on the other side of the Ganges, at Ghyretty, there being no encamping ground at Pultah on this side. A gharree was sent on with tents, &c., and provisions had been also dispatched; a fatigue party of fifty men, and a large body of khalasees, had proceeded to have their camp ready.

Captain Hearsey showed these men the road, and had returned from Pultah just as the 19th and their escort left the parade here; so I hope there has been no unnecessary exposure to the sun. The Europeans were directed to take off their stocks, and were in a light white linen marching dress. The men of the disbanded regiment, the 19th Native Infantry, cheered me, and wished me long life as they marched off, and I returned the compliment, making them promise me they would behave properly on their way to their homes, and I forbidding them, under severe punishment, going to Calcutta, or returning to this cantonment.

The body-guard will wait at Pultah Ghat until the 19th Native Infantry cross the river. The officers of the 19th have been sent with them to see them safe across; and I have directed all their baggage to be sent on to Chinsurah, from whence they will be permitted to disperse to their homes, and proceed to the different shrines of Hindoo worship, the large number of Brahmins are desirous of visiting.

All has ended to my complete satisfaction, and either tomorrow or on Thursday the force sent here will return to Chinsurah, Dum-Dum, and Calcutta, as soon as arrangements can be made for it to do so.

In making this report I hope all I have done will meet with the approbation of Government.

Translation of Major General Hearsey's Address to the 19th Regiment N. I.

After he had drawn the Regiment up at quarter distance column of Companies, in front of the Battery, the General addressed them as follows:—

19th, Officers and Sepoys, listen; your regiment has been ordered to this station of Barrackpore to be disbanded, and you must instantly obey the orders that will be given to you, and then you will there be paid up and discharged the service

Lieutenant (Quarter-master and Interpreter) Chamier, 34th N. I., was then directed to read an excellent translation of the orders of Government on the subject, dated February 1857, which he did with a loud voice.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, commanding 19th N. I., then came forward, and said the Native officers, and men of the regiment had solicited him to give in a petition to lay before Government. The Major General instantly in a loud voice informed them, that no petition could be accepted; nothing would be listened to until they had obeyed the orders that would be given to them.

Colonel Mitchell, the officer whom they had disobeyed at Berhampore, was then directed by the Major General to give the order for the column of Companies to take open order; it was instantly complied with, and then "order arms." The next order "pile arms"—was given; the men had to make a slight turn to do this, and to fix their bayonets in each pile of three muskets; this had an appearance of hesitation, but there was really none. The next order was to take off cross belts and hang them on the bayonets. This took a little time, but was complied with without delay. Then, "Ranks Left Face," "File to your left," "Quick March." The whole column of men then marched from between the piles of muskets, with the belts hanging on them, and moved away 150 paces from their arms. The word was given to halt, front, and close ranks. The treasure tumbril with their pay in it, was placed under the charge of the 43rd Regiment N. I. A guard from that regiment accompanied it to the front of the column of the disarmed 19th N. I., when General Hearsey addressed the humbled and penitent regiment as follows:—

"Native officers and men:—The Government you have served is just. I am now ready to receive your petition, and lay it before the Governor General. I cannot give you any hope; but I will make known that you are penitent. I have always been your friend as well as your Commander, and in consequence of your good behaviour since the night of the 26th Feb. when you were misled by *your* enemies and committed mutiny—the night on which the act of securing your arms, and standing with those in defiance of your officers; since that night you have behaved well. In consequence the just Government has been merciful; you have been punished; no vindictiveness has been shown; you are permitted to leave this parade with your uniform, and thus your honor as soldiers is left you, though this awful calamity has befallen you. In consequence of your good behaviour on the march down from Berhampore, I am directed by Government to inform you, that the expences incurred in carriage by land of

your baggage, and in the hire of the boats on which some heavy baggage and families of some of you have been sent, will be paid by Government. (On hearing this, the men were visibly affected, and blessed the Government). By this act you well know, that a just and stern Government knows how to be merciful in its anger.

You will be paid the uttermost farthing that is due to you. You must settle with the purveyors of the regiment the sums you owe to them. The clothing, the property of the State, must be given up agreeably to the Clothing Regulations, as laid down in the Regulations as when sepoys are dismissed the service. You will be escorted by five Companies of H. M.'s 84th Regiment and the Body Guard of Cavalry to Pultah Ghaut, and there be crossed over on steamers and by ferry boats to Ghyretty. All your European Officers will go with you. Tents to shelter you have been sent. The Surgeon and Native Doctor, and the Hospital establishment of your *late* regiment will accompany you—for I am told cholera has broken out in your ranks, and every care will be taken of the sick, for a just Government is not vindictive, and is careful of its subjects. You will be permitted to stay at Ghyretty a day or two, until your officers can see all accounts properly settled; then you will go on six miles to Chinsurah, from whence you will be permitted to go to your homes to *worship* at the temples where your fathers worshipped before you, and those Brahmins or other Hindoos who wish to do so, can visit the Thackoor at Juggernauth, Gya, or any temples deemed holy by them. It is thus I give the lie to the infamous reports that the Government wish to interfere with your caste or your religion."

The men were then paid, in presence of their officers. When Colonel Mitchell reported all paid, he was directed to cause his European officers and men to fall in quarter distance column of Companies, and move off at the sound of the bugle. Escorted as above stated towards Pultah Ghaut, the whole of the men then cheered Major General Hearsey and wished him long life, vowing future vengeance against the men of the 34th N. I., who had taken their bread from the mouths of their families and themselves, wherever they might in future meet them. The General wished them God-speed to their homes, and made them promise to behave like orderly and good soldiers on their way home, if they expected their petitions to be listened to by Government; which they loudly promised saying, they would not disgrace the number and *name* of their old regiment, and would prove to Government they were not ungrateful.

Officers and men wept, and the General was observed to pass the sleeve of his jacket once or twice across his eyes.

Translation of the speech made by Major General Hearsey to the Barrackpore Brigade.

The Brigade was drawn in contiguous quarter distance columns right in front, thus :—

70th N. I., 34th N. I., 43rd N. I.,

2nd Grenadiers.

After the translated order of Government had been clearly and distinctly read to the Brigade, by the Interpreter and Quarter Master, directing the disbandment of the 19th N. I., and the reasons for such punishment being inflicted, Major General Hearsey galloped down from the ground where the 19th were being paid, and pulled up close to the centre of the front of the contiguous columns, and with a loud and sonorous voice addressed the Native Officers and men in the following words in Hindostanee :—

Native officers and sepoys of the Brigade, listen, hear, what I am about to say to you.

You have now witnessed the just punishment inflicted on the 19th Regt. N. I., by the Government of the State for mutiny. The men of that Regiment at midnight seized their arms, assembled on their parade, defied their officers, and disobeyed the orders given to them.

You all know this was mutiny; you have sworn under your colors obedience to the State and to its officers. The oath thus sworn by the men of the 19th N. I. was broken by them. You all know, both great and small, that you are the servants of orders, "Hookum ke Nokur," and rules and articles have been drawn up and are constantly read to you in which the penalty of disobedience of orders, is plainly laid down.

If I, your General, disobeyed the orders of Government, I should suffer death; in the like manner, will you suffer if you are guilty of that crime—or if you mutiny or disobey the orders of your superior officers; and most assuredly will you suffer death, if you raise up your hand to strike your officers or even threaten to do so. It is plainly written in the regulations for the better carrying on of discipline in the army, that, if a man draws his sword, or offers to draw it, or in any way threatens his superior officer in the execution of his duty, such man will be shot or suffer *such death* as may be awarded him by Court Martial. Men, listen to these my words, and let them be imprinted on your hearts, so that you may never forget them.

You have heard lies without number regarding the wish of Government and of your officers to take your caste, to force *you, the Hindoos of this army, to be Christians;* and you have

been so foolish as to give credit to this vile calumny; see now, and having seen, believe. Has the 19th N. I., have the 409 Brahmins, 250 Rajpoots, 150 Mohammedans and other Hindoos of inferior castes who served in that Regiment, have they had their religious opinions in any way meddled with? No, the British Government has never interfered with your caste notions, has *never forced the Hindoo* to turn from the religion of his forefathers. The Mahommedan sovereigns of Delhi used to do so in former times. They served Brahmins and Rajpoots, and forced them to drink broths made from cow's flesh, nay forced cow's flesh down their throats. Some of the finest soldiers who ever served under me (and even now there are some in the 2nd Irregular Cavalry), are returned on the Rolls of that Regiment as Mussulman Rajpoots, whose ancestors had been served in this manner by order of the former Kings of Delhi.

I once more tell you, *we* the Government of India and the officers you serve under, *are Christians of the Book*, we do not adore idols or pictures, we read the words of our Saviour, and worship the God who sent him to lead us from the paths of sin. I tell you, *no adult person can become a Christian of the Book*, without he has studied and become proficient in the tenets of *that book*, and then he must go before a Clergyman and be strictly examined as to his knowledge of those tenets ere the Clergyman will dare to baptize him. If the Clergyman so far forgot his duty, he (the Clergyman) would be scoffed at, and turned out of his calling. I now again tell you no person is permitted to force you to become Christians, nay I now tell you, if any *officer* or other person dare in this cantonment to *annoy you by preaching to you* on these subjects, to come and complain to me, your General, and I will punish him if he is an officer, and if he is a stranger, I will send him to Calcutta where the Government will deal most severely with him.

You see before you the 19th Regt. now disbanded, taking their pay, and I have told the high caste Brahmins and Rajpoots, they will be at liberty to go to the shrine, *i. e.* Thakoordwaras of Juggernath, Gyah, or any other temples they please, unmolested, that those who return to their homes will find the temples or Sewallah and places where their forefathers worshipped, *i. e.*, have made their poojah, and the statues, dolls of Ram, Vishnu, Setah, Kalee and Purbutee untouched, and can prostrate themselves, dursunkur, there whenever and however they please.

Will this not convince you that the Government is free from any intention to destroy or interfere with your religious opini-

ons? Having now heard these words from your General who has served with your fathers and yourselves for the last fifty years, and who has fought and bled with them, and witnessed and shared in their deeds of valour, who never deceived them, who has studiously avoided interfering with their caste or religious opinions, and reprimanded those who from ignorance had unfortunately done so! believe him, let his words be engraven on your hearts, obey orders as you have sworn to do, and the State, the just, kind, considerate Government you serve under, that pensions you when you are old, that supports your parents, and the widows of your deceased companions who fall in action or die on foreign service, and your orphans, will continue to do so to you, and to those of your relatives who survive you.

Minute by the Governor-General of India in Council.

This report, by Major-General Hearsey, of the proceedings which took place yesterday at Barrackpore, on the occasion of the disbandment of the 19th Regiment Native Infantry, will be read with anxious interest.

That the measure has been carried through without disturbance of any kind is a matter for which to be deeply thankful.

That the effect of it will be most salutary, and that many misguided men will be recalled by it to a sense of their duty, and to a proper spirit of subordination, I have no doubt. Short as is the time since the determination of the Government to disband the 19th Regiment has been generally known, I have already heard from officers in command that such a change is at work.

If it should be found to be in the power of the Government of India to follow up the example of the 19th Regiment, by bringing home to the several offenders the very grave crimes against the Government, and against their officers, with which certain native officers and sepoys of the 2nd, 34th, and 70th Regiments of Native Infantry have been recently charged, and by awarding to these men promptly the full punishment due to them, much will have been done to arrest the spirit of mistrust and insubordination which undoubtedly has been actively spread of late in some of the military stations of Bengal, but which may, I believe, still be kept within limits, and eradicated, by firm and temperate treatment.

I am sure that my honorable colleagues will join me in the opinion that Major-General Hearsey has discharged his difficult task in a manner which well deserves the thanks of the

Governor-General in Council. With the firmness of a soldier executing imperative instructions, he has shown towards the men who received their sentence from him a kindliness of feeling and a consideration the effect of which upon them was, I am assured, very apparent. This, combined with good judgment, a thorough knowledge of the character and feelings of those with whom he had to deal, and unusual familiarity with their language, has enabled Major-General Hearsey to carry out, with perfect success, one of the most trying duties which can be imposed upon a Commander.

I submit that the entire approbation and cordial thanks of the Governor-General in Council should be conveyed to Major-General Hearsey.

Petition.

To the Major-General commanding the Barrackpore Division.

The humble Petition of the faithful Officers and Sepoys of the discharged 19th Regiment Native Infantry, from Pultah Ghat.

Sheweth,

That your humble petitioners' regiment has been raised nearly 100 years, since which time no disturbance has occurred, they have always done their duty faithfully, and have marched on service wherever they have been ordered; but, unfortunately, through the advice of some wicked men, on the 26th February, the regiment committed a very great crime, for which the Government issued the following order: "That they were to march immediately from Berhampore to Barrackpore." Accordingly we marched and arrived at Barrackpore on the 31st March, 1857, where we were punished by receiving our discharge before the whole force, after which we confessed our fault to the Major-General, and also before our arrival at Barrackpore we agreed, in case we were pardoned, to become a general service regiment, and go wherever we were ordered.

Should our fault be pardoned through your kindness, we hope to be re-embodied and accounted as faithful servants, because this is our first fault, and the Government may be kind enough to pardon it.

We shall ever pray for your welfare.

March 31, 1857.

Translation of Major-General Hearsey's answer to the above.

I have received the petition of the officers and sepoys of the

late 19th Native Infantry, and understand all that you have written; but until you can give me full information of the rank and names of those people who have misled you, either through bribes or any other way, and can prove and confirm it by good testimony, I cannot intercede for you. If you do so, as I say, I will intercede with the Government as much as lies in my power. But Government will do as it seems best; and in my judgment, without doubt, some one has misled you. You ought not to hide the names and rank of, or be on friendly terms with those who have ruined your livelihood, because they have brought you and your families to the dust. I give you this advice as I feel for you; you can do what you like; I can neither do or say any thing more.

Attack on Lieutenant Baugh at Barrackpore.

(Statement of Shaik Phultoo Sepoy, 34th N. I.)

The Sepoy Mungul Pandy, about 4 o'clock P. M. was straggling backwards and forwards in front of the quarter-guard armed with a musket and sword; he had on his red jacket and regimental cap, endeavouring to incite the men of the regiment to mutiny, saying that the guns and Europeans had arrived for the purpose of slaughtering them. Some one told the Serjeant Major of this, and he came towards the quarter guard asking the Jemadar of that guard where Mungul Pandy was, and why he did not confine him; Mungul Pandy then fired at the Serjeant Major, and missed him; he re-loaded; the Serjeant Major being alarmed ran into the quarter-guard, and asked the Jemadar why he did not arrest Mungul Pandy, who had re-loaded his musket, and told him to send and let the Adjutant know what had occurred on the parade ground. Shortly after this the Adjutant on horse back arrived at the quarter guard and asked the Jemadar where the sepoy with the loaded musket was, and why he had not secured him; the Jemadar did not tell him where the man was, but I pointed him out; Mungul Pandy was then standing a little way in front of the quarter guard. Just as I spoke, Mungul Pandy fired at the Adjutant and wounded his horse so that he fell; I assisted the Adjutant to get clear of his horse. The Adjutant then pulled out a pistol from his holster, said that man will kill me, he is loading again; I said, you will not be allowed to be killed, for I am with you. The Adjutant then with pistol in his hand rushed towards Mungul Pandy, who, on seeing this did not finish loading his musket, and commenced retreating. The Serjeant Major and I followed the Adjutant

as quick as we could. The Adjutant then within twenty paces fired at Mungul Pandy, but missed him; when the Adjutant reached him, Mungul Pandy drew his sword and wounded him severely. By this time the Serjeant Major came up, he also was wounded severely; I then came up, and stretched out my hands to stop Mungul Pandy, who was following the Adjutant, and said to him, take care, do not strike the Adjutant. He aimed a blow at the Adjutant's neck which I received on my right hand; I then seized him round the waist with my left arm; the Adjutant and Serjeant Major then got away. I then called out to the quarter-guard to come and make Mungul Pandy a prisoner, and told the Jemadar Issurie Pandy, of the 1st Company who commanded the guard, to send four men, and take him; that I had hold of him and would not allow him to hurt any one; they did not come, but abused me, as also did the Jemadar, and said that if I did not let Mungul Pandy go they would shoot me. Being wounded I was obliged to let him go. While I was holding Mungul Pandy, several men of the quarter-guard followed the Adjutant and Serjeant Major beating them with the butt-end of their muskets; at this time a shot was fired from the direction of the quarter-guard, but I cannot say by whom.

(Statement of Lieutenant Baugh.)

On Sunday week last, at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the Havildar Major of the regiment came to my quarters, and reported that a sepoy of the name of Mungul Pandy, No. 5 Company, had turned out in front of the quarter guard of the regiment, and fired at the Sergeant Major. I told the man to go and report the circumstance to Colonel Wheler; ordered my charger, put on my uniform, and after having put a brace of pistols in the holsters, I galloped down as hard as I could to the regimental quarter-guard. I had scarcely pulled up at the quarter-guard when a shot was fired, and my horse fell under me. As soon as I could disentangle myself, I drew a pistol from my left holster, and on seeing the prisoner in the act of reloading, I fired. He stopped loading. I immediately drew my sword, and rushed in to secure him.

I had proceeded but half way when the prisoner drew a tulwar; I looked back to see where my horse was, intending to get my other pistol, but saw that he was gone, so continued my advance and engaged the prisoner. After a conflict of about perhaps five or eight minutes, during which time I received a sword cut which entirely disabled my left hand, from the prisoner, also a very deep wound in my neck, and

another on my head; the last, however, I am not certain whether it was a sword cut or proceeded from the butt-end of a musket; a shot was fired close by; it came from the direction of the quarter-guard. On finding myself gradually getting hemmed in, I commenced retreating; during this time, with the exception of Shaick Phultoo, sepoy, Grenadier Company, not a man, either from the regimental quarter-guard or from the lines advanced to my assistance; Shaick Phultoo held the prisoner, and enabled me to make my retreat good. I reached the Sergeant Major's bungalow of the 23rd Light Infantry, and from thence was conveyed by Captain Wiggins to Dr. Allen's, to have my wounds dressed.

Major-General Hearsey to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Barrackpore, April 9, 1857.

At 10 minutes past 5 P. M. of the 29th of March ultimo one of the orderlies on duty at my quarters, a sepoy of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, ran to the portico of my house to inform me that all the sepoys of the Brigade were turning out on their parades, and men were running in that direction from all quarters of the cantonment. I immediately ordered my horse to be saddled and put on my uniform directing my son to load my revolvers and place them in the holsters of my saddle; and whilst this was being done I went to my desk and wrote two short notes, one addressed to Colonel Reed, commanding Her Majesty's 84th foot at Chinsurah, the other to Colonel Answick, commanding at Dum-Dum, to the purport, that on reciept of those notes, they were instantly to move with the troops at their posts to Barrackpore, for it was my intention, had the Brigade all turned out in a mutinous manner to have taken post in the Governor General's house with the fifty Europeans who were at the Flagstaff ghaut, and with the officers of the force, and any men who might prove true to Government and join us, to have defended that position until relieved or supported. I had just sealed these notes and put them into my pocket to despatch by mounted officers if I should find matters serious on my arrival at the parade ground, when Lieutenant and Adjuant Powell, of the 43rd Regiment Native Infantry, arrived at my quarters on horse back, with his hands and his clothes partly covered with blood, and he informed me that Lieutenant and Adjutant Baugh of the 34th Native Infantry, had been fired upon on the parade of the 34th Native Infantry, and his horse had been shot, and that the Adjutant, Lieutenant Baugh, had been cut

down, as well as the Serjeant Major T. Hewson of that corps, by a sepoy.

Major Matthews, 43rd Native Infantry, the field officer of the week, then came and reported that all the men of the Brigade had assembled in front of their bells of arms. I asked him, "has no attempt been made to secure or shoot down the mutineers?" Major Matthews replied, Lieutenant Colonel Wheler and Lieutenant and Adjutant Drury of the 30th Regiment Native Infantry were on parade, and had gone to the quarter-guard of that Regiment to move with it and secure the mad man. I told him to ride off instantly, and direct Lieutenant Colonel Wheler, he had my orders to shoot the mutinous sepoy, if he made any resistance to his seizure (I have since been told Lieutenant Colonel Wheler could not get the Jemadar, Issuree Pandy, or the men of the guard, to obey him.) I then mounted my horse and accompanied by my two sons, Captain John Hearsey, 30th Regiment N. I., and Lieutenant Andrew Hearsey, 59th regiment N. I., (who is residing with me, being on leave from his regiment under medical certificate) rode as fast as our horses could carry us to the parade ground of the 34th N. I. The Assistant Adjutant General, Major Ross, had just arrived there before me. I saw the whole front of the bells of arms crowded with sepoys in their undress and unarmed, the native officers of the 43rd regiment N. I. with them, and endeavouring to keep them in order. The men of the 34th N. I. had also turned out unarmed to the right and rear of their quarter-guard.

I asked Major Ross what was the matter, and was answered by many officers who were standing there, viz, Brigadier Grant, Major Matthews, and others (some were mounted and many on foot) that a sepoy of the 34th N. I. had cut down Lieutnant Baugh, and the Sergeant Major of that Regt. calling out to the men of the Brigade to join him and die for their religion and their caste (he alluded to a small party of fifty of H. M.'s 53rd foot now at the Flag-staff ghaut that had been sent by Lieutenant Sanders, Deputy Quarter-Master General of the Army, and who were landing from the steamer that had arrived there from Calcutta). He called aloud to them, "You have excited me to this, and now you ——— " (using an abusive term) "you will not join me."

On seeing this man, I immediately rode to the quarter guard of the 34th N. I., and saw the Jemadar Ishree Pandy, and about ten or twleve men who had turned out, and were standing before the quarter-guard house.

My two sons and Major Ross accompanied me, I heard an fficer shout out to me, his (the mutineer's) musket is loaded; —I replied, "damn his musket."

I ordered the Jemadar and his guard to follow me; the Jemader said, as I then understood, the men are loaded; but I have since been told, his answer was, he is loaded (meaning the mutineer had his musket loaded) and he will shoot us, and again (shaking my revolver and pointing it partly at him) I sharply repeated the order. The Jemadar looked askance at me and replied, the men of the guard are putting caps on their nipples. I said in a commanding and peremptory voice—be quick and follow me, and rode out in front towards the mutineer; the guard followed my aid-de-camp on horse back close to the Jemadar, armed with his revolver, my other son also close to the native officer similarly armed; Major Ross in rear of myself; as we approached the mutineer we quickened our pace. My son Captain Hearsey called to me, father, he is taking aim at you, look out sharp; (meaning the mutineer) I replied, if I fall, John, rush upon him and put him to death. Immediately after, the mutineer Mungul Pandy fired his musket: the whistle of the bullet was heard by the guard, for all but three men of it bent down, apparently to avoid being struck by it. It appeared the mutineer had suddenly altered his mind. I suppose he saw there was no chance of escape, for a body of officers had either joined or were coming up armed, and close to the left rear of the guard, he turned his musket muzzle towards his own breast, hurriedly touching the trigger with his toe. The muzzle must have swerved, for the bullet made a deep graze, ripping up the muscles of the chest, shoulder and neck, and he fell prostrate; we were on him at once, the guard calling out he has shot himself; a Seikh sepoy of the guard took his bloody tulwar (native sword) from under him, for in falling he partly covered the sword with his body, his regimental jacket and clothes were on fire and smoking. I bid the Jemadar and sepoys to put the fire out, which they did, and then thinking the mutineer was dying, for he was shivering and convulsed, directed Brigadier Grant (who had come on foot) to form a Court of Inquest, from the officers assembled there. Dr. Hutchinson being present, it was soon ascertained that the wound though severe was superficial, and the man was conveyed to the hospital of the 34th N. I. for medical treatment. He was hand-cuffed and a guard placed over him. Before I quitted to go to my quarters, I rode amongst the sepoys of the 43rd N. I. and re-assured them that no person should be permitted to interfere with their religious and caste prejudices, whilst I commanded them. I then went, accompanied by Major Ross, and my two sons amongst the crowd of sepoys of the 34th regiment N. I. (the regiment of the mutineer Mungul Pandy) and also re-assured

them, telling them they had not done their duty in allowing their fellow-soldier Mungul Pandy, to behave in the murderous manner he had done. They answered in one voice, he is mad; he has taken *bhang* (an intoxicating drug) to excess. I replied, could you not have secured him, and, if he resisted have shot him or unarmed him? Would you not have done so to a mad elephant or to a mad dog, and what difference was there in the dangerous madness of a man, and the same in an elephant or a dog? They said he had loaded his musket. What! I replied, are you afraid of a loaded musket? They were silent. I bid them go quietly to their quarters and they did so, immediately obeying my orders.

Minute by the Governor-General.

Major General Hearsey forwards in this letter an extract of a divisional order issued by him on the 5th instant, which notifies the promotion to the rank of Havildar of sepoy Shaik Phultoo of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, who gallantly defended his officer against the murderous attack of the mutineer Mungul Pandy on the 29th March. It is not in the power of the Major General commanding the division, to make this promotion, which can proceed only from the Government of India, and therefore should not have appeared in a divisional order without sanction of the Government. But the promotion has been announced by Major General Hearsey, and is richly deserved by Shaik Phultoo, and may I submit be properly confirmed.

The recommendation of Shaik Phultoo for the order of merit, will come before the Government in the ordinary way through the Commander-in-Chief.

I am sorry that I cannot agree to General Hearsey's proposal that Lieutenant Baugh and Serjeant Major Hewson, of the 34th Regiment, who suffered so severely in the conflict with the mutineer, should be the subject of a General Order.

I greatly admire the determination and courage shown by Lieutenant Baugh and Serjeant Major Hewson, and I consider that they have set an example of not hesitating in the performance of a perilous duty which is in the highest degree honorable to them. I lament sincerely the suffering, to which Lieutenant Baugh and Serjeant Major Hewson have been subjected, as the consequence of their courageous behaviour, but I do not think that the occurrence is one which should be noticed in a General Order.

The person to be restrained was a fanatical sepoy, most dangerous of approach, as has been too well proved; but whilst

I fully appreciate the bravery of those who without a moment's pause closed with a madman. I do not think it desirable that the sepoys of the army should suppose that there can be any doubt, on the part of the Governor-General in Council, as to what their officers in like circumstances will always be ready to do.

I also think that the case of Mungul Pandy is one which it is not advisable to put before the army or public, more prominently than is necessary. To make the determined resistance shewn by that fanatic, and the danger incurred in putting him down, the subject of a General Order, would give a notoriety and importance to his crime, which it will be much better to avoid.

Therefore whilst acknowledging and admiring the brave and soldier-like conduct of Lieutenant Baugh and Serjeant Major Hewson, and desirous that the thanks of the Governor-General in Council should be offered to them in terms of the warmest praise, I am unable to accede to the proposal of Major General Hearsey. I think that it should be observed to Major General Hearsey, that it would have been better if the Divisional Order had not characterised Mungul Pandy's condition as one of "religious frenzy."

However probable it may be, judging from the words which the mutineer is reported to have used during his excitement, that religious feelings influenced him, I should have preferred if this feature of the case had been left unnoticed in the order.

CANNING.

I agree most thoroughly and entirely. In my opinion it would be most unwise to parade this unhappy affair unnecessarily before the army.

J. DORIN.

I also most cordially concur in the opinions above recorded by the Governor General.

J. LOW.

And I.

J. P. GRANT.

Ditto.

B. PEACOCK.

EXECUTION OF MUNGUL PANDY.

On the morning of Wednesday, the 8th April, Mungul Pandy, the Sepoy of the 34th N. I., who had been tried by a Court Martial and found guilty of mutinous conduct, having wounded the Serjeant Major of his regiment, and also the Adjutant, Lieutenant Baugh, of the same corps, was hanged on the Parade ground at Barrackpore soon after gun-fire.

The gallows was erected in the centre of the parade ground, and the troops were drawn up so as to form three sides of a square, coterminously. The 70th Regt. N. I., the 34th N. I., the 43rd N. I., and the 2nd Grenadiers formed into separate squares on one side, faced by the Governor General's Body Guard and H. M.'s 53rd Regt. in line. On the third side were drawn out H. M.'s 84th Regt. also in line, flanked by two light horse batteries of the E. I. Co.'s Artillery.

The culprit was carried to the ground, accompanied by a detachment of the guard. When the four first named detachments were marched up in front of the gallows, General Hearsey addressed the 34th N. I., in a few words, alluding in particular to the Articles of War which they had all sworn to obey. The man appeared to be quite exhausted, and made no attempt to address the troops around. He had previously stated that he bore no ill will against either of the parties whom he had injured, but revealed nothing to implicate any of his comrades. At a given signal the platform was withdrawn, and almost without a struggle, the misguided man was launched into eternity. Some difficulty had arisen the day previous for a hangman, and two *domes* and two *mehters* were obliged to be obtained from Calcutta, from which place they arrived the evening before in a break belonging to Messrs. Cook and Co.

The troops were then marched off the ground, the 34th N. I., seeming but too happy to be released; but the men in the guard belonging to this corps to the number of nineteen, who rendered no assistance at the time of the affray, and who were supposed to have been concerned in the attack, were still in close confinement, awaiting the result of the Court-Martial then pending.

The Mutineer Jemadar Issuree Pandy.

This Jemadar of the 34th Regiment N. I. was brought to trial on the following charges:—

1st. For having at Barrackpore on the 29th March 1857, he being then in command of the quarter-guard of his regiment, not used his utmost or any endeavours to suppress a mutiny begun by Mungul Pandy, the said sepoy having on the afternoon of the day above mentioned, gone out into the parade ground in front of and near to the quarter-guard of the regiment armed with a sword and musket; and then and there used words to excite the men of the regiment to come forth and join him in resistance to lawful authority; and having then and there on the parade ground, and near to the quarter-guard of the regiment, discharged his loaded musket at Ser-

jeant Major James Thornton Hewson, and Lieutenant Bempole Henry Baugh, of the 34th Regiment N. I., and then and there with a sword struck, and severely wounded, the said Lieutenant Baugh and Serjeant Major Hewson, and the said Jemadar not having taken any measures to arrest and confine the said sepoy throughout the aforesaid occurrences, nor to assist the said Lieutenant Baugh and Serjeant Major Hewson, and he the said Jemadar having, moreover, then and there discouraged and interfered to prevent any sepoys of his guard from going to their assistance.

2nd. For disobedience of the lawful command of his superior officers in not having advanced with his guard to rescue the Serjeant and capture the aforesaid sepoy, Mungul Pandy, when shortly after the occurrences, set forth in the first charge, he was ordered to do so by Brevet Colonel S. G. Wheler, commanding the 34th Regiment N. I.

The Court found the prisoner, Jemadar Issurree Pandy, guilty of both charges preferred against him, and sentenced him to suffer death. On the 21st April 1857 Major General Hearsey reported as follows :—

Jemadar Issuree Pandy was duly hanged by the neck this afternoon at 6 o'clock in presence of all the troops at the station; the crimes, finding, and sentence of the General Court Martial before which he was arraigned, approved and confirmed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, having been first carefully explained to all the native corps.

It may be perhaps satisfactory to the Government to know that when on the scaffold the Jemadar made a voluntary confession of his guilt, and admitted the justice of the sentence which had been passed on him, at the same time imploring all his fellow soldiers who were present to take warning by his untimely fate.

Disbandment of the 34th N. I.

On the morning of Wednesday, the 6th May, at sun-rise all the available troops of the Presidency division paraded at Barrackpore to be present at the disbandment of seven companies of the 34th N. I., being the portion of the regiment which was present in the lines, at Barrackpore, on the day on which Lieut. Baugh and the Serjeant Major were attacked. The troops were drawn up in the following order :—

In line—The Body-Guard, the 11th Irregular Cavalry, the School of Musketry, Her Majesty's 53rd Foot, a Light Field Battery, and H. M.'s 84th.

The following corps were in line of contiguous columns

at right angles to the left flank of the above line, viz. 2nd Grenadiers, the 43rd N. I. and the 70th N. I. On the left of the 70th N. I. were drawn up that portion of the 34th N. I. present at Barrackpore, which has been excepted by Government from the operation of the disbandment order. This portion of the 34th, consists of men who were on duty at Chinsurah and Fort William on the day that Lieut. Baugh was attacked. There were besides these, three Companies of the 34th at Chittagong, which were also excepted, and which apparently deserved to be excepted, the men and native officers composing them, having when they heard of the disaffection at Barrackpore, addressed Government through their European officers, expressing the sorrow and detestation with which they regarded the disaffection at Barrackpore, and disavowing the slightest participation in or sympathy with it.

As soon as the various regiments were in position, the seven companies of the 34th were marched from their private parade ground to the front of the line of European Infantry and guns. Major General Hearsey shortly after interpreted to them in his usual clear and distinct manner the order of the Governor General in Council, ordering their dismissal from the service of the East India Company. This done, the regiment was broken into open column, after which the men were ordered to pile arms. The next order was to march to the rear, where a number of pay serjeants were in waiting to pay them up. While this was being done, Major General Hearsey rode over to the excepted men of the 34th, and addressing them, said that he hoped that what they had witnessed would be a warning to them, and would be the means of preventing them from being ever other than obedient and loyal soldiers. After this the Major General again returned to the mutineers. He had scarcely reached where they were being paid, than he was surrounded by a pack of bazar bunneahs, each and every one of them shouting *dohaee general saheb, dohaee kumpanee.* These people were all creditors of the men about to be disbanded, who, however, thinking they could not be made to pay, refused to pay them a pice. The Major General at first appeared unwilling to interfere, stating that he was *pultan ka genril, katab ka genril nahin.* Subsequently however, any of the creditors who could produce written vouchers received payment of their demands, apparently much to the disatisfaction of the disbanded sepoys. While the payment was going on, several of the men advanced and spoke to General Hearsey petitioning hard for their individual

reinstatement, alleging that they were not in the lines at the time Lieut. Baugh was attacked, but in the bazar or elsewhere. The reply to this was that they were at liberty to memorialise their Colonel, upon doing which, if what they said should be found to be true, they would perhaps be reinstated. By this time the payment had been concluded, and the men were again directed to fall in. They now appeared without arms, or coatees, being clad in their blue cotton pantaloons and forage caps, which they were allowed to retain, being their own private property. They were next marched off to Fultah ghaut under two European officers of the 34th, and an escort of some companies of the 84th and the Governor General's Body Guard. This concluded the business of the day.

The majority of the men affected to laugh at their punishment, but many cried out, that it was a shame to punish the innocent as well as the guilty.

The following is the order which was translated to the mutineers previous to their disbandment, by Brigadier General Hearsey :—

" On the 29th of March, a sepoy of the 34th regiment of Native Infantry, stationed at Barrackpore, armed himself with a loaded musket and sword, advanced upon the Parade Ground in front of his lines, and, after conducting himself in a violent and mutinous manner, and calling upon the men of the Regiment to come forth and to join him in resisting lawful authority, attacked and wounded the Adjutant and Serjeant Major of his Regiment, who approached to restrain him.

This man has been tried, condemned and hanged.

On the same occasion the Native Officer, a Jemadar in command of the Quarter Guard of the 34th regiment Native Infantry, refused to obey his superior, by whom he was ordered to seize the above mentioned sepoy.

After being tried by a court of native commissioned officers this man, himself a commissioned officer, has paid the penalty of his mutiny by the same ignominious death.

But these men were not the sole offenders upon that occasion.

The Governor General in Council laments to say that the conduct of the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and men of the 34th regiment who were then present, has been shown to be such as to destroy his confidence in them as soldiers of the state, and to call for severe and exemplary punishment.

The mutinous sepoy was permitted to parade himself insolently before his assembled comrades, using menaces and threatening gestures against his officers, without an attempt on the part of any to control him.

No such attempt was made even when he had deliberately fired at the Serjeant Major of the regiment.

None was made when, upon the appearance of the Adjutant Lieutenant Baugh, and after having reloaded the musket unmolested, the mutineer discharged it at that officer and shot his horse.

When the horse fell, not a sign of assistance to Lieutenant Baugh was given either by the Quarter Guard or by the sepoys not on duty, although this took place within ten paces of the Guard.

During the hand to hand conflict which followed between the mutineer and Lieutenant Baugh, supported by Serjeant Major Hewson, the men collected at the lines in undress, looked on passively, others in uniform and on duty joined in the struggle, but it was to take part against their officers, whom they attacked with the butts of their muskets, striking down the Serjeant Major from behind, and repeating the blows as he lay on the ground.

The Governor General in Council deeply regrets that of the ruffians who perpetrated this cowardly act, the only one who was identified has escaped his punishment by desertion.

There was, however, one amongst those who stood by, who set an honorable example to his comrades, Sheik Phultoo Sepoy (now Havildar) of the Grenadier Company, obeyed the call of his officer for assistance unhesitatingly. He was wounded in the endeavour to protect Lieutenant Baugh from the mutineer, and did all that an unarmed man could do to seize the criminal. His conduct was that of a faithful and brave soldier.

When the Adjutant, maimed and bleeding, was retiring from the conflict, he passed the lines of his Regiment and reproached the men assembled there with having allowed their officer to be cut down before their eyes without offering to assist him. They made no reply, but turned their backs and moved sullenly away.

For the failure of the Quarter Guard to do its duty, the Jemadar who commanded it, has already paid the last penalty of death. In this Guard, consisting of twenty sepoys, there were four who desired to act against the mutineers; but their Jemadar restrained them; and when eventually the order to

advance upon the criminal was given by superior authority, the majority yielded obedience reluctantly.

Upon a review of these facts and of all the circumstances connected with them, it is but too clear to the Governor General in Council, that a spirit of disloyalty prevails in those companies of the 34th regiment Native Infantry which are stationed at the Head Quarters of the Presidency Division. Silent spectators of a long continued act of insolent mutiny, they have made no endeavour to suppress it, and have thereby become liable themselves to the punishment of mutineers. The Governor General in Council can no longer put trust in them, and he rejects their services from this time forward.

Therefore it is the order of the Governor General in Council that the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and men of the seven companies of the 34th regiment native infantry, now quartered at Barrackpore, be disbanded and dismissed from the army of Bengal, with the following exceptions in favor of those who, in course of recent events, have given the Governor General in Council good reason to believe in their fidelity to their officers and to the Government:—

Subadar Sewamber Pandy.
Subadar Muddeh Khan.
Jemadar Darriow Sing.
Havildar Sheik Phultoo.
Havildar Goorbuccus Sing.
Havildar Jewrakun Tewary.
Sepoy Ramsahai Lalla.
Sepoy Sobha Sing.
Sepoy Atma Sing.
Sepoy Mehn Lall.
Sepoy Sewbuccus Tewary.

All those non-commissioned officers and sepoys will be excepted, whose absence from the lines on the 29th of March, whether as having been on duty in hospital, or from other cause, can be established.

But this exemption will not apply to the native commissioned officers; all of whom, with the exception of those abovenamed, are dismissed from the army.

The army of India is well aware that it is to the native officers that the Government looks for the maintenance of order and fidelity in their respective corps. This was solemnly proclaimed in the General Order of the 23rd January 1856, No. 132, and each regiment may rest assured that it is a principle which will be rigorously and invariably enforced.

The disbandment will be carried out at the head quarters of

the Presidency division, in the presence of all available regiments stationed within two days march of the spot.

The regiment will be paraded for the purpose, and every dismissed man, after giving up his arms and receiving the pay due to him, will be deprived of his uniform and be required to leave the cantonment.

The foregoing part of this order does not apply to the three companies of the 34th regiment native infantry which are stationed at Chittagong, and against which there is no reproach.

There remains one point which the Governor-General in Council desires to notice.

The sepoy who was the chief actor in the disgraceful scene of the 29th of March, called upon his comrades to come to his support, for the reason that their religion was in danger, and that they were about to be compelled to use cartridges, the use of which would do injury to their caste; and from the words in which he addressed the sepoys, it is to be inferred that many of them shared this opinion with him.

The Governor-General in Council has recently had occasion to remind the army of Bengal that the Government of India has never interfered to constrain its soldiers in matters affecting their religious faith. He has declared that the Government of India never will do so, and he has a right to expect that this declaration shall give confidence to all who have been deceived and led astray.

But whatever may be the deceptions or evil counsels to which others have been exposed, the native officers and men of the 34th regiment N. I. have no excuse for misapprehension on this subject. Not many weeks previously to the 29th of March, it had been explained to that regiment,—first by their own commanding officer, and subsequently by the Major General commanding the division,—that their fears for religion were groundless. It was carefully and clearly shown to them that the cartridges which they would be called upon to use contained nothing which could do violence to their religious scruples. If, after receiving these assurances, the sepoys of the 34th regiment, or of any other regiment, still refuse to place trust in their officers and in the Government, and still allow suspicions to take root in their minds, and to grow into disaffection, insubordination and mutiny, the fault is their own, and their punishment will be upon their own heads. That it will be a sharp and certain punishment, the Governor General in Council warns them.

This order is to be read at the head of every regiment, troop, and company in the service, at a parade ordered tor that purpose."

General disaffection among sepoys.

Statement of Ensign F. E. A. Chamier, of the 34th Regiment, Native Infantry.

My opinion is, that the state of feeling and temper amongst the native officers and men of the 34th Regiment N. I. is bad. I have observed that the native officers and men are generally disrespectful towards their European officers. An instance of the sort happened to myself only a fortnight ago. The Subadar Major Athu attended at my quarters, for the purpose of being examined as to his knowledge of reading and writing, preparatory to being sent in command of the Government House Guard, Calcutta. I gave him a chair and treated him with all courtesy. As he sat down he removed his turban from his head; when I observed to him to replace his *pugree*, and pointed out to him the impropriety of his conduct, he neither attempted to excuse himself or to apologise. This circumstance occurred on the day on which Lieutenant Baugh was wounded. Again, on the same day when passing the quarter-guard, the Jemadar commanding saluted me, but neglected to put on his cap (he being in uniform); and shortly afterwards when I was repassing the guard, he repeated the salute in the same manner, although on both occasions he was standing close by his cot upon which his cap was lying.

Statement of Captain W. W. Aubert, of the 34th Regt. N. I.

For the last six weeks I have not been in the performance of regimental duty, and therefore cannot speak as to the present state of feeling and temper. But between May last year (when I returned from furlough) and the date of my entering upon my appointment at this station, I had observed a great want of respect on the part of the men towards their European Officers. For instance, I frequently noticed when I went to the lines on duty, and in uniform, that the men did not stand up and salute me, a mark of disrespect for which I punished my own Company and reported those of other Companies. Again, when the regiment was coming down by water in October and November last year, we encountered a severe gale, in which three boats were wrecked, but not a single sepoy came voluntarily to assist the European Officers, in getting their boats out of danger. And likewise when the men's boats came into collision with those of the Officers, the sepoys who were seated above and looking on, never lent a hand to save their Officers' boats from being damaged. In short from all I have observed, I do not consider that the feeling and temper of the native officers

and men are what they ought to be, and I am confirmed in this opinion by what I witnessed upon the evening of the 29th March, after Lieutenant Baugh was cut down. On that occasion I saw numbers of the men of all companies collected and passively looking on, and when I taxed them with cowardice in having allowed an officer of their own regiment to be cut down in broad day light within fifty yards of where they were standing, not one of them attempted any explanation, but they all seemed to regard the charge as a frivolous one, and some of them even laughed at it.

The Cartridge Question in Sealkote.

The disaffection caused by the cartridge question extended to Sealkote; about the end of March an attempt was made to tamper with the sepoys there. A paper was found in the lines occupied by the sepoys attached to the musketry depôt, calling on them to resist the attempt to break their caste by compelling them to use a bullet greased with cow's and pig's fat, so that Mussulman and Hindoo should be alike dishonored, and telling them to act like their "bhaies" at Barrackpore, and refuse to handle or bite the cartridge. The author of the notice remained undiscovered, and it was unknown whether he belonged to the Depôt or to one of the Regiments in cantonments.

Disaffected Sepoys of the 63rd N. I. at Sooree.

(Colonel Burney's Report.)

On the morning of the 27th March, the commanding officer and the Adjutant waited on me for instructions how to act under the following circumstances,—stating that the three companies of the regiments, (the Grenadier, No. 2 and Light) had refused to proceed on furlough unless the troops at Barrackpore also went. I instructed the Commanding Officer to tell the men they might please themselves, and that they would not be allowed the indulgence should they again ask for it, but the leave would be granted to others according to priority of claims; this to be explained to the native officers in the evening, and again to the whole regiment at the ordinary instruction parade the next morning.

This day, 29th, Captain Phillips reports that the men who objected to take their furlough have come to a sense of their duty.

With reference to Captain Phillips's letter stating that the men have returned to a sense of their duty, I beg to add that

to all outward appearance, his opinion is correct, but it is impossible to say how long the regiment may continue so, if instigated by men of other regiments. I urge this as I fear this disaffection in the 63rd Regiment has been occasioned by two sepoys having come, on the evening of the 26th instant, *in cog* by train, from Barrackpore *via* Paneighur to Sooree,—and that those men brought a written communication with them. Previous to that evening the men of the 63rd Regiment had resolved to avail themselves of the furlough, as several of them had purchased tattoos and made preparatory arrangements for their journey home, and it was the pretended necessity of acting in concert with their brethren at Barrackpore, which made them plead their inability to go on furlough.

Mutiny in Lucknow.

At Lucknow, the capital of Oude, the conduct of the native troops had been for some time past in the highest degree disorderly. Nightly meetings and consequent conflagrations had been of frequent occurrence. The city had always been the hot bed of intrigue, and no efforts had been spared on the part of the Agents of the King of Oude to corrupt the native soldiery. On intelligence of the disbanding of the 19th Native Infantry reaching that city, the King's brother intimated to the native troops, that as they now saw the extent of the punishment awarded for mutiny, he was prepared to give service at a similar or even an increased rate of pay to all who might be discharged by the Company! The consequence was that the troops at that station were on the verge of open revolt. * * Sir Henry Lawrence had not been an idle spectator of the movements among the troops at Lucknow, and he resolved to visit the first overt act of mutiny with condign punishment. An opportunity was not long wanting. On the 3rd of May a letter from the 7th Oude Irregular Infantry (formerly in the service of the Ex-King) was intercepted and brought to him. This letter was addressed to the men of the 48th Regiment, and its purport was as follows:—"We are ready to obey the directions of our brothers of the 48th in the matter of the cartridges, and to resist, either actively or passively." This letter was taken to a Brahamin sepoy of the 48th. He communicated its contents to a havildar, and the latter to a subadar. The three consulted over it and resolved to bring the matter to the notice of the Commissioner. This was done. About the same time Sir Henry received intimation that the 7th Irregular Infantry had proceeded to overt acts against

their Officers, and although none of them had been murdered, that result was more owing to their own courage than to the forbearance of the mutineers. The Adjutant, Lieutenant Mecham, owed his life pre-eminently to his presence of mind. Four mutineers entered his house on the afternoon of the 3rd, and told him to prepare for death; that personally they did not dislike him, but that he was a Feringhee and must die. Lieutenant Mecham was unarmed, they were armed to the teeth, resistance was hopeless. He at once made up his mind to meet his fate with dignity and resolution. As the mutineers paused to listen to what he had to say, he replied, "It is true, I am unarmed and you can kill me, but that will do you no good. You will not ultimately prevail in this mutiny. Another Adjutant will be appointed in my place, and you will be subjected to the same treatment you have received from me." These words, delivered with coolness, without change of countenance, or the movement of a muscle, seemed to strike the mutineers. They turned and left the house, leaving their Adjutant uninjured.

On the 28th of April some of the recruits who had returned from target practice were taunted by the old soldiers of the 7th Regt. Oudh Infantry, with having used the cartridge. This led to some disaffection, but it was speedily quelled, and the recruits, as usual, used the cartridge. Some further manifestations of a bad feeling were again apparent, and it became evident, that not only the recruits, but the old soldiers, would not use the cartridge. Lieutenant Watson, the officer commanding, had now no alternative, but to report the matter to the Brigadier Commanding, and proceeded to do so. This was on the morning of the 2nd May, but the Native Officers and Non-commissioned Officers came forward, some with tears in their eyes, and begged him, and entreated him, to give them one more chance, and implored him not to disgrace the Regiment by reporting them. They offered to bite any number of cartridges, and promised that the men should also do so, if he would order another parade, and give them a chance. Accordingly, the parade was ordered at 4 P. M. on the 2d. Lieut. Watson with his Adjutant Lieut. Mecham attended: Subadar Ram Dyal Doobey, a Brahmin, who had made himself particularly active, stepped out, and taking some cartridges, shewed them to the men, and said he would bite one. The men of the Grenadier Company immediately called out, and said "You may bite it, we won't." Other remarks were made from the Regiment. Lieut. Watson then

ordered the Subadar to bite the cartridge. He replied, " I can't do so now, I am afraid." Finding he could do nothing, Lieut. Watson dismissed the men, and reported what had passed to the Brigadier. The Brigadier went down, turned out the Regiment in the evening, spoke to the men, reasoned with them, warned them of the fate which awaited them ; reminded them that a Native Officer had been hanged for mutiny, but all to no purpose : the men were sulky, determined, and come what might, they would have nothing to say to the cartridge.

On the 3rd (Sunday) the men were still passively determined, and would on no account listen to any one. About noon, the mutineers sent a letter to the 48th Regiment in the Lucknow Cantonments. Happily it was intercepted, and the designs of the mutineers became known. At 4 P. M. intelligence was received which required prompt and immediate attention. Happily for the country, Sir Henry Lawrence decided at once that no half measures could be used. He was determined to show to Lucknow, to India, that come what might, he had the energy and the determination to grapple with the danger, and to crush the mutiny. A brief consultation with Brigadier Handscomb, commanding the Lucknow Brigade, and with Brigadier Gray, commanding the Oudh Irregular Force, ensued. Orders were immediately despatched for the march of the 7th Light Cavalry, for the European Light Field Battery, for a wing of the 48th, and of the 71st Regiment N. I, and Captain Hayes, Sir Henry's Military Secretary was despatched to H. M.'s 32nd Regiment and directed to proceed with it to the rendezvous. The 7th Regiment, was quartered at *Moon Bagh*, about seven miles from the Lucknow cantonment.

Sir Henry Lawrence, together with Brigadiers Gray and Handscomb, and their respective Staffs joined H. M.'s 32nd and the European Batteries, and the whole force, consisting of the 7th Light Cavalry under command of Colonel Master :

The 2nd Oudh Irregular Cavalry	Major Gall.
The Light Field Battery (Europeans)	Lieut. Lewellyn.
H. M.'s 32nd Foot	Col. Inglis.
Wing of 48th	Lt.-Col. Palmer.
Ditto 71st	Capt. Strangways.

marched down and drew up in front of the mutineers, the guns in front—Cavalry and Infantry forming on the flanks. The guns were loaded with canister, H. M.'s 32nd were also loaded. By some accident a port fire was lighted, which, when seen by the mutineers, threw them into a terrible panic, two-thirds of the regiment fled, throwing off their arms and accoutrements. They were subsequently stopped by the Cavalry, and almost

all the men returned, or were brought back. The colors, arms, treasure, &c. of the regiment were taken away and safely deposited in the City Magazine, and after a few pithy and pregnant words from Sir Henry Lawrence, the mutineers were sent back to their lines to await the decision of Government.

Major Gall, of the Irregulars, who zealously volunteered to remain all night, was placed in command, and finally all the troops returned between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 4th. The Native soldiers cordially co-operated in disarming their comrades, and throughout behaved admirably.

The intercepted letter from the 7th Oudh mutineers to the 48th Regiment, contained the following pithy sentence: "We are ready to join in any *tamasha*,—tell us what we are to do; if you tell us we ought to surrender our arms, we'll do so,—if to fight, we are ready."

The 7th Oudh Irregulars, in their despair, as stated, wrote to the 48th N. I., in the foolish hope that that fine Regiment would commit itself. The letter was intercepted; the crisis was a grave one; but Sir Henry Lawrence was not the man to trifle, to hesitate, or to shrink from responsibility. Swift to punish, Sir Henry was not tardy in rewarding. He at once determined on bestowing on the meritorious, costly and valuable gifts, worthy of the Government which he so ably represented. Three men—a Subadar, the Havildar Major, and a Sepoy—of the 48th, had proved themselves good and faithful soldiers—so had a Sepoy of the 13th N. I., who has been promoted to Naique. To honor these men, then, was the object of a Durbar. The lawn in front of the Residency was carpetted, and chairs were arranged, forming three sides of a square—for the native officers and men from each Regiment in attendance. In the large veranda facing, sofas, &c., were provided for the principal Civil and Military functionaries; amongst the former were Messrs. Gubbins, Ommaney and Martin, Captain Carnegie and Dr. Fayrer. Precisely at 6 P. M., Sir Henry Lawrence, K. C. B., attended by his Secretaries, Mr. G. Couper, and Captain Hayes; and accompanied by Brigadiers Handscomb and Gray, with their respective Staffs—Major Marriott, Pay Master; Captain Maclean, Supdt. of Bazars, Captain James, Deputy Commissary General; Captain Barlow, Brigade Major, O. I. F.; Captain Barwell, Brigade Major, Lucknow, together with Colonels Halford, Masters, Palmer, and Bruere, and Majors Gall and Hardinge—proceeded to his seat. Beside him were deposited in trays the valuable presents for distribution. Before, however, he proceeded to their bestowal, Sir Henry made a most

soldier-like, eloquent and animating speech to the native officers and soldiers present, which was full of vigour and point, and delivered in excellent idiomatic Hindoostanee, clear and distinct, every sentence, every word creating a thrilling sensation. It was listened to by all with deep attention and the effect was most excellent. An outline of it is subjoined:—

Soldiers!—Some persons are abroad spreading reports, that the Government desire to interfere with the religion of their soldiers: *you* all know this to be a transparent falsehood: you, and your forefathers before you, well know and knew that for more than a hundred years, the religion of your countrymen has never been interfered with. And those amongst you who have perused the records of the past, who have searched the annals of your country—and those who are familiar with the traditionary lore which has been carefully transmitted from generation to generation, must well know—that Alumgeer in former times, and Hyder Alee in later days—forcibly converted thousands and thousands of Hindoos—desecrated their fanes, demolished their temples, and carried ruthless devastation amongst their household gods. Come to our times: many here present well know that Runjeet Singh never permitted his Mahomedan subjects to call the pious to prayer—never allowed the Afghan to sound from the lofty minarets which adorn Lahore—and remain to this day a monument of their magnificent founders. The year before last a Hindoo could not have dared to build a temple in Lucknow. All this is changed. *Now* who is there who would dare to interfere with our Mahomedan or Hindoo subjects? You see all this, you know it well—you need not my testimony to this notorious fact—you know also that there is no Government in the whole world to be compared with that of the British Government—in power, in wealth, in resources, in money, in dominions; there is no sea on which its numerous navy does not float—no clime in which its soldiers do not abound: you have all heard what occurred during the Russian campaign—how in that distant region our gallant soldiers and seamen—opposed to one of the most powerful military nations of the world, decimated by disease, struggling against the horror and severities of inclement seasons, out-numbered by foes, and thousands of miles from their native land, did nevertheless trample down every obstacle, crush all opposition, and emerge from the conflict victorious, radiant with glory, and astonishing their powerful foe, by the spectacle of an army equipped, provisioned, disciplined, and inured to war such as no nation in the world could hope to compete with—and none could defeat!

If necessary, in a few brief months, one hundred thousand European soldiers might be collected in *any* spot in India.

A Government such as ours does not require to deal in deceit; what it does, it enacts openly before God and man—and is at all times prepared to encounter, and capable of destroying foreign invasion, or domestic factions. Our Government will aways persevere in its well known steps, will ever permit its subjects and soldiers to follow their own religion, and to worship as their forefathers were in the habit of doing. No other Government in the wide world treats its soldiers as the Company does—every village, every community, proclaims this fact.

Everywhere you see the veterans of our army enjoying in peace, the handsome pensions which have been justly bestowed for fidelity, for wounds, for heroism; surrounded by their friends, their relatives, their comrades; respected by their neighbours, and honored by our Government, those gallant soldiers pass their declining years in comfort, prosperity and in honor.

In what other country could you ever witness such gratifying scenes? Beware, then, lest through any folly such inestimable benefits should be lost.

In India there is no dearth of soldiers—of any caste or province; wherever our Government requires one soldier, fifty step forward for service. Only last week, in this very city, 300 men were called for, and 3,000 clamorous for service eagerly rushed forward to partake of the bounty of Government. All Governments employ and cherish the faithful and the zealous: and punish the lukewarm and ungrateful. No army in the world has done better service than that of Bengal. I am a witness to this fact, so are these gallant officers, Brigadiers Handscomb and Gray, Colonels Halford and Palmer, and many, many officers now present, who have led you to victory, fought at your head, and bled in your ranks; whose well-earned decorations attest your bravery, and which are the proud records of many a well-contested field, won by your valor, your discipline, your intrepidity. Many like myself have grown gray in your company, have been associated with you from our boyhood, have shared in your campaigns, have participated in all your dangers, privations, and triumphs, in camp and in quarters—from the swamps of Burmah to the snows of Bamean. We are all your friends; our interests are insparable; if your faces are blackened, so are ours; if any dishonor befalls you, do we not suffer? Let there be no lukewarmness. Let none be deceived by the crafty machinations of a few despicable knaves. Much has been done during the past month to ruin the character of the Bengal Army; of

that splendid army which by its glorious services of more than a century has now a reputation second to that of none—which has fought and conquered in every region from the Irrawaddy to the Indus—and at Java, in China, and on the Nile, has elicited the applause of all who have witnessed its discipline, its exemplary conduct, its heroic actions—and now, at this very moment, when the Bombay army has been covering itself with glory in Persia—to our shame it must be acknowledged, some regiments of the Bengal Army have proved that they are not worthy to serve our Government! The 19th has been disbanded; seven companies of the 34th have been disbanded. The guilt of many has been that they simply looked on at the vile wickedness of a few. Take warning. Now turn to these good and faithful soldiers—Subahdar Sewak Tewary—Havildar Heera Lall Doobee, Ramna Doobee, Sepahee of the 48th N. I., and to Hossein Buksh, of the 13th Regiment, who have set to you all a good example. The three first at once arrested the bearer of a seditious letter, and brought the whole circumstance to the notice of superior authority. You know well what the consequences were! and what has befallen the 7th Oude Infantry; more than fifty of its sirdars and soldiers are now in confinement; and the whole regiment awaits the fate of Government. Look at Hossein Buksh of the 13th, fine fellow as he is. Is he not a good and faithful soldier?—did he not seize three villains who are now in confinement and awaiting their doom? It is to reward such fidelty, such acts and deeds as I have mentioned, and of which you are all well aware—that I have called you all together this day, to assure you that those who are faithful and true to their salt, will always be amply rewarded and well cared for; that the great Government, which we all serve, is prompt to reward, swift to punish; vigilant, anxious, eager to protect its faithful subjects, but firm, determined, resolute, to crush all who may have the temerity to rouse its vengeance. Think well of what I have said, reflect on what has passed, listen to your elders and seniors who have served the Government for nearly half a century, and you must be satisfied that the Government which you serve has never attempted to influence in any way, underhand or otherwise, the religious convictions of its subjects or soldiers —that it freely permits all to worship at the altar, before which their forefathers have bowed;—but that whilst allowing the fullest, freest religious liberty to all, it will vigorously exact that legitimate duty from its army, without which discipline cannot exist—that under no circumstances whatever will it listen to, or reason with mutineers, or armed mobs, and should, which God forbid! any misguided men—dupes of fools

and knaves, attempt to follow in the footsteps of the 19th and 34th, rest assured that Government, all powerful and irresistible, is not only prepared and capable, but will lose no time in inflicting such punishment as shall not easily pass away from the recollection of man. And now, Soldiers! it is my pleasing duty to reward in the name of Government those who have served it so well—and so honorably.

Advance Subahdar Sewak Tewaree—come forward Havildar, and Soldiers, and receive these splendid gifts from the Government which is proud to number you amongst its soldiers; accept these honorary sabres; you have won them well—long may you live to wear them in honor.

Take these sums of money for your families and relatives, wear these robes of honor at your homes and at your festivals; and may the bright example which you have so conspicuously set, find as it doubtless will—followers in every Regiment and Company in the Army.

After the harangue, Sir Henry with his own hands distributed the rewards, and shaking hands with the greatest cordiality with each of the recipients. Annexed is a memo. of the presents:—

To Subahdar Sewak Tewarree, 48th Regt.
A magnificent sabre, superbly decorated.
A pair of handsome shawls.
A splendid chogah or cloak—
Four pieces of embroidered cloth.
To the Havildar Major—the same as above.
To each of the sepoys—Ramnat Dobee, 48th Regiment, Sheikh Hosein, 13th, now a Naik, a very handsome sword, richly ornamented, handsome turban and pieces of cloth. And 300 rupees to each in cash.

Incendiary Fires at Umballah.

Captain Howard to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej States.

Umballah, May 4, 1857.

I have the honor to forward herewith a statement showing the fires, with dates on which such occurred, at the station of Umballah.

2. It will be perceived that the first attempt at arson occurred with a view to burn the property and hut of Subadar Hurbunsee Sing, 36th Regiment Native Infantry, attached to the musketry depôt lately formed at this station. This happened on the 26th March last, and at that period, just

when reports among the native population of this station began to spread relative to the new cartridge introduced at the musketry depôt, the using of which it was said the sepoys considered an innovation derogatory to their caste and religion. This native officer had previously come forward, and publicly stated his willingness to fire with such cartridges, and saw no objection to them. I am induced particularly to remark on this, as it will be seen that with this first fire was disclosed the animus existing against Government and the men comprising the rifle depôt, more particularly on those who did not object to cut or break the newly-introduced cartridge. Although even then it was supposed this might be the act of an incendiary, still there was no proof whatever to say it was such. All remained quiet up to the eighteenth day, when a second small fire broke out in the same lines (this was on the 13th of April); it was followed by another fire on the 15th, viz., an attempt on some out-houses in a compound in the 60th Native Infantry lines (which lines adjoin those of the musketry depôt). This was attended on the 16th by two fires in one night, with great loss of Government property, estimated at about 30,000 rupees. There remained no doubt now but that such arson was committed at the hands of an incendiary, for it was utterly impossible, and not to be conceived, that the burning of two Government buildings, such as the hospital in the musketry depôt, and No. 9 Barrack in the European Infantry lines, at a considerable distance from each other, on the same night, could have been caused by accident. This was followed up the following night by an empty bungalow in the 5th Regiment Native Infantry lines being entirely consumed by fire, and an attempt to fire the stables of Lieutenant Walker, 60th Regiment Native Infantry, on the 19th of April. It was strange that the stables of a house in the 60th Regiment Native Infantry lines should be set on fire and burnt; strange, because the house was then occupied by three officers, Lieutenants Craigie, 36th Regiment, Ross, 9th Regiment, and Corfield, 9th Regimant, attached to the musketry depôt. The same night a second fire burst out, and a Civil Chowkee, in which there were the Rajah of Jheend's Sowars, was consumed; and a third attempt was made on the hut of Nownurain Sing, Subadar, 3rd Company, in the 5th Regiment Native Infantry lines. On the 20th of April attempts were made on the houses of the Jemadar and Havildar of the 5th Regiment, both these men being attached to the depôt; and under the bed of the Jemadar powder and brimstone had been placed, showing that this had been done with a malicious view to injure the person as well as the property of the Jemadar.

From this date I am inclined to be of opinion that the sepoys, whom I suspect, without doubt, deemed it advisable that the conflagrations should not be confined any longer only to the houses and property of those attached to the rifle depôt; consequently to lull suspicion they commenced firing not only the huts in their own lines, but also extended the arson to other parts of cantonments; for on the 21st of April several huts which contained property of men of the 60th Regiment Native Infantry, who had proceeded on furlough leave, were fired in the 60th Native Infantry lines. On the 22nd the sheep-house in the mess compound of the 5th Regiment Native Infantry was ignited, as also Major Laughton's (Engineers) stables, in the European Infantry lines. Some suppose this latter fire to have been caused by accident; but from the report of the sentry on guard over the bungalow, I am confidently of opinion that it was the act of an incendiary, for the sentry distinctly described the "dripping of fire," which leads me to believe that brimstone was employed, and that as it ignited (being placed standing on the roof) it naturally fell burning, and thereby caused the "dripping of fire" so minutely and exactly described by the sentry. On the 23rd of April an attempt was made to fire a house in Her Majesty's 9th Lancers lines occupied by Captain Sanders, 41st Regiment Native Infantry, attached to the musketry depôt. The combustible here used was powder and brimstone, wrapped in fine "dhotee." Some burnt cartridge paper of a bluish-greyish colour was also picked up; this also had been used. On the 25th of April the Band Master's house of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers (regimental property of that corps) was completely burnt down. On the following day it was reported that about midday an attempt was made to fire another bungalow in Her Majesty's 9th Lancers lines, the property of Lieutenant and Riding Master Shaw, Her Majesty's 9th Lancers. Since then, with the exception of an attempt to burn a house in the lines of the 5th Regiment of Native Infantry on the night of the first of May, belonging to a sepoy named Bojeenath, attached to the musketry depôt, all has remained quiet up to this date.

3. The emanating cause of the arson at this cantonment, I conceive, originated with regard to the newly-introduced cartridges, to which the native sepoy shows his decided objection, it being obnoxious to him from a false idea (which, now that it has entered the mind of the sepoy, is difficult to eradicate) that the innovation of this cartridge is derogatory both to his caste and religion; and that such is actually the cause is ap-

parent from the evident dissatisfaction amongst the sepoys generally on this point throughout the whole native army, similar burnings and conflagrations having, it appears, occurred at Barrackpore, Oude, Meerut, and Lahore, all owing to the supposed impure and tainted cartridge.

4. That this has led to the fires at this cantonment, in my own private mind, I am perfectly convinced; and were it the act of only one or two or oven a few persons, the well-disposed sepoys would at once have come forward and forthwith informed; but that there is an organized leagued conspiracy existing, I feel confident; and though all and every individual composing a regiment may not form part of the combination, still I am of opinion that such a league in each corps is known to exist; and such being upheld by the majority, or rather connived at, therefore it is that no single man dared to come forward and expose it. Proof (as matters at present stand) is wanting to convict any particular sepoy, but from the combustible materials which have been picked up and brought before me, these alone are sufficient presumptive and circumstantial evidence to prove that this arson is the act of sepoys, and not, as some supposed, of ghurramees (thatchers). Was it one of the latter class, the reward offered of 1,000 rupees would have been too tempting for one of these men (when he could have obtained such a prize) not to have informed ere this, even if the incendiary had been one of his own brethren. Moreover, the whole cantonment would have been fired, and the burning would not have been alone confined to the south half of the station, for in the staff artillery and native cavalry lines, nor yet in the Sudder Bazar, up to this date, has a single fire taken place.

5. That it is urged how can it be the sepoys, when they have roll calls, patrols, pickets, &c., and are not permitted to quit their own lines, and with all this, fires, nevertheless, have occurred in other parts of the station, is easily answered by other similar questions, namely, how is it, then, that with all this precaution and preservatives, fires have actually occurred in the sepoy's own regimental lines? for similarly as no person could leave his own lines, so in the same manner how could any outside person enter those lines, and yet fires have thus happened in those very guarded lines? And again, are there not detached guards told off for duties out of the sepoys' lines, such as for the brigade-major, pay-office, &c., &c., and could not an evil-disposed man quit such guard on any trifling excuse, and the whole cantonment be roused, some ten or twenty minutes after, by the alarm of fire, naturally the incendiary taking good care to be far away when the flame first shot up?

6. Every possible precaution that could be has been attended to by Brigadier R. D. Halifax, commanding the station, with a view to put a stop to and check this arson. Both mounted and dismounted patrols and pickets have been established, and by his orders all faqueers, travellers, and idle persons not belonging to the station have been expelled. All leave sepoys, and also all discharged sepoys, passing through cantonments have been directed to quit and pass on through the station, without halting or resting in it. All sepoys whose regiments are located at this station, and who had taken their furlough leave, but had not proceeded to their homes, have been directed to be seized and made over to their commanding officers. This has all tended much to put a stop to the fires, and I sincerely trust now that arson is eventually checked at this station.

7. I shall not fail in continuing to exert my utmost endeavours to trace out the incendiaries, and although at present no further clue has been obtained than what I have mentioned, I hope time will discover the combination which, in my opinion, exists amongst the sepoys at this cantonment, and which has been led to by the reports that have reached them, of the disaffection and discontent prevailing in the Native Army at large; through this the sepoy has been deluded and led astray. This, together with the formation of the Rifle depot, in cantonments, has brought matters to the present pass, and the sepoy vainly imagines, that by his present deeds, he is showing to Government his firm resolve and determination not to have forced on him an injury by being made to use the new cartridges, and by doing which he considers his honor, credit, reputation, and caste, will and must be lessened and disparaged, as also his religion lost.

Disaffection in Meerut.

At Meerut disaffection had been more plainly manifested than in any other station in the North-Western Provinces. A rumour had been spread amongst the troops, that the Government had plotted to take away their caste, by mixing the grounded bones of bullocks, with the flour sold in the market, that thus the Hindoo partaking, inadvertently, of the substance of the deified animal, would find himself compelled to embrace Christianity. It was in vain that General Hewitt and commanding officers of regiments attempted to control these ideas, it was fruitless that they pointed out to the sepoys that during a century's occupation of India, no interference with caste had ever been tried. Left to themselves the Hindoos might pos-

sibly have been pacified by these assurances, but they were urged on by the Mahomedans, who pretended similar fear for their own religion. During the latter end of April, discontent shewed itself in the usual manner. Houses were burnt down, officers were not saluted as usual, and whispers were heard that a resolution had been arrived at in the lines, not to touch a single cartridge.

Major General Hewitt's Report of the Meerut out-break.

Meerut, May 11, 1857.

I regret to have to report that the native troops at Meerut broke out yesterday evening in open mutiny.

About half past 6 p. m. the 20th N. I. turned out with arms. They were reasoned with by their officers when they reluctantly returned to their lines; but immediately after they rushed out again and began to fire. The 11th N. I. had turned out with their officers, who had perfect control over them, inasmuch as they persuaded them not to touch their arms until Colonel Finnis had reasoned with the mutineers, in doing which he was, I regret to say, shot dead; after which act the 20th N. I. fired into the 11th, who then desired their officers to leave them, and apparently joined the mutineers.

The 3rd Light Cavalry, at the commencement, mounted a party and galloped over to the jail to rescue the eighty-five men of the corps who were sentenced by the native general court martial in which they succeeded, and at the same time liberated all the other prisoners, about 1,200 in number.

The mutineers then fired nearly all the bungalows in rear of the centre line south of the nullah, including Mr. Greathead's, the Commissioner, and my own, together with the Government cattle-yard and Commissariat Officer's house and office. In this they were assisted by the population of the bazar, the city, and the neighbouring villages.

Every European, man, woman, and child fallen in with, was ruthlessly murdered. Amongst those who are known to have fallen are Colonel Finnis, 11th N. I., Captain Taylor, Captain Macdonald, 20th N. I., together with his wife and three children of the latter.

The above particulars I have learned from different parties.

As soon as the alarm was given, the Artillery, Carbineers, and 60th Rifles were got under arms, but by the time we reached the N. I. parade-ground, it was too dark to act with efficiency in that direction; consequently the troops retired to the other side of the nullah so as to cover the barracks and

officers' lines of the Artillery, Carbineers, and 60th Rifles, which were with the exception of one house, preserved; though the insurgents—for I believe, the mutineers had at that time retired by the Allyghur and Delhie roads—burnt the vacant sapper and miner lines. At break of day the force was divided: one-half on guard, and the other to reconnoitre and patrol the native lines.

The guard from the 20th N. I. at the Pension Pay Office, and Cantonment Magistrates, remained at their posts; two native officers and some twenty men of the 11th N. I. remained with their officers: also about fifty men of the 3rd Light Cavalry, who came in with their respective troop officers, whom they had aided and preserved.

I am led to think the out-break was not premeditated, but the result of a rumour that a party was parading to seize their arms, which was strengthened by the fact of the 60th Rifles parading for evening Church service.

Efficient measures are being taken to secure the treasure, ammunition and barracks, and to place the females and European inhabitants in the greatest security obtainable.

Nearly the whole of the cantonment and zillah police have deserted.

The electric wire having been destroyed, it was impossible to communicate the state of things except by express, which was done to Delhi and Umballah.

His Excellency will be kept daily informed of the state of things, and a more detailed account will be furnished as soon as circumstances permit commanding officers to furnish the necessary reports.

Mutiny of the 3rd Light Cavalry, at Meerut.

(By Colonel G. C. Smyth.)

Early in March I discontinued the Riding School (where our men were daily in the habit of receiving blank cartridges); this was done owing to their being put on Infantry duty when the 15th N. I. left Meerut, as there was only one corps of Infantry, the 20th, at the station. Towards the end of the month I went to the Hurdwar Fare as President of a Committee for purchasing Remounts, and when there, we heard of the disturbance about cartridges in the 19th N. I. After the Fare was over, I ran up to Mussoorie for a few days, and there heard of what was going on at Umballah, and I was informed by a friend of mine, in the Hills, that he had fallen in with a party of Sepoys who spoke of the affair that had taken place in the 19th N. I., and had not only expressed

their opinion *in favor of that Regiment*, but stated that they also would *join in a mutiny*, and that they knew *the whole army would mutiny:* upon which I wrote to the Military Secretary to the Commander-in-chief, and informed him of what I had heard, and having learnt there was an order that the men were now to load without biting their cartridges, and thinking they would be much pleased to hear of it, I ordered parade on my return to Meerut on the 23rd April, and I desired the Havildar Major and his orderly to come to me during the day, with a carbine and some blank ammunition that they might see how it was to be done; they came accordingly, and the Havildar Major's Orderly fired off the carbine twice, but that night his house was burnt down, and also a horse hospital that was close to the Magazine; and about 10 o'clock at night it was reported to me that the 1st troop had refused to receive their cartridges; and one of my Officers, Captain Craigie, wrote to the Adjutant in the strongest terms, urging me to put off the parade, for which he received a severe reprimand from the Commander-in-Chief, but I refused to do so; and when I joined it the next morning, I was informed by the Adjutant that not a single man had taken his cartridges: I took no notice of this, but explained to them why I had ordered the parade, then made the Havildar Major show them how they were to load without biting the cartridge, which he did, and fired one off. I then ordered the cartridges to be distributed to the men, but with the exception of five Non-Commissioned Officers they all refused to take them, saying they would get "*a bad name*" if they used them, but if all the men would use them they would do so. I then dismissed the parade, reported the circumstance in writing to the officer commanding the station, and in person to the General commanding the division. A Court of Inquiry was immediately ordered, the 85 men were put off duty and desired to remain in their lines until orders came from Head Quarters, when they were confined in an empty hospital with a guard of the 3rd Cavalry over them; they were tried, condemned, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour, and then a guard of the Carabineers was placed over them; and on Saturday, the 9th of May, they were marched up to the European Parade Ground, and in presence of all the troops at the station, both European and Native, they were put in irons and escorted to jail by a company of the 60th Rifles, and made over to the civil powers; this act, no doubt, brought on the mutiny which probably would not otherwise have taken place till the end of June.

Sir John Packington, M. P., for Worcester, has declared—"The Meerut mutiny saved India." And the Rev. Mr. Rotton,

the clergyman of the Station, has made the same declaration from the pulpit. Colonel Troup, who saved all the ladies and their children at Bareilly by ordering them to the hills, did so on hearing of the Meerut mutiny, and he observed to a nephew of mine, Col. Carmichael, that they had to thank *me;* and Mr. Vansittart, of the civil service, in writing to me from Agra, says :—" It strikes me that India is not a little indebted " to you; your firmness probably hurried on a catastrophe, " which, had it been delayed for a few weeks, would have begun " with the siezure of Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, and Phillour." And an old officer of our service, to whom I had mentioned Mr. Vansittart's letter, in answering me expressed himself thus— " I agree with Vansittart about your parade having brought " matters to a crisis, and no doubt accelerated them, so that " the whole affair, when it did break out, was not matured, " and hence so much more easily managed; probably the " country would have been lost otherwise."

Since the above has been in the press, I have received letters, of which the following are extracts. The first is from a Clergyman in this country; the second is from a person in England, of great Indian experience:—

It is evident to every body that the mutiny shewing itself when it did, saved India, and saved many lives. The object of the rebels was evidently to begin the murdering at every station, on the same day.

The following letters will show how I acted, as well as how others acted on the occasion:—

Meerut, 27th April, 1857.

SIR,—I am desired by Colonel Smyth to request you will state if any report was made to you on the night of the 23rd instant, that the men would not use their cartridges, and if so, who brought the report, and you will further state what steps you took on the occasion.

M. CLARKE *Lieutenant,*
Adjutant, 3rd Light Cavalry.

To the Officer Commanding,
1st Troop, 3rd Lt. Cavy, Meerut.
Same to 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th.

Meerut, 27th April, 1857.

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 69, and in reply to state that a report was made to me on Thursday night about 9 o'clock, that the men would not use their cartridges, when I ordered the same to be made known to the Havildar Major for the information of Colonel Smyth.

Meer Torub Ali Trooper, of the 1st Troop, brought the report.

A. W. C. PLOWDEN,
Commanding 1st Troop, 3rd Light Cavalry.

To Lieutenant M. CLARKE,
Adjutant, 3rd Light Cavalry.

Meerut, 27th April, 1857.

Sir,—In reply to your letter No. 70 of to-day's date, I have the honor to inform you that no report was made to me, that the men of my Troop would refuse to use their cartridges.

H. H. GOUGH, *Lieutenant*,

In charge 2nd Troop, 3rd Light Cavalry.

To LIEUTENANT M. CLARKE,

Adjt., 3rd Light Cavalry, Meerut.

Meerut, 27th April, 1857.

Sir,—In reply to your letter No. 71, of this date, I beg you will inform Colonel Smyth, Commanding, that on the night of the 23rd when I returned from Mess, I was told by my bearer that Jeeolah Khan had brought word that the men of the troop declined taking the cartridges, and reported at the same time the burning of Birjmohun Sing's house. As I was aware that this circumstance had been reported to you by the Havildar Major, I did not deem it necessary to make a special report of the 3rd Troop.

R. RICHARDSON, *Bt. Major*,

Commanding 3rd Troop, 3rd Light Cavalry.

To LIEUTENANT M. CLARKE,

Adjutant, 3rd Light Cavalry.

Meerut, 27th April, 1857.

SIR,—In reply to your letter No. 72, dated to-day, I have the honor to state for Colonel Smyth's information, that at no time was it reported that the men would not use their cartridges.

Heerah Sing, Color Havildar, of my Troop, brought a report, at about 10 o'clock p. m. of the 23rd instant, that the men of my Troop, the 4th, had requested the native Officer of the Troop, to solicit the Commanding Officer, through me, to defer the firing, *i. e.* the skirmishing parade, until such time as the agitation, obtaining throughout the country in the matter of cartridges, should cease. As well as I can remember, the report was strictly to this effect. Feeling the importance of any request of the kind, I at once wrote to the Adjutant of the Regiment, and urged in the strongest terms, my own solicitation with that of the Troop.

H. C. CRAIGIE, *Captain.*

Commanding 4th Troop, 3rd Light Cavalry.

To the Adjutant, 3rd Light Cavalry, Meerut.

Meerut, 27th April, 1857.

SIR,—In reply to your letter No. 73, of this day's date, I have the honor to inform you, for the information of Colonel Smyth, that about 10 p. m. on the night of the 23rd instant, Waluyut Khan, Rough Rider 5th Troop, came to report to me that the men of the 5th Troop made representation that, whereas no cartridges were being used in the Station at present, they could not use any for fear of getting a bad character. I told him that Colonel Smyth had said that there would be no alteration in the orders issued during the day.

M. CLARKE, *Lieutenant,*

In charge of 5th Troop, 3rd Light Cavalry.

To the Adjutant, 3rd Light Cavalry, Meerut.

Meerut, 27th April, 1857.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 74, of this day's date, and in reply beg to state for the Commanding Officer's information, that on the night of the 23rd instant, the Subadar of my troop sent me word by Dilawar Khan, orderly Naick, to the effect that the men had refused to go on parade the following morning, and fire the cartridges, in reply I said that they were to go on parade and do whatever was bid them.

G. A. GALWAY, *Captain,*

Commanding 6th Troop, 3rd Light Cavalry.

TO LIEUTENANT M. CLARKE,

Adjutant, 3rd Light Cavalry, Meerut.

On Sunday evening, the 10th of May, at about 6 P. M. or later, after Christie, Philips, and myself had done dinner, and were preparing to go to Church, Major Harriott, the Deputy Judge Advocate General, came to my house and said the Bazar people were collecting, and that Captain Macdonald, of the 20th N. I., had informed him there was some row going on in his Regiment. Shortly after this we heard several shots in the Infantry Lines, and I observed it could not be by order as it was Sunday, and I advised Major Harriott to be off in his buggy in which he came to my house. He did so, and Christie and Philips followed him in another. Soon after they left me, Lieut. Fairlie, the officer of the day, and Lieutenant Clarke, the Adjutant, came to me; I told the latter to go to our lines and order the men to stand to their horses.* And as I was Field Officer of the week, I ordered my horse to be

* In writing to me Lieut. Clarke says:—"I went to you for *orders*; you then told me to go to the lines and *order the men to stand to their horses, to be ready to mount if required.*"

saddled, but before it was ready, Jemadar Maun Sing, the Havildar Major, and his orderly Birjmohun Sing, came to me and reported that the Regiment was in a disturbed state, and six Officers came into my compound chased by the Infantry Sepoys, and concealed themselves in my house. I then went to inform the General of what was going on. I took my own orderly and the Field Officers with me, I told them to draw swords as the road was getting crowded, and immediately galloped off as fast as I could; the bazar people striking at me with swords and sticks and shouting after me, which Mr. Rose, of the Barrack Department, witnessed.* I went first to Mr. Greathead's, the gate of whose compound was open, but a man ran to it to shut it I suppose, but I got in and rode up to the house and gave the information to the servants, as I was informed Mr. G. was out. I then went on to the General's and heard he had just left the house in his carriage, so I galloped on to the Brigadier's, and after passing the rum godown a sepoy fired at me, thinking he was one of the Brigadier's guard, I did not go into the compound, and as I passed it some more men fired at me. Lieut. Stubbs, of the Artillery, was passing at the time with some children in a buggy. I went on to the Artillery Parade and found the Brigadier already on the ground, and I accompanied him with the troops to the other end of the cantonments and remained with him all night, and accompanied him the next morning with Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery through the cantonments, and went with the Artillery and Cavalry on the right of the Delhi road. When we crossed the pucka road, about two miles from cantonments, I returned by it to the Brigadier, whom I found near the empty hospital on the left of the Infantry Lines, with some of the 60th Rifles, and I informed him I had seen ten or twelve European dead bodies on the Delhi road near the old jail; he immediately proceeded with me to the spot and had the bodies placed in doolies. Two we perceived were women, and a third woman was found murdered with three children in a house close by. I may here mention that as I returned along the Delhi road after I left the Cavalry, I found it lined on both sides, near the city, by people with swords, matchlocks, and large sticks, but not one spoke or attacked me. I had taken out a double barrelled pistol and rode with it in my hand presenting it first on one side and then on the other, and I had the

* Mr. Rose in writing to me says—"As you passed by along the road, I could see *many people brandish clubs and tulwars; some appeared to me to be endeavouring to strike you*, the crowd pursued you out of my sight."

two orderlies still with me. I met another trooper on the road who offered to join me, but I would not trust him, as I did not at all like his looks. We all returned to the European Lines—as it was getting hot—at about 8 I should say, and I then went to look after the party of my corps that had brought the Regimental Standard to the Dragoon Lines on the previous night, but could not find them as they had returned to their own lines. I then proceeded to Major Harriott, and after breakfast, we called on the General, the Brigadier, the Brigade Major, the Assistant Adjutant General, the Commissioner, and (Mr. Johnson) the Magistrate. I ordered in all the ammunition from the Cavalry Lines, several of the kotees had not been broken, though the magazine had been.

On Tuesday, the 12th May, I again called on the Brigadier to suggest that our men, about 80, should be formed into a picquet for the day, but as I did not see him I suggested it to the Brigade Major, taking Major Richardson with me. But as none of our Officers were willing to do duty with the men, we were ordered to make over all our horses to the Dragoons, only 78 however were brought in, about 40 being left in the Lines, as there were not syces enough to bring them away; and Colonel Custance did not require any more. At noon on the 13th, the Dragoons left their Lines, and I was ordered to remain with the Brigadier, and all my Officers to report themselves to Colonel Custance. I had been going the rounds twice a night before this without order, I now received orders to do so with Colonel Mackenzie of the Artillery, and we went twice each.

The next day Captain Thatcher wishing to proceed to Hauper, agreed to take a party of our men with him; and on the evening of the 14th he started with them and remained there two or three days.

After the party, under Major Thatcher, had left Meerut for Hauper, an application for assistance was made by the Delhi fugitives who were in a village not very far from that vile city, and Lieutenant Mackenzie volunteered to go with another detachment of our men and bring all the people into Meerut. Permission was given by the General, and Lieutenant Gough afterwards volunteered to accompany it; and on their return, Captain Sandford having rejoined from temporary leave was sent off to Umballah with despatches to the Commander-in-chief, escorted by the same party under Lieutenant Mackenzie; and on their return a second time to Meerut, the whole of the detachment was ordered up to the Horse

Artillery Lines, gave a picquet of twelve men, and remained there until after the fall of Delhi, when they returned to their old quarters. On the 15th June a stronger detachment than the first, and under an European Officer, were sent to Moozuffurnuggur and did good service, as would appear by the letters addressed to Captain Galloway, who commanded, by Mr. Edwards, the Magistrate. Then the General ordered the detachment back to cantonments for the purpose of breaking in horses for the Dragoons; and on this occasion the Joint Magistrate gave a certificate to the Subadar.

Description of the Cantonment at Meerut.

The cantonment of Meerut, like most other cantonments in this country, were laid out in the form of a parallelogram of about five miles in length by two miles, or two miles and a half, in breadth. This parallelogram faced towards Kurnal, that is towards the north or north by west, its rear side facing towards Delhi. On the extreme right of the north front were the Horse Artillery lines, consisting of barracks and stabling for one native and three European troops of Horse Artlliery, with Hospital, Bazaar, &c. On the left of the Horse Artillery lines, and also in the north front line of the cantonment, were the bungalows of the European Infantry. These bungalows were in rows of four or five deep, and accommodated each about twenty men. They were on the night in question, and had been for some time before, occupied by the 60th Rifles. About a quarter of a mile to the left rear of those bungalows were the stables of the European Cavalry, and in rear of them the barracks of that regiment. These barracks were about the centre of the cantonment. To their rear was an extent of broken ground, such as is met with in the unoccupied portions of most cantonments, and which owed its ruggedness of surface to being in a great measure in the rainy season, the water shed of no small portion of the cantonment. To the right and rear of this broken ground was situated a very large bazar, amply stocked with some of the worst characters in India, and between which and the south front of the cantonment were a number of officer's quarters, which stretched up to the rear of the Artillery lines. Facing towards Delhi and at the left rear of the parallelogram were the lines of the native regiments, forming three sides of a square, and fully seven miles from the Horse Artillery lines at the opposite corner of

the station. Close to the native lines was also the road to Delhi. The officers of the European corps had mostly their bungalows behind the lines of their respective regiments; bungalows thus extending back to the rear of the cantonment. The dwellings of officers of the different corps were, however, very often intermixed without regard to strict order; and this was particularly the case in the rear of the broken ground already spoken of, and in the vicinity of the Sudder Bazaar, where were a very large number of bungalows occupied by European traders, wine merchants, clerks in the public offices, &c. The bungalows of the officers of the native corps were behind the lines of their respective regiments.

The old (walled, we believe) town of Meerut is south of the cantonment, and about a mile from the Sudder Bazaar already spoken of. It was crowded with a bad and turbulent population, and near, if not within it, was the civil jail. The Sappers and Miners lines were at a distance to the south-west of the Cantonments, being placed thus apart in order to secure room for the carrying on of the peculiar instruction imparted to soldiers of that corps.

From the above, it is evident that when the sepoys broke out into open mutiny on the evening of the 10th, nothing unless immediate and speedy flight could have saved any of the officers residing near the lines of the mutineers. The quarters of some of the officers of the mutinous regiments must have been fully two and a half, if not three miles from the lines of the nearest European regiment, the 6th Carabineers. Had the mutineers left their huts silently, and at once advanced on the houses of their officers, not one of the latter would in all probability have escaped. Native-like, however, they seem to have required the yelling and turmoil which took place on the parade ground to instil courage into them. On the other hand the European Officers appear to have thought more of endeavouring to quell the mutiny, than of their own safety. We believe, they nearly all in the first instance, repaired to the parade ground, where they remained until Colonel Finnis of the 11th N. I. was shot down.

A Medical Officer's Description of the out-break at Meerut.

On Sunday, the 10th, between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening, I was in my bungalow in rear of the lines of the 11th N. I., where I have resided since my arrival at the station, when, as I was dressing preparatory to going out for a ride with Colonel Finnis of the 11th N. I., my attention was attracted to my servants, and those in the neighbouring compounds, going down towards the front of our enclosures, and looking steadily into the lines of the 11th, whence a buzzing murmuring noise proceeded, such as I have often heard in cases of fire, or some such alarm. Of this I took little notice; but went down to my gate, still dressing, and the noise still increasing, I returned to the bungalow, put on my uniform, and again went out. I had scarcely got to the gate, when I heard the popping sound of firearms, which I knew at once were loaded with ball-cartridge, and a European non-commissioned officer came running with others towards me from the 11th lines, saying, 'for God's sake, Sir, leave, come to your bungalow, change that dress, and fly.' I walked into my bungalow, and was doffing my uniform; the bullets by this time flying out of the 11th lines into my compound, when the havildar-major of the 11th rushed into the room, terrified and breathless, and exclaimed, 'fly, sahib, fly at once, the Regiments are in open mutiny, and firing on their officers, and Colonel Finnis has just been shot in my arms.' It was evidently becoming serious; I came out, and ordered my horse to be saddled and brought up, my servants still begging of me to fly for my life. I mounted. The lines of the 6th Dragoon guards (Carabineers) lie to the north of my bungalow, separated by a rugged and barren plain, cut up by nullahs and ravines; upon which, riding out of the back part of my compound, I descended. A Briton does not like actually 'running away' under any circumstances, and I was riding slowly through the uneven ground, when the havildar-major before mentioned, exclaimed, 'you, sahib, are mounted, and can make haste; ride to the European Cavalry lines and give the alarm.' Good; I galloped off, crossed the difficult ground all right, got into the Cavalry lines, and made for the Colonel's house, which he had just left, and found him in the barrack lines on horseback, ordering the Dragoons to saddle, arm, and mount without a moment's delay. Here I shall leave the Dragoons and myself; and return to the Native Infantry parade-ground, and the commencement of the mutiny and massacres.

About 5 o'clock, the 20th N. I. and the 3rd Light Cavalry rushed from their lines armed and furious; the former regiment firing off their muskets, approaching the 11th N. I., and calling upon them to arm, come out and join them. I believe the 11th hesitated at first, cause unknown; but presently they too armed and rushed out, and the mutinous fuel took flame. About this time, Colonel Finnis and several other officers of the 11th N. I. came upon the parade, and commenced haranguing the sepoys, and attempting to pacify them, and bring them to order, when the Colonel's horse was wounded by a bullet fired by the 20th. On this, he saw that the matter was more serious than he had wished to believe; and one of his officers asking him if he should ride off to the Brigade Major, ask for aid, and give the alarm—he consented. This is the last time he was seen alive by European eyes; for immediately after he was shot in the back by a sepoy of the 20th, fell from his horse, and was actually riddled with balls. About this time, the other officers of the 11th seeing that their presence amongst the mutineers was perfectly useless, and the bullets flying about them in all directions, retreated from the lines, and sought safety mostly in the direction of the Carabineer lines; to which I must now re-transfer the narrative. It took us a long time, in my opinion, to get ready; and it was dark before the Dragoons were prepared to start in a body; whilst, by this time, flames began to ascend in all directions from the lines, and the officers' bungalows, of the 3rd Cavalry, and the 11th and 20th N. I. from public buildings mess-houses, private residences, and, in fact, every edifice or thing that came within reach of the torch and the fury of the mutineers, and of the bazar *canaille*, who, in considerable numbers I believe, joined in their terrific orgies. On all sides shot up into the heavens great pinnacles of waving fire of all hues and colors, according to the nature of the fuel that fed them; huge volumes of smoke rolling sullenly off in the sultry night air, and the crackling and roar of the conflagration mingling with the shouts and riot of the mutineers. The entire scene, of which these were but the most prominent external features, and which words cannot describe, I leave to your readers to imagine, if they are fond of the horrible and the tragic. When the Carabineers were mounted, we rode off at a brisk trot, through clouds of suffocating dust and the darkness, in an easterly direction, and along a narrow road; not advancing in the direction of the conflagration, but, on the contrary, leaving it behind us on our right rear. In this way we proceeded for some two or three miles, to my no

small surprise; when suddenly the '*halt*' was sounded, and we faced about, retracing our steps, and verging off to our left, approached the conflagration, and debouched on the left rear of the Native Infantry lines, which of course were all in a blaze. Skirting along behind these lines, we turned them at the western end, and wheeling to the left, came upon the 11th parade ground, where, at a little distance, we found the Horse Artillery and H. M.'s 60th Rifles. It appears that the three Regiments of mutineers had by this time commenced dropping off to the westward, and towards the Delhi road; for here some firing took place between them and the Rifles; and presently, the Horse Artillery coming to the front and unlimbering, opened upon a copse or wood in which they had apparently found cover, with heavy discharges of grape and canister, which tore and rattled amongst the trees, and all was silent again. The Horse Artillery now limbered up again, and wheeled round; and here I joined them, having lost the Dragoons in the darkness. By this time, however, the moon arose, and the conflagration being between her and us, she mingled her silvery and placid light with the crimson glare of the fire, and tinged with a livid white the clouds of smoke which were surging and ascending into the heavens. We blessed her useful light, and the Horse Artillery column, with Rifles at its head, moving across the parade ground, we entered the long street, turning from the southward behind the Light Cavalry lines. There it was that the extent and particulars of the conflagration first became visible, and passing the burning bungalow of the Adjutant of the 11th N I., we proceeded along the straight road or street; flanked on both sides with flaming and crushing houses, in all stages of combustion and ruin, the rifles occasionally firing vollies as we proceeded. It was by this time past ten o'clock, and having made the entire circuit of the lines, we passed up to the eastward of them, and, joined by the Dragoons and Rifles, bivouacked for the night. I must now come to the particulars of the brutal outrages and assassinations that marked this infernal outbreak, premising, however, that a sense of delicacy, and a regard for the harassed feelings of surviving friends and relatives, prevent me from entering into details, the relation of which could only gratify a mind fond of horrors and atrocities. At the very commencement of the *emeute*, the 3rd Light Cavalry, saddling and mounting their horses, galloped off to the Jail, and of course overpowering all resistance, liberated their eighty-five comrades, and all the other prisoners, to the number of about thirteen hundred apparently. Returning from this, they joined the mutineers of the 20th N. I.; and the work of in-

discriminate European massacre began without regard to rank, age, sex, or employment, furious and merciless. Veterinary Surgeons Philipps and Dawson of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and the wife of the latter, were massacred, and also Lieutenant McNab of the same Regiment, several others of the corps having miraculously escaped; the Surgeon, Christie, being also, wounded. Of the Officers of the 20th N. I., Captain Taylor, Commanding; Captain Macdonald, with the wife of the latter, were savagely slain; with, as in the case of the Cavalry Officers, numerous narrow escapes. Of the 11th N. I., poor Finnis was the only Officer slain; but Mrs. Chambers, the wife of the Adjutant, was pitilessly slaughtered in her own bungalow, which as I have told you above, we saw burning; and remember, as I have also said above, I refrain from describing details, merely giving the casualties. Amongst those not in the Military employ of the Government, who perished in this indiscriminate massacre, were Mr. Tregear of the Education Department, Mrs. Courteney, the Mistress of the Hotel, and many women and girls whose names I do not know. After all this work was done, and the mutineers had retreated, the remainder of the night passed away in gloom and doubt; and the conflagration, having nothing more to feed upon, was extinguished as it were, by the rising beams and more powerful light of the sun. I mounted my horse, and rode down from the carabineer's lines towards my hospital, and the N. I. lines, dubious as to the state of affairs, and came to the charred and blackened huts and bungalows, all naked and deserted. On my way down, a *dhoolee* approached and was passing me, when I stopped the bearers, and asked what they carried? They answered, 'the Colonel Sahib.' It was poor Finnis's body, which had just been found where he fell, and was being carried towards the Churchyard. All sick, to the number of about forty, had fled from the hospital, which was deserted, with the exception of two or three small-pox cases, too bad to move, and who appeared much surprised at my attending to them, as if nothing whatever had occurred. All day yesterday, the station was under arms, and surrounded and traversed everywhere by patrols mounted and on foot, and the same precautions were of course observed last night; not unnecessarily either, for the carabines of the dragoons were heard constantly through the night, firing upon marauders and incendiaries, who came prowling towards the lines. In the midst of our own troubles, we are very anxious about the fate of the Europeans at Delhi, whither the mutineers have gone; and as the telegraph wires were cut at the commencement of the outbreak, we know nothing of what is

occurring elsewhere, nor of what is known about us. I hope the health of our men will stand the constant duty in this terrible weather, until relief shall come to us, or some move suited to the magnitude of the danger and disaster shall be made, *by some man of energy and competence*, for whom here is an occasion. We have plenty of small-arm ammunition and sharp swords, in the hands of as good regimental officers and men as ever sat in saddle or shouldered firelock; and ought to be able to hold our own, if the odds don't rise very much against us. All that we now much dread, is fire to our bungalows and barracks; and what we most look to, is the descent of the European regiments from the hills to join us. We are not, however, entirely isolated and deserted, for some trumps of zemindars to the southward hearing of this affair, and that yesterday's dawk had been stopped and plundered, turned out on horseback, and with two Collector's *suwars*, took up on the road, and brought in a dâk this morning from the southward and Calcutta. These men are to take out the dâk this afternoon, and say they will see it safe on its way down country. Two Europeans travelling by carriage dâk to Delhi, one named Mortimer, fell in amongst the mutineers on the road a short distance from the station, on the night of the row, and were of course dragged from the carriage and murdered.

Account by the Rev. T. C. Smyth, M. A., Chaplain of Meerut.

On the 9th of May, eighty-five troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry, who had refused to fire with the cartridges supplied to them (the same which they had used for many months) were brought up at a parade of the Meerut troops to receive the sentence of a general court-martial, which had finished its proceedings the previous day, and whose sentence had been confirmed by Major-General W. H. Hewitt, commanding the division, in accordance with the special powers which had been given him by the Commander-in-Chief. Chains were riveted on the mutineers in the presence of the troops, and they were sentenced to imprisonment for ten years. All remained quiet till the evening of Sunday, the 10th of May, when I was driving down to church as usual (distant about a mile from my house) for the 7 p. m. service, and met on my way two of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles covered with blood and supported by their comrades. On reaching the church I found buggies and carriages driving away in great confusion, and a body of people running to me and pointing to a column of fire and smoke in the direction of the city. Frequent shots were then

heard, and the distant cries of a large mob. My colleague, the Rev. Mr. Rotton, and his wife, came up at the moment; but, finding that the people had all gone back, we abandoned of course the thought of commencing divine service, and I drove home, about half past 7 or a quarter to 8, in the direction of the Rifle and Artillery lines, avoiding the most public places of resort. ' I may mention that a guard of some eight or ten sepoys at the Artillery depôt, or School of Instruction (three of whom were killed shortly afterwards in resisting an officer, who came with his party to take their post) saluted me in passing. I reached my house (which I share with Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell, of the Horse Artillery), in perfect safety, but found from them that the Sepoy guard at the Brigadier's (close at hand) had, shortly before, fired a shot, which passed between them while they were standing at the gate of their compound. We went together, just after my return, into the western verandah, and heard a shot in the adjoining road, followed by a cry and the galloping off of a horse with a buggy. This proved to have been the murder of Mr. Phillips (veterinary surgeon of the 3rd Light Cavalry), who was shot and mutilated by five troopers; Dr. Christie (the surgeon of the same regiment), who accompanied him in the buggy, having been sadly disfigured and injured at the same time. He is still living and doing well. By this time the English troops (consisting of Her Majesty's 6th Dragoon Guards, a troop and a battery of Bengal Artillery, with the 1st Battalion of Her Majesty's 60th Royal Rifles), had reached the Native Infantry lines, into which they fired with grape and musketry. The inhabitants of the Sudder Bazar and city committed atrocities far greater than those of the Sepoys, as in the case of Captain M'Donald's wife, whom they pursued some distance and frightfully mutilated (though her children were happily all saved by the ayah), and of Mrs. Chambers, wife of the Adjutant of the 11th Native Infantry, who was murdered in her garden during Mr. Chambers' absence on duty, her clothes having been set on fire before she was shot, and cut to pieces. About 10 o'clock a bungalow, immediately opposite our house, was set on fire by five troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and an attempt (though happily unsuccessful) was made to fire the Brigadier's house. After this eleven strong pickets and patrols of the English cavalry, artillery, and infantry were posted on the road near our house, but the firing of houses, &c., continued till close upon daybreak, principally caused by the neighbouring villagers, after the guarding of the lines. The loss of property, and alas! of life, has been very dreadful. The part of Meerut in which the insurrection principally raged

is a miserable wilderness of ruined houses, and some of the residents (as was the case with Mr. and Mrs. Greathed, the Commissioner of the Division) escaped miraculously from the hands of their pursuers, by hiding themselves in the gardens and out-houses of their burning bungalows, and in some cases by disguising themselves as native servants. Before the European troops arrived on Sunday night at the scene of action the following were barbarously cut to pieces:—Mr. V. Tregear, inspector of schools; Captain M'Donald, of the 20th Native Infantry, and Mrs. M'Donald; Captain Taylor; Mr. Pattle; Mr. Henderson, all of the same corps; Colonel Finnis, commanding the 11th Native Infantry; Mrs. Chambers whose murderer was caught on the 15th, tried at once, and hanged on a tree without further delay, his body afterwards being burnt to ashes. In the 3rd Light Cavalry the following were killed:—Mr. Phillips, veterinary surgeon; Mr. and Mrs. Dawson; Mr. MacNab, lately joined, and a little girl of the riding master's, Mr. Langdale; together with several soldiers of the artillery and 60th Rifles, and women and children of the millitary and general residents in the station. Among other instances of frightful butchery was that of Sergeant Law, his wife, and six children, who were living beyond the precincts of cantonments. The state in which the father and three of the infants were found defies description. Happily the mother and three other children, though grievously mangled, crawled about midnight to the Artillery Hospital. Mr. Rotton and I have buried thirty-one of the murdered, but there are others whose bodies have not as yet been brought in. The 3rd Light Cavalry (with the exception of some seventy or eighty troopers) and the 20th Native Infantry went off to Delhi during Sunday night. The 11th Native Infantry, who not only refrained from murdering their officers and burning houses, but protected the ladies and children of the corps, remained in the neighbourhood; 120 of these have returned, and it is thought that many more of them will do so, a proclamation of pardon, under the circumstances, having been sent to them. On Monday night many people (including a large number of women and children) slept in the Artillery School of Instruction, a walled enclosure, well guarded. On Tuesday I returned with my friends to our house.

Mrs. Greathed's Account.

We dined in the evening (9th May) at Colonel Custance's; in the course of conversation I related to him what I had heard, that placards had been seen about the city, calling upon all true Mussulmans to rise and slaughter the English. The threat

was treated by us all with an indignant disbelief. Alas! one brave officer, Colonel Finnis, sitting with us at table, was within twenty-four hours, one of the first victims to the infuriated soldiery.

Sunday, the 10th of May, dawned in peace and happiness. The early morning service at the Cantonment Church saw many assembled together, some never to meet on earth again. Well do I remember the few words said and exchanged with poor Mr. MacNab, who, before the sun had set, had ceased to be amongst the living. The day passed in quiet happiness, no thought of danger disturbed the serenity of that happy home. Alas! how differently closed the Sabbath which dawned so tranquilly. We were on the point of going to the evening service, when the disturbance commenced on the native parade ground. Shots and volumes of smoke told of what was going on: our servants begged us not to show ourselves, and urged the necessity of closing our doors as the mob were approaching. Mr. Greathed after loading his arms took me to the terrace on the top of the house; two of our country-women also took refuge with us to escape the bullets of the rebels; just at this moment Mr. Gough, of the 3rd Cavalry, galloped with full speed up to the house. He had dashed through the mutinous troops, fired at on all sides, to come and give us notice of the danger; the nephew of the Affghan Chieftain, Jan Fishan, also came for the same purpose and was, I regret to say, wounded by a sepoy.

The increasing tumult, thickening smoke, and fires all around, convinced us of the necessity of making our position as safe as we could; our guard were drawn up below. After dark, a party of insurgents rushed into the grounds, drove off the guard and broke into the house and set it on fire. On all sides we could hear some smashing and plundering, and calling loudly for us; it seemed once or twice as though footsteps were on the staircase, but no one came up. We owed much to the fidelity of our servants, had but one proved treacherous, our lives must have been sacrificed.

After some time the flames got the ascendant,, and the smoke became intolerable; just as the fire threatened our destruction, we heard the voice of one of our servants calling to us to come down. At all risks we descended. Our faithful servant Golab Khan, seeing our perilous situation amidst the increasing flames, and that every moment was precious, with his characteristic presence of mind and quickness, had suddenly thought of a plan, by which to draw away the mob, who, after having satisfied themselves with all the plunder they could get, were every moment becoming more eager in their search for us. He boldly went up to them, won their confidence by declaring himself

of their faith and willing to give us up into their hands. He assured them it was useless to continue their search in the house, but if they would all follow him, he would lead them to a hay stack where we had been concealed.

The plan succeeded; and so convinced were they that what he told was the truth that not a man remained behind. In this interval we got safely down. Not a human being was to be seen near the house; but we had only just time to escape into the garden when the mutinous crowd returned madder than ever at the deception that had been practised on them. Golab Khan's life was now almost as much at risk as our own; but we happily escaped.

In a very few minutes after our descent, the house fell in with a crash, and we thanked God for his merciful preservation of us.

The remaining hours till dawn were not without anxiety, we were sitting quietly in the bright moonlight on a "charpoy," which one of the servants had brought out when an alarm was given that they threatened to search for us. The gardener concealed me under a tree; my husband stood near, with his revolver in his hand. The alarm proved false, and I was glad to be released from my hiding place.

Never was dawn more welcome to us than on the 11th of May; the daylight showed how complete the work of destruction had been, all was turned into ruin and desolation, and our once bright happy home was now a blackened pile. Such was the scene; but thankfulness for life left no place for other regrets. With the morning light the mob had all dispersed, and we had no difficulty in making our way to the dragoon lines, where we were most cordially welcomed by our friends, Captain and Mrs. Cookson. They had felt the greatest apprehension as to our fate, knowing that we were out of Cantonments, no help could have been given us, we had been utterly cut off from all communication through the night, and sad was the tale of murder and bloodshed we now heard, and terrible the anxiety for those at Delhi, when it was found that the telegraph wires had been destroyed by the sepoys, before the knowledge of what was occurring had transpired. The mutineers got away during the night, and persuit was useless. The morrow confirmed our worst fears; but of that hideous massacre all has been made known.

The artillery depôt, with its large enclosure, was converted into a fort, and became a home for every one; many families occupied the rooms in the long range of barracks, and the space between was filled with tents. Here we found shelter, and, with the aid of "tatties" and thermantidotes, felt little

inconvenience from the scorching sun and hot blasts; strength and spirits seemed to rise with the exigencies of our position; no complaints were heard; heat and comparative discomfort were alike disregarded; all were cheerful and ready to help others, and those who had lost all, had their wants generously supplied by those who had been less unfortunate. A general mess was formed, and we lived as comfortably and happily as under the changed circumstances was possible. Our position was perfectly secure and well guarded, and became every day more strongly intrenched.

The following extract of a letter, dated Allahabad, May 24th 1858, with subjoined documents, may be thought interesting:—

"Since the departure of the last mail, the Governor-General has bestowed on Golab Khan a present of a 1,000 rupees, and a life pension of ten rupees a month. To the old gardener, 500 rupees and six rupees pension. Old Jan Fishan (an Affghan pensioner,) has had his pension of a thousand a month (previously given for his own life only) made hereditary in his family; and villages in the neighbourhood of Sirdhana, paying Rs. 10,000 revenue, are made over to him and his family, half revenue only to be exacted during his life, and three quarters of the amount in the two succeeding generations. His black bearded nephew has had his previous life pension of 600 a month enhanced to 800 and made hereditary, and his propriatory rights similar to his uncle's conferred upon him in respect of villages paying a yearly revenue of 6,000 rupees to Government. All four have had the additional honour of having the announcement of their rewards conveyed to them in letters from the Governor-General."

Extract from a letter from Wilberforce Greathed, Lieut. of Engineers.

To W. Muir, Esq., Secretary to the Government of the N. W. Provinces.

Allahabad, 11th February, 1858.

"Sir,—At the very commencement of the outbreak at Meerut, on the evening of the 10th May, 1857, Sirdar Bahadur Peer Mahomed Khan, nephew of the Affghan Chieftain, Jan Fishan Khan, wrote to the residents of my brother, the late Mr. Hervey Greathed, Commissioner of Meerut, who had returned to the station the previous evening after an absence of three days' duration, and gave him friendly warning of the coming storm. He remained with my brother until the insurgents entered the grounds in which his house was situated, and was then and there wounded with a bullet fired by a trooper of the 3rd Light Cavalry.

"The Commissioner had determined not to leave his house. On the approach of the mutineers he ascended to the terraced roof with his wife, and two helpless women who had come to his house for protection. There with loaded arms he awaited the issue.

"It was not long deferred. The insurgents were met at the entrance of the house by Golaub Khan Jemadar, an old and trusted servant, who maintained in reply to the repeated enquiries that his master and mistress had gone to Church. The people about, animated by his example, confirmed the statement. The Police-guard over the house composed of a class which has betrayed its trust in almost every instance during the rebellion, was faithful here. Every member of a large establishment was fully aware of their master's peril, and all shared the undoubted risk of denying his being about the place. Every word spoken was at the first heard by the party on the roof.

"The work of destruction commenced. Grass and other combustibles brought from the stables by the excited rabble, were heaped against the outside venetian doors, furniture broken, and piled high in the centre rooms, was set on fire; at length the solid timbers which supported the roof were in a blaze, and to all appearance nothing could save those who had taken refuge on the terrace.

"At this juncture Golab Khan who, when he saw the destruction of the house inevitable, had feigned to take part in the orgy, incited the crowd to pillage a large store-house at some distance from the mansion, and up to that time untouched. The scheme succeeded. As the rabble left the house on one side, servants previously instructed by the Jemadar placed ladders against the opposite walls, and as by a miracle the party on the roof escaped a dreadful death.

"In a few, perhaps ten minutes after, it was deserted, the roof fell with a crash.

"Those who had left it took refuge in the garden, where they remained in safety till day-break, and the last of the rioters had left the place (though search was made through the garden, and threatening orders to disclose their retreat were again overheard by those whose life was sought.)

"At length the road near the house being reported clear, a buggy was procured by Golab Khan, and this most marvellous escape was concluded."

"Golab Khan Jemadar was for twenty years in the service of my brother, the late Hervey Greathed, Commissioner of Meerut. He never left him in that period save when in his master's absence on furlough, he served my brother Robert. I have known him myself for twelve years. Entirely trusted by his master, he fully requited the confidence reposed in him. Intelligent and full of resource, well mannered, good-tempered, watchful, thoughtful and discreet, never absent when wanted, and never in the way, attached only as the best of English servants are attached to best of Masters and Mistresses; Golab Khan stands alone in my estimation amongst natives of his class.

"His power of getting every one about him to work cheerfully and willingly, is quite peculiar, and he allows no difficulties to interfere with the execution of his duty.

"On the outbreak of the mutinies at Meerut, 10th May, 1857, he was mainly instrumental in saving the lives of his Master and Mistress

at the risk of his own. For this service he has been honored by the Governor-General with a Purwanah conferring a reward of a 1,000 rupees and a life pension of ten Rs. a month. This certificate of service is given to him on his return from Calcutta, whither he has attended his Mistress on her way to England, not merely as a means of assistance in obtaining honorable employment, but as an expression of my gratitude and esteem.

WILBERFORCE H. GREATHED,

Lieut. of Engineers."

Narrative by the Rev. A. Medland, Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, Meerut.

Whilst I was performing service in our Mission chapel on Sunday evening, I heard a great noise, shouting and yelling, accompanied by an occasional fire of musketry. At the conclusion of the prayers, I inquired into the cause, and was informed that the sepoys were fighting in their own lines. Apprehending no danger, as the lines were at some distance, I commenced my sermon, but had not proceeded far, when a man rushed in and informed me that the sepoys were advancing upon us, and murdering all the Europeans they could lay hands on. Mr. Parsons, our catechist, quickly followed, confirming his statement. I at once dismissed the congregation, and, at his suggestion, drove off in a direction opposite to my house. By this time huge masses of smoke were ascending in various directions, and, shortly after, we passed the European troops marching to the scene of the disturbance. Being assured the danger was imminent, we proceeded to seek shelter in the house of a friend. Ere we could enter his compound, we heard a savage yell behind us, and an empty buggy passed, the owner of which we have since heard, was massacred on the spot, and a gentleman who accompanied him very dangerously wounded. We, however, were mercifully permitted to enter our friend's house in safety, where we remained until escorted by some officers to a place of greater security. The night was spent in a state of fearful suspense, whilst the illuminated sky, and the distant firing, proclaimed that the work of destruction and carnage was proceeding. Towards morning the firing ceased, when we were horrified by the various accounts of the carnage and destruction which had taken place.

On Monday, my servants came and informed me that a large crowd of natives from the city, probably a thousand, came to my house on the preceding evening inquiring for Mrs. Medland and myself, and threatening to cut us to pieces. Finding however, that we were not in the house, they insti-

tuted a diligent search throughout the compound, but failing in their object, they deliberately set fire to the house and adjoining premises. The whole of the property was either burned or stolen, and, with the exception of a few articles of wearing apparel which had been thrown into the compound, we have nothing left save the clothes we have on. The people next inquired for Joseph, my catechist. He, however, was at church, and fled with me as far as he could keep pace with my horse. I then directed him to follow me as he best could; but, mistaking my directions, he proceeded by a circuitous route to my house in the city. He was unfortunately recognised, beaten very severely, and left for dead. After a short time, however, he revived, ran away and hid himself; and, a day or two after, having carefully disguised himself, returned to me. I have since heard that a crowd approached the Mission premises, but, hearing from the chowkedar that Mr. Lamb's house was empty, and the Sahib in the hills, they departed without doing any damage. I have not yet been able to venture into the city: it would probably be risking my life to do so, but I gather from my servants that the dwelling-house, school-rooms, and a small bungalow used as a girl's school-room, have all been destroyed. We have been most hospitably received by Major Scott, formerly a member of the Calcutta Committee, who, with Mrs. Scott have in the most kind and hospitable manner, ministered to all our wants. We are now quartered with the civilians and ladies of the station, in the Artillery depôt, where it is supposed we shall be obliged to remain for some considerable time.

We are living in a state of continual excitement; and when the intelligence of the Delhi massacre was received, and it was generally supposed that the insurgent troops would return here, the faces of many gathered blackness, and many —I may say all—began to prepare for the worst. However, thanks be to God! we are still in safety; and now that favorable accounts are being received from many of the surrounding districts, hope again beams on our countenances, and confidence is being restored. Several regiments are ordered here; and it is supposed that, shortly after their arrival, an attack will be made on Delhi, which still remains in the hands of the insurgents. Martial law has been proclaimed.

18*th May.*—Since writing the preceding the Sappers and Miners have arrived from Roorkee. On Saturday afternoon, one of them deliberately shot his commanding officer, and all the men who were in the barracks at the time—about four hundred—fled into the open country. They were quickly pursued, and about fifty were killed: the rest escaped in different directions, carrying their arms with them. Last night was passed

very quietly, and we are now awaiting the arrival of reinforcements.

The Missionaries and native Christians at Delhi are, I believe, killed. All our Christians are in safety, and have returned to the Mission compound.

We cannot be too thankful to Almighty God for His merciful preservation of us; and whilst praising Him for the past, we are encouraged to confide in Him for the future, being confident that He who has helped us will continue to do so, and ultimately will overrule even this afflictive dispensation for the promotion of His own glory.

The stedfastness of the native Christians during the time that they as well as the Europeans were objects of such virulent animosity on the part of a considerable portion of the native inhabitants of Meerut, is worthy of especial observation. In a letter of the Rev. A. Medland, dated October 30, he furnishes high testimony to the truly Christian bearing of a catechist named Joseph. He says—

"I enclose a verbatim copy of a letter I received a few days after the outbreak from Joseph, my catechist, whilst in concealment. He accompanied me when I fled from the Mission Church. Discovering that he was unable to keep pace with my horse, I directed him to follow as he best could, in an opposite direction to the scene of disturbance. Mistaking my direction, I suppose, he shortly after endeavoured to return to the city, and unfortunately met with the sad treatment he has himself described. His exclamation, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away,' was made under very peculiar and trying circumstances. He then discovered for the first time that the whole of his little property, amounting to between four hundred and five hundred rupees, had been destroyed, and was in ignorance of the fate of his wife and father. The young man who sheltered him so nobly was a Brahmin youth of our first class. I had always considered Joseph a promising young man, and a sincere and consistent Christian. This trial of his faith has greatly confirmed my former opinion of him.

Letter from the Catechist Joseph, written from his place of hiding.

"Reverend Sir,—It had been much better if I went with you, because, as I was going through the Lal Kuttra Bazar, I saw that the sepoys were firing at the Begum's bridge; therefore I turned to the left, and ran away very fast. In the way I met with two villagers, who were coming from a certain village.

They said, 'Don't go to the city, but let us go to Abdullahpore.' I said 'No, I will go to the city.' When I came to the little village which is near the Shahpeer Darwaza (gate), although I had disguised myself, yet people recognised me, and one of them said, 'Oh, he is a Christian—kill him.' I could not deny the Lord Jesus Christ, although it was the very moment of my death. I said, 'I am a Christian, but don't beat me or kill me.' One of them gave me a very severe blow with his *lathee* (a thick stick, or kind of club). After this they ran towards me, and began to beat me. I don't know how many there were who beat me; and when they perfectly killed me, as they thought, they went away. When I received the last and severe blow, which I thought would be fatal, I fell upon my knees and prayed, 'O Lord Jesus Christ, receive my spirit—I commit it into Thy hand.' For some time I remained half dead, and after a little while I heard the voice of a man, who said, 'Throw the dead man away;' but no person came to me. When I came to myself, I got up and ran away. They ran after me again, saying, 'He is still living—kill him.' They could not catch me. I did not know what to do, and where to go. At last I went to Deghee village. When I reached there, people recognised me (we had preached there a week or ten days previously), and ran after me; but I went out of their reach. After this I went to the jungle, and concealed myself under bushes, where I remained all the night. Very early in the morning I got up, and came in the city, where I saw that the kothee (house) and bungalow were burned to ashes. I said, 'It is the Lord, let Him do what seemeth Him good; the Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away—His name be blessed.' I did not find any of the servants there, save Kullu Singh (a teacher in the school). He took me to his house, but his father did not like to let me stay there; therefore I sent for Moheshpershad (a school-boy). As soon as he heard of me, he came and took me to his house, and gave me every satisfaction. Please tell Marian (his wife) that, now I am better, she should not be troubled, but rather pray.—I remain, Sir, yours most obediently,

JOSEPH.

"*P.S.*—Moheshpershad sends his salaam to you."

"In reply to the foregoing," says Mr. Medland, "I sent word to Joseph to remain where he was until he was strong enough, and he considered that he could safely attempt to return to me. A few days after, he made his appearance, disguised in such a manner that at first I could not recognise him."

Farther Particulars.

In another direction the wife of an officer in the 3rd cavalry, going like other Europeans to church, and startled like them by sounds of violence, saw a private of the Carabiniers unarmed, and running for very life from several men armed with *latthies* or long sticks : she stopped her carriage and took in the English soldier ; but the men continued to strike at him until the vehicle rolled away. This lady, on reaching her bungalow in haste and dismay, was the first to give notice to her husband that something was wrong among the native troops : he instantly started off on foot to the lines of the 3rd cavalry, in which he commanded a troop. He was respected by his men, who offered him no hurt, and who seemed to hesitate for a time whether to join the rest in mutiny or not. Soon, however, the mania infected them ; and the captain, seeing the jail opened and the prisoners liberated, hastened back. The road from the town to the cantonment was in an uproar ; the infantry and the bazar-people were in crowds, armed and firing ; and he saw one of the miscreant troopers stab to death an English-woman, the wife of the Meerut hotel-keeper, as she passed. Soon a ball whizzed past his own car, and he saw one of his own troopers aiming at him ; he shouted, ' Was that meant for me ?' 'Yes,' was the reply, ' I will have your blood !' The captain detected this man as one whom he had been obliged to punish for carelessness and disobedience. The man fired again, but again missed his aim ; and although the other troopers did not join in this, they made no attempt to check or seize the assailant. The captain, abandoned gradually by all but a very few troopers, at length reached the European lines, where he took part in the proceedings afterwards adopted. Meanwhile the poor wife had passed two hours of terrible suspense. Believing at first that the carabinier whom she had saved might have been the main object of attack, she hid his uniform, dressed him in a coat of her husband's, and bade him sit with herself and family, for mutual safety. Out of doors she heard shots and shouts, and saw houses burning. In the next bungalow, speedily fired, was the wife of an adjutant lately arrived from England ; she was entreated to come over for shelter, but not arriving, servants were sent in to seek her. A horrid sight met them : the hapless lady lay on the floor in a pool of blood, dead, and mutilated in a way that the pen refuses to describe. The noises and flames increased ; eight or ten flaming bungalows were in sight at once ; and many a struggle took place between the captain's

servants and the mutineers, during which it was quite uncertain whether one more burning, one more massacre, would ensue. Troopers rushed into the bungalow, endeavouring to fire it; while others, with a lingering affection towards the family of their officer, prevented them. The husband arrived, in speechless agony concerning the safety of those dear to him. Wrapped in black stable-blankets, to hide their light dresses, all left the house amid a glare of flame from neighbouring buildings, and hid under trees in the garden; whence they sped to a small ruin near at hand, where, throughout the remainder of the night, they crouched listening to the noises without. Bands of armed men passed in and out of the bungalow compound during the night, and were only prevented from prosecuting a search, by an assurance from the domestics that the officer's family had effected their escape. When morning came, the (now) houseless Europeans, with about twenty troopers who remained faithful to the last—though agitated by strange waverings and irresolution—left the place, taking with them such few clothes and trinkets as could be hastily collected, and started off for the Carabiniers' lines, passing on their way the smouldering ruins of many bungalows and public buildings.

Another Account.

On Sunday, the 10th May, at half-past 5 P. M., several officers of the 20th were sitting in the commanding officer's bungalow, when Lieut. Pattle entered with the information that he had been told that some disturbance had occurred in the lines. The officers proceeded together to the lines, and hearing no uproar, did not even think it necessary to return to their respective bungalows to arm themselves, the sepoys were quite quiet, and the officers were informed that a report had been circulated that the Europeans were coming down to seize the regimental magazine. The officers walked through the lines, conversing with the men, assuring them that while they remained quiet, their magazine would remain intact. On arriving at the regimental magazine, they found the road leading from the Sudder bazar to the above building blocked up by natives of the bazars and city. They thronged in immense numbers close up to the magazine, and Captain Taylor ordered the grenadier company to drive the populace back with sticks. The sepoys did not move, but the Christian drummers and musicians armed themselves with sticks, and carried out the order; after an interval of about a quarter of an hour, during which the officers were talking to and re-assuring the men, they saw several sepoys stealing away with loaded mus-

kets. The officers separated, ran after them, and persuaded them to return to their huts. Presently, a 3rd light cavalry trooper galloped into the lines, told the men that the Europeans were coming, and that if they were soldiers, and intended doing anything, to do it at once. The bazar miscreants joined in the cry. Entire companies now rushed forward, the officers made many return, but numbers more stole away towards the magazine. The kotees were broken open, the arms seized, and Colonel Finnis, 11th N. I., on approaching the 20th magazine was fired at and killed; Captain Macdonald 20th N. I., and V. Tregear, Esq., inspector of Schools, were shot down immediately afterwards. The remainder of the officers had taken up their position in the centre street, and were endeavouring to keep back the left wing. The bullets were flying thickly around them, information was brought of the above murders, and several sepoys urged them to leave. They walked sorrowfully and sadly away, and as soon as they were clear of the lines, were chased by sepoys and obliged to run, compromising the indignity of the action by proceeding at a jog trot. There was no lack of courage displayed by the officers of the 20th. Lieut. Humphrey in attempting to reach the magazine, after three Europeans had been killed, had his horse shot under him riddled with eleven bullets. Not a single officer, unarmed as they were, hesitated in forcing back their men, and on refusing to return to their duty, sepoys with muskets *loaded* and *cocked* were knocked down by the fists of their unarmed officers. However there is a time for every thing, a time to fight, and a time to run, and the period for scuttling had now arrived. The escape of any officer of the 20th was perfectly miraculous. Lieut. Humphrey, when his horse had been killed, was fired at on the ground by numbers, and within a few paces, but escaped unscathed, and concealed himself all night in an out-house attached to the hospital; Captain Earle escaped by driving at full gallop through crowds of natives amidst showers of bullets, neither horse, buggy, nor men were injured. Ensign Lewes was wounded in the neck by a musket ball, was immediately pursued by sepoys and bazar people, ran through several compounds in one of which he met a carriage driving off, entered it, and escaped. Captain Taylor, Lieuts. Henderson, Shuldham, Pattle, Tytler, and Asistant Surgeon Adley went off in a body unarmed and on foot. Wherever they moved they were encountered by immense mobs; every street, lane, by-path, and compound was one vast mass of animated villainy, yelling death and destruction to the Feringhees. After numerous escapes occasionally effected by the use of their fists against armed men, they took refuge

in the out-houses of Colonel Smyth's compound; Captain Taylor, Lieuts. Henderson and Pattle separated, were discovered and killed; the out-houses were set fire to, and they were murdered in attempting to escape from the flames. Captain Taylor was killed by the mob, Lieuts. Pattle and Henderson escaped about 100 bullets for a far worse fate, and were cut to pieces by the mob. The remaining three vowed to stand or fall together, armed themselves with sticks, and took refuge in the temple of Cloacina. The sanctity of their asylum proved their salvation, their place of refuge was the only building in the entire compound not set fire to; after a five hours' sojourn here, they heard the troops marching past, and joined them. The troops were marching in solemn procession at a funeral pace. In five hours they had accomplished a distance of nearly three miles. The troops returned to the mall, and then bivouacked; the mutineers did not make any stand or attempt to fight, but went away unmolested to Delhi. They were not even pursued to the cantonment boundaries, several officers went out the next day on private spec, and ran a few of the mutineers through. The route the mutineers had taken was well conjectured, it was also self-evident that every European at Delhi would be attacked, and if possible slaughtered, yet no attempt at rescue was made. We had two magnificent European regiments at Meerut, struggling and straining on the slips, but the dogs of war were not let loose.

Delhi.

Delhi has seven gates on the land-side, named, respectively, the Lahore, Ajmeer, Turcoman, Cabool, Mohur or Moree, Cashmere, and Agra Gates; while along the river-front are four others, the Rajghat, Negumbod, Lall, and Kaila Gates. The Cashmere Gate is or was provided with casemented or shot-proof chambers, for the accommodation of a city-guard. A bridge-of-boats over the Jumna connects Delhi with the road leading north-eastward to Meerut, and the chief magazine is, or was, between the centre of the city and this bridge. Eight of the defences on the walls are called the Shah Bastion, Burn Bastion, Garstin Bastion, College Bastion, Ochterlony Bastion, Lake Bastion, Wellesley Bastion, and Nawab Bastion—names obviously derived, in most instances, from military officers engaged in the Company's service. Strictly speaking, the wall does not quite surround the city; for on one side it abuts on a small branch of the river, where there is a short bridge across to the old fort of Selimgurh, built in a very heavy style by one of the early emperors. Entirely outside the wall, north of the city, is a custom-house.

The Outbreak at Delhi.

As soon as it was ascertained that the mutineers had taken the road to Delhi, only forty miles distant from Meerut, messengers were despatched to intimate the fact to Brigadier Graves, commanding at that station. The situation of this officer was full of peril. Besides the officers and serjeants of the native corps, he had not a single European under his command. The garrison consisted of the 30th, 54th and 74th regiments native infantry, and a battery of native artillery. The men of these regiments had hitherto shown no symptoms of disaffection; but the 38th was the corps which had so successfully defied Lord Dalhousie in 1852, and the men of it had ever since been impressed with the idea that the Government was afraid of them. The British rule in India seemed to be staked on their fidelity, and Brigadier Graves must have felt that the issue would at last be doubtful. But he was not the man to give way to despair under any circumstances; and he at once resolved to make the best of the means at his disposal.

The approach to Delhi from Meerut is defended by the little river Hindun, which is traversed by a small bridge. On receiving intimation of the movements of the rebels, the Brigadier's first idea was to cut away the bridge and defend the river. But there were two objections to this plan. The first was that at the season of the year, the height of the hot weather, the river was easily fordable, and his position on the other bank might be turned. The second, that in case of their attempting that manœuvre, he would be compelled to fight (even if his men continued staunch) with the rebels on his front and flank, and the most disaffected city in India, the residence of the descendant of the Mogul in his rear. This plan, therefore, was abandoned almost as soon as conceived, and he determined to content himself with defending the city and cantonments as best he could. As this might endanger the lives of the non-military residents, intimation was conveyed to them to repair to the Flag-staff tower, a round building of solid brick-work well capable of defence, and at some distance from the city. In many instances that intimation never reached those for whom it was intended, by some it was received too late, but by none was it willfully disregarded.

Meanwhile the regiments were ordered out, the guns loaded and every possible preparation made. The Brigadier harangued the troops in a manly style, told them that now was the opportunity to show their fidelity to the Company to whom they had shewn fidelity, and by whom they had never been deceived. His brief, pithy address was received with

cheers. The 54th especially seemed eager to exterminate the mutineers, and loudly demanded to be led against them. The Brigadier responding to their seeming enthusiasm, put himself at their head and led them out of the Cashmere Gate to meet the rebels, whose near approach had been announced. As they marched out in gallant order, to all appearance proud and confident, a tumultuous array appeared advancing from the Hindun. In front and in full uniform with medals on their breasts gained in fighting for British supremacy, confidence in their manner and fury in their gestures, galloped on about 250 of the 3rd cavalry troopers: behind them at no great distance, and almost running in their efforts to reach the golden minarets of Delhi, appeared a vast mass of infantry, their red coats soiled with dust, and their bayonets glittering in the sun. No hesitation was visible in all that advancing mass,—they came on as if confident of the result. Now the cavalry approach nearer and nearer! At this headlong pace they will soon be on the bayonets of the 54th. These latter are ordered to fire; the fate of India hangs on their reply. They do fire, but alas! into the air; not one saddle is emptied by that vain discharge. And now the cavalry are amongst them; they fraternise with them; they leave the officers to their fate; and these are remorselessly cut down wherever they can be found!

Major Abbott to the Assistant Adjutant-General, Meerut Division.

Meerut, May 13, 1857.

Sir,

As the senior surviving officer of the Delhi Brigade, I have the honor to report, for the information of the Major-General commanding the Meerut division, the following circumstances connected with the massacre at Delhi.

On Monday morning, the 11th instant, the city of Delhi was entered by a party of the 3rd Light Cavalry, who possessed themselves of the bridge-of-boats. This party proceeded towards cantonments, but were met by a wing of the 54th Native Infantry, under the command of Colonel Ripley, but neither this detachment nor the guard of the 38th Light Infantry, on duty at the Cashmere Gate, fired on the attacking party. The 54th excused themselves on the score of not being loaded. During the hesitation, or, more properly speaking, the direct refusal, of the 38th men to open fire, and the interval taken up by the 54th men in loading, five officers of the 54th Native Infantry fell, viz., Lieutenant-Colonel Ripley mortally wounded, Captain Smith killed, Captain

Burrowes killed, Lieutenant Edwards killed, Lieutenant Waterfield killed, Lieutenant Butler wounded.

To explain the nature of the 38th men refusing to fire, I beg to state that Captain Wallace, 74th Native Infantry, the field officer of the week, took command of the main-guard, and distinctly ordered the men of the guard to wheel up and fire. They would neither wheel up nor fire, but met the orders of Captain Wallace with insulting sneers. He urged them by every means in his power, but to no purpose; it was during this time the officers were shot down by the insurgents. These people, seeing the state of affairs, were entering the Cashmere gate of the city, when providentially the guns under the command of Lieutenant Wilson arrived, which had the effect of causing them to retreat into the city. About this time Major Paterson having taken command of the detachment on the spot, directed Captain Wallace to proceed to cantonments to bring down the 74th Native Infantry, with two more guns.

About 11 o'clock I heard that the men of the 54th Native Infantry had refused to act, and that their officers were being murdered. I instantly rode off to the lines of my regiment, and got as many as there were in the lines together. I fully explained to them that it was a time to show themselves honest, and that as I intended to go down to the Cashmere gate of the city, I required good honest men to follow me, and called for volunteers. Every man present stepped to the front, and being ordered to load they obeyed promptly, and marched down in a spirited manner. On arriving at the Cashmere gate we took possession of the post drawn up in readiness to receive any attack that might be made. Up to 3 P. M. no enemy appeared, nor could we during that period get any information of the insurgents. Suddenly we heard the report of heavy guns, and shortly afterwards a violent explosion announced the blowing up of the magazine in the city. This was done by Lieutenant Willoughby, who seeing all hopes of keeping the magazine gone, adopted this last resource, by which gallant act an immense number of the insurgents who had effected an entrance into the magazine by scaling ladders brought from the palace, were killed. Lieutenant Willoughby estimated the number killed to be little short of 1,000 men. I immediately sent round a company under Captain Gordon, but nothing could be done.

Captain Gordon told me he thought the men hesitated, but I could not see this. About this time I received an order to send back two guns to cantonments. This order I was on the point of carrying out when Major Paterson told me if I did

he would abandon the post, and entreated me not to go. He was supported by the Civil officer, a Deputy Collector who had charge of the Treasury, who said he had no confidence in the 54th men who were on guard at the Treasury. Although I strongly objected to this act of, as it were, disobeying orders, yet as the Deputy Collector begged for a delay of only a quarter of an hour, I acceded to his request. When the quarter of an hour was up, I made preparations for leaving the main-guard, and was about to march out, when the two guns I had sent back to cantonments under second Lieutenant Aislabie, returned to the main-guard, with some men of the 38th Light Infantry. I inquired why they had come back, and was told in reply by the drivers, that the gunners had deserted the guns, therefore they could not go on. I inquired if any firing had taken place in cantonments. My orderly replied he had heard several shots, and said, "Sir, let us go up to cantonments, immediately!" I then ordered the men to form sections. A Jemadar said, "never mind sections, pray, go on, Sir." My orderly Havildar then called up, and said, "pray, Sir, for God's sake leave this place—pray, be quick." I thought this referred to going up to the relief of cantonments, and accordingly gave the order to march. I had scarcely got a hundred paces beyond the gate, when I heard a brisk firing in the main-guard. I said, "what is that?" Some of the men replied, "the 38th men are shooting the European officers." I then ordered the men with me, about 100, to return to their assistance. The men said, "Sir, it is useless; they are all killed by this time, and we shall not save any one. We have saved you, and we are happy; we will not allow you to go back and be murdered." The men formed round me, and hurried me along the road on foot back to cantonments to our quarter-guard. I waited here for some time, and sent up to the saluting tower to make inquiries as to what was going on, and where the Brigadier was, but got no reply. The sun was setting and the evening advancing, when my attention was directed to some carriages going up the Kurnaul road, and recognized two or three carriages belonging to the officers of my regiment, including my own. I asked what could be the meaning of the carriages going that way. The men of my regiment at the quarter-guard replied, "Sir, they are leaving the cantonment; pray, follow their example. We have protected you so far; it will be impossible for us to do so much longer; pray, fly for your life." I yielded to their wishes, and told them, "very well, I am off to Meerut. Bring the colours, and let me see as

many of you at Meerut as are not inclined to become traitors." I then got up behind Captain Hawkey on his horse, and rode to the guns, which were also proceeding in the direction the carriages had taken, and so rode on one of the waggons for about four miles, when the drivers refused to go any further, "because," they said, "we have left our families behind, and there are no artillerymen to serve the guns." All I could do I could not persuade them to come on. They then turned their horses, and went back towards cantonments. I was picked up by Captain Wallace, who also took Ensign Elton with him in the buggy.

Ensign Elton informed me that he and the rest of the officers of the 74th Native Infantry were on the point of going to march out with a detachment when he heard a shot, and on looking round saw Captain Gordon down dead; a second shot almost simultaneously laid Lieutenant Revely low; he then resolved to do something to save himself, and making for the bastion of the fort, jumped over the parapet down into the ditch, ran up the counterscarp, and made across the country to our lines, where he was received by our men, and there took the direction the rest had, mounted on a gun. Up to this time the sole survivors of the Delhi force, known to be such and at Meerut are, Major Abbott, 74th Native Infantry; Captain Hawkey, 74th Native Infantry; Captain Wallace, 74th Native Infantry; Ensign Elton, 74th Native Infantry; Captain De Teissier, Artillery; 2nd Lieutenant Aislabie, Artillery; Farrier Serjeant Law, Artillery. I saw some other officers going up the Kurnaul road and recognised Captain Tytler, 38th Light Infantry, and Captain Nicoll, the Brigade-Major. The party with me went up the Kurnaul road until we came to the cross-road leading to Meerut *viâ* Bhagpatta Ghaut, which we took, and arrived at Meerut about 8 o'clock last night.

With the exception of about five individuals, the whole of the European inhabitants of Delhi have been murdered. I understood from a native, who declared that he had seen the dead bodies, that the king ordered the slaughter of all the Europeans in the palace, including Mr. Simon Fraser, Captain Douglas, Rev. Mr. Jennings, his daughter and some others. From all I could glean there is not the slightest doubt that this insurrection has been originated and matured in the palace of the king of Delhi, and that with his full knowledge and sanction, in the mad attempt to establish himself in the sovereignty of this country. It is well known that he has called on the neighbouring States to co-operate with him in thus trying to subvert the existing Government. The method he adopted appears to

be to gain the sympathy of the 38th Light Infantry by spreading the lying reports now going through the country, of the Government having it in contemplation to upset their religion, and have them all forcibly inducted to Christianity.

The 38th Light Infantry by insidious and false arguments, quietly gained over the 54th and 74th Native Infantry, each being unacquainted with the other's real sentiments. I am perfectly persuaded that the 54th and 74th Native Infantry were forced to join the combination by threats that, on the one hand, the 38th and 54th would annihilate the 74th Native Infantry if they refused, and *vice versa*, the 38th taking the lead. I am almost convinced that had the 38th Native Infantry men not been on guard at the Cashmere Gate, the results would have been different. The men of the 74th Native Infantry would have shot every man who had the temerity to assail the post.

The Post Office, Electric Telegraph, Delhi Bank, the *Delhi Gazette* press, every house in cantonments and the lines, have been destroyed. Those who escaped the massacre fled with only what they had on their backs, unprovided with any provisions for the road, or money to purchase food. Every officer has lost all he possessed, and not one of us has even a change of clothes.

H. E. S. ABBOT, *Major*,
Commanding, 74th Regiment, Native Infantry.

The Defence of the Magazine at Delhi.

Fort William, 24th July, 1857.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the following authentic report of the occurrences at the Delhi Magazine on the 11th of May last, when attacked by mutineers, and of the noble and cool soldiership of its gallant defenders, commanded by Lieutenant G. D. Willoughby, Commissary of Ordnance.

The Governor General in Council desires to offer his cordial thanks to Lieutenant Raynor and Forrest, and the other survivors amongst the brave men mentioned in this Report, and to express the admiration with which he regards the daring and heroic conduct of Lieutenant G. D. Willoughby and the Warrant and Non-commissioned officers by whom he was supported on that occasion. Their names are Lieuts. Raynor and Forrest; Conductors Shaw, Buckley, and Scully; Sub-Conductor Crow, Serjeants Edwards and Stewart.

The family of the late Conductor Scully, who so devotedly

sacrificed himself in the explosion of the magazine, will be liberally provided for, should it be ascertained that they have survived him.

From Lieutenant G. Forrest, Assistant Commissary of Ordnance,
To Colonel A. Abbott., C. B., Inspector General of Ordnance and Magazines.

Fort William.

SIR,

I have the honor to report for the information of Government, and in the absence of my Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Willoughby, Artillery, supposed to be killed on his retreat from Delhi to this station, the following facts as regards the capture of the Delhi magazine by the mutineers and insurgents on the 11th instant. On the morning of that date, between 7 and 8 A. M., Sir Theophilus Metcalfe came to my house, and requested that I would accompany him to the magazine for the purpose of having two guns placed on the bridge, so as to prevent the mutineers from passing over. On our arrival at the magazine we found present Lieutenants Willoughby and Raynor, with Conductors Buckley, Shaw, Scully, and Acting Sub-Conductor Crow, and Serjeants Edwards and Stewart, with the native establishment. On Sir Theophilus Metcalfe alighting from his buggy, Lieut. Willoughby and I accompanied him to the small bastion on the river face, which commanded a full view of the bridge, from which we could distinctly see the mutineers marching in open column headed by the cavalry; and the Delhi side of the bridge was already in the possession of a body of cavalry. On Sir Theophilus Metcalfe observing this, he proceeded with Lieut. Willoughby to see if the city gate was closed against the mutineers. However, this step was needless, as the mutineers were admitted directly to the palace, through which they passed cheering. On Lieut. Willoughby's return to the magazine, the gates of the magazine were closed and barricaded, and every possible arrangement that could be made was at once commenced on. Inside the gate leading to the park were placed two 6-pounders, double charged with grape, one under Acting Sub-Conductor Crow and Serjeant Stewart, with lighted matches in their hands, and with orders that if any attempt was made to force that gate, both guns were to be fired at once, and they were to fall back on that part of the magazine in which Lieut. Willoughby and I were posted. The principal gate of the magazine was similarly defended by two guns, with the *chevaux de frieze* laid down on the inside

For the further defence of this gate and the magazine in its vicinity, there were two 6-pounders so placed as either to command the gate or a small bastion in its vicinity. Within sixty yards of the gate and in front of the office, and commanding two cross roads, were three 6-pounders and one 24-pounder howitzer, which could be so managed as to act upon any part of the magazine in that neighbourhood. After all these guns and howitzers had been placed in the several positions abovenamed, they were loaded with double charges of grape. The next step taken was to place arms in the hands of the native establishment, which they most reluctantly received, and appeared to be in a state not only of excitement, but also of insubordination, as they refused to obey any orders issued by the Europeans, particularly the Mussulman portion of the establishment. After the above arrangements had been made, a train was laid by Conductors Buckley, Scully, and Serjeant Stewart, ready to be fired by a pre-concerted signal, which was that of Conductor Buckley raising his hat from his head, on the order being given by Lieut. Willoughby. The train was fired by Conductor Scully, but not until such time as the last round from the howitzers had been fired. So soon as the above arrangements had been made, guards from the palace came and demanded the possession of the magazine in the name of the king of Delhi, to which no reply was given.

Immediately after this, the Subadar of the guard on duty at the magazine informed Lieut. Willoughby and me that the king of Delhi had sent down word to the mutineers that he would without delay send scaling ladders from the palace for the purpose of scaling the walls, and which shortly after arrived. On the ladders being erected against the wall, the whole of our native establishment desertedus by climbing up the sloped sheds on the inside of the magazine, and descending the ladders on the outside, after which the enemy appeared in great number on the top of the walls, and on whom we kept up an incessant fire of grape, every round of which told well, as long as a single round remained. Previous to the natives' deserting us they hid the priming pouches, and one man in particular, Kurreembuksh, a durwan, appeared to keep up a constant communication with the enemy on the outside, and keep them informed of our situation. Lieut. Willoughby was so annoyed at this man's conduct, that he gave me an order to shoot him, should he again approach the gate.

Lieut. Raynor, with the other Europeans, did everything that possibly could be done for the defence of the magazine, and where all have behaved so bravely, it is almost impossible for me to point out any particular individual. However, I am

in duty bound to bring to the notice of Government the gallantry of Conductors Buckley and Scully on this trying occasion. The former, assisted only by myself, loaded and fired in rapid succession the several guns above detailed, firing at least four rounds from each gun, and with the same steadiness as if standing on parade, although the enemy were then some hundreds in number, and kept up a continual fire of musketry on us within forty or fifty yards. After firing the last round, Conductor Buckley received a musket-ball in his arm, above the elbow, which has since been extracted here. I, at the same time, was struck in the left hand by two musket balls, which disabled me for the time. It was at this critical moment that Lieut. Willoughby gave the order for firing the magazine, which was at once responded to by Conductor Scully firing the several trains. Indeed from the very commencement, he evinced his gallantry by volunteering his services for blowing up the magazine, and remained true to his trust to the last moment. As soon as the explosion took place, such as escaped from beneath the ruins, and none escaped unhurt, retreated through the sally port on the river face. Lieut. Willoughby and I succeeded in reaching the Cashmere gate. What became of the other parties, it is impossible for me to say. Lieut. Raynor and Conductor Buckley have escaped to this station.

(Signed) G. FORREST, *Lieut.*,
Asst. Commy. of Ordnance.

N. B.—After crossing the river, on the night of the 11th, I observed the whole of the magazine to be on fire, so that I am in hopes that little of the property fell into the hands of the enemy. Park Serjeant Hoyle was shot about 11 A. M., by the mutineers, in attempting to reach the magazine to aid in its defence.

Further Statement of Captain Forrest.

I was in Delhi on the 11th of last May, and saw the mutinous soldiery from Meerut. I first saw them, viz., some Cavalry in front, (nearly a regiment,) followed by the 11th and 20th Regiments Native Infantry crossing the bridge on the road from Meerut. They were coming up in military formation, I would say in subdivisions of companies with fixed bayonets and sloped arms, at about 9 o'clock. I did not see any of them previous to this; but I was informed that a small portion of the cavalry had arrived on the Delhi side of the bridge much earlier, viz., about 7 o'clock. I was in the magazine at the time I saw the troops passing over

the bridge, having gone there a short time before in consequence of a communication which Sir Theophilus Metcalfe made to me to the effect that the mutineers were expected in from Meerut, and he wished me to get two guns out of the magazine so as to place them in position to sweep the bridge, and prevent the mutineers from crossing; but there were no cattle to draw out the guns, neither were there any artillerymen to man them. So Lieut. Willoughby concurred with me in thinking the best plan would be to close the magazine gates, and defend the place as long as we could; and we thought that if we could hold the magazine till the evening, the European troops would be certain to arrive from Meerut and relieve us. Between the hours of nine and ten, a Subadar of the 38th Native Infantry, who was commanding the magazine guard outside, informed me through an aperture that the king of Delhi had sent a guard to take possession of the magazine, and to bring all the Europeans there up to the palace, and that if they did not consent to this, none of them were to be allowed to leave the magazine. I did not see the guard at this time, but I saw the man who had brought this message. He was a well-dressed Mussulman. We told the Subadar of the guard that he was to pay no attention to any orders he might receive from any one, unless it was Lieut. Willoughby or myself, but we held no communication with, nor did we deign any answer to the man who had brought the above message. Shortly after the above, a native officer in the king's service arrived with a strong guard of the king's own soldiers in their uniform, and told the above mentioned Subadar and the non-commissioned officers that he was sent down by the king to relieve them of duty. The same orders were given to the Subadar by myself to pay no attention to such authority. At this time the native offiers who had come down with a strong detachment of the king's soldiers placed guards of about twelve men under a non-commissioned officer over each gate of the magazine. These men took up their posts in regular military style, posted their arms, received their orders and behaved altogether like regular soldiers. They were all in full uniform of the king. This was some time between ten and eleven in the morning, about one hour after which the door-keeper on the outside of the gate called out that he wished to speak either to Lieut. Willoughby or myself. We both approached the gate together, when the man and sentry at the gate both informed us that the king of Delhi had sent people to carry away the whole of the Government stores there on the outside of the gate, and that they were unable to prevent them. To this neither Lieut.

Willoughby or myself gave an answer; but on looking through the gate we could distinctly see the stores being removed. The men who were employed in this work were common labourers, superintended and controlled by a guard of the king's soldiers in their own regular uniform. Shortly after this, the Subadar of our guard again expressed a wish to see either Lieut. Willoughby or myself: we accordingly went to him. He told us that a messenger had come from the king to say, if we did not immediately open the gates that he would have scaling ladders sent down to scale the walls, and these ladders shortly afterwards arrived, and were placed against the south-eastern turret or corner of the magazine. The native establishments of the magazine observing this immediately ascended by a sloped shed on the inside of the wall, gained the ladders, and made their escape out of the magazine; this being done the mutineers without delay ascended the ladders and commenced attacking us inside the magazine, which they continued to do till half past three in the evening. As they ascended the ladder they gained admission into the small turret, and as soon as a sufficient number was collected, and were about descending into the magazine, we opened on them with grape from four field pieces, using two at a time and keeping two loaded in reserve. There was only Mr. Buckley and myself to man these guns. Two guns however, were placed at the other gate of the magazine double charged, under Sub-conductor Crow and Sergeant Edwards; they remained with lighted matches in their hands, with orders from Lieut. Willoughby not to fire till the gate was forced. Both these men were killed in the magazine. Another gun was placed on the river face under charge of Conductor Shaw who escaped to the main guard at the Cashmere gate, after the magazine was exploded, and was there shot by a sepoy of the 54th N. I. Lieuts. Willoughby and Raynor were active, going from post to post, giving such orders as were required, superintending the defence, and also personally assisting in it. During the time this was going on, Lieut. Willoughby and myself frequently went to the gate which was close by, and asked who was leading or commanding the attack, and the same answer was given us on every occasion, *viz.*, a son and a grandson of the king's were present organising the attack on us, but the men who ascended the scaling ladders and entered the magazine were all sepoys of the 11th and 20th Regiments N. I. Another message about 1 o'clock came in the king's name to say, that if we did not surrender, he would mine and blow up a part of the wall, which was known to be weak, and so effect an entrance.

About half past 3 o'clock we had expended the last rounds f ammunition for field pieces, and the magazine having been ntered in two places, further defence was impossible. Conuctor Buckley had been shot in the arm, and I had been hit wice on the hand. Lieut. Willoughby who commanded in he magazine, had, early in the morning, had arrangements nade to enable us to blow up the magazine, should circumtances render such an extreme measure necessary, and now at alf past 3 P. M. seeing the moment had arrived to do so, he ordered the preconcerted signal to be made, which was done by Mr. Conductor Buckley turning to where Conductor Scully vas standing, and lifting his hat. Conductor Scully seeing his, at once fired the train and the magazine was blown up hat same second with a fearful explosion killing hundreds of he natives about. Fragments of the building were said to nave been thrown half a mile and upwards, and several European women and children who had fled to the magazine were killed and severely injured. Conductor Scully was himself so dreadfully wounded that his final escape was impossible. I saw him after the explosion, but his face and head was so burnt and contused, that I don't think life could have long remained in him. I have only to add to this that not one man of the native establishments in the magazine (the Bengalee writer excepted) remained true to us. They all took the first opportunity of escaping with the arms given to them for the purpose of aiding us in the defence of the magazine. Lieut. Willoughby and myself escaped to the mainguard at the Cashmere Gate. Lieut. Raynor and Mr. Buckley escaped in another direction and finally reached Meerut; all the remainder were killed, either by the explosion or after quitting the magazine. Lieut. Willoughby was killed two or three days afterwards on the road to Meerut.

Q.—Did the ladders brought to scale the magazine appear to be new or made purposely for that object?

A.—I could only see a foot of the ladder that reached above the walls, so am unable to answer these points.

Q.—Was there anything unusual in the dress or conduct of any of your native establishments at the magazine before the outbreak, from which it may be inferred that they were cognizant of what was going to occur?

A.—I noticed nothing in the dress of the men, but their behaviour for several days previous to the outbreak was insolent and overbearing, especially that of those who were Mahomedans. Mr. Buckley and I had both remarked this, and spoken to each other about it. On the morning of the 11th May, when I went to the magazine I remarked that the

sirdars and durwans were well dressed, better than I had ever seen them before; also the magazine men did not appear in their usual working dress, but were much cleaner. This I remarked at the time to Lieut. Willoughby, who coincided with me, and said, the circumstance had struck him also.

Q.—Have you any reason to suppose that any of our native establishment at the magazine had been in correspondence on the subject of the cartridges with the sepoys of the Army?

A.—I had no suspicion of such a circumstance while I was at Delhi, but on reaching Meerut and going into Hospital about 19th of May, on account of my wounds, I was asked by the Artillery Hospital Sergeant there, (I think his name is Goddard) whether there had been a clever native at the head of the magazine establishment at Delhi. I told him there was, and mentioned one in particular, *viz.*, Karim Baksh who was an intelligent man and also a good scholar capable of writing Persian well. The Sergeant then said to me that a native had been to him that morning and informed him that some one in the magazine at Delhi had been sending circulars to all the Native Regiments, to the effect that the cartridges prepared in the magazine had been smeared with a composition of fat, and that they were not to believe their European Officers, if they said any thing in contravention of it. This man, Karim Baksh, was very active during the time the natives were attacking the magazine, in communicating with them—and so suspicious did his whole conduct seem, that Lieutenant Willoughby ordered me to remove him from the gate, adding that I was to shoot him if he attempted to return to it. This man has since been hung for his treacherous conduct on that occasion.

Major Paterson's Statement.

There was a parade on the morning of the 11th for the purpose of hearing some order read, and it passed off as usual without any thing occurring to point suspicion of any outbreak being at hand; but about 9 o'clock the regiment was ordered to parade for the purpose of proceeding to the bridge-of-boats over the Jumna to prevent some mutineers of the 3rd cavalry from crossing, it being then understood that these men were on their way from Meerut. Arriving on parade I was ordered by the late Colonel Ripley to take two companies, my own (the Grenadiers) and No. 1 for the purpose of escorting a couple of guns down. The colonel directed me to proceed in the first instance to Capt. De Teissier's house for orders, that being on the road down, and Capt. De Teissier told me to take my companies to the Sudder Bazar, and wait till

the guns came. I was there for about three quarters of an hour, and the guns not coming, I sent my subaltern, Lieut. Vibart, to ascertain the reason of the delay, and to save time I proceeded with my two companies in the direction of the bridge thinking the guns would overtake me. Lieut. Vibart rejoined me half way, saying that the native gunners were just turning out, but that the guns would now come up immediately. They joined me when I was one and half miles from the bridge. On our arriving within about 100 yards of the Cashmere Gate, I was met by Capt. Wallace, 74th N. I., field officer of the week, who requested me to hasten in as fast as I could, as the cavalry mutineers had arrived and had shot down all the officers of the 54th N. I. I immediately ordered the two companies to load, and while this was being done, Colonel Ripley came out of the Cashmere Gate wounded in several places and supported by the fife major. I then marched on expecting to meet the mutineers, but there was not one to be seen, not even a sepoy of the eight companies of the 54th N. I., that had gone in advance with Colonel Ripley, but merely the usual mainguard of fifty men of the 38th N. I. under Lieut. Proctor. Capt. Wallace told me that these men of the 38th had seen Colonel Ripley cut down within a few yards of them by the cavalry troopers, and though he urged them to rescue him, not a man attempted to do so. The sepoys of the 54th must, of course, have behaved in an equally shameful manner. I saw the following officers lying dead in the open space to the west of the Church, viz. Capt. Smith, Capt. Burrows, Lieut. Edwards and Lieut. Waterfield, and also the Sergt. Major, all of the 54th N. I. Having placed the guns in position and sentries at the different points, I proposed to Lieut. Vibart that we should go and bring in the bodies of the officers; the sepoys of the companies advised us not to do so just yet, as the troopers were about and looking out for officers. The sepoys said they would do it as they would not be touched; they did not however do so at the time; shortly after this we were joined by the Adjutant, Lieut. Osborn, and Lieut. Butler, who had been wounded by the city people. Ensign Angelo also joined us, and every thing at this time was perfectly quiet at the Cashmere Gate; but about twelve, a sepoy of the Light Company came to me and said that the havildar-major had sent him to ask where the regiment was to go. I then enquired where it was, and he told me at Sabzi Mandi; that on the troopers shooting down the officers the men had run away and assembled there. I directed him to go and order them up to the Cashmere Gate. They came up without any European officer, and the havildar-major told me that they

had been followed the whole way by some of the troopers who were inciting them to join in the mutiny. After this the officers, assisted by some of the sepoys, went and brought in the bodies above mentioned. We were now joined by the 74th under Major Abbott, and also a couple of guns of Capt. De Teissier's battery. I think it was about this time, 2 P. M., that we heard heavy firing in the direction of the magazine, which continued till about half past three, when it was blown up. I forgot to mention that on my arrival at the Cashmere Gate, Mr. Galloway came and asked me to strengthen his guard at the treasury, which I did. Lieut. Willoughby joined us, having made his escape from the magazine, when he told us how he and the few Europeans with him had defended it, and of the king having, in the morning, sent down men to take possession of it, and that this being refused, scaling ladders had been sent down at 2 o'clock, according to a threat given them. We remained at the Cashmere Gate till about 5 o'clock, when all of a sudden, as I was standing near the outer Cashmere Gate, a volley was fired, which passed close in front of me, killing Capt. Gordon and Lieut. Revely of the 74th, and wounding Lieut. Osborn of the 54th. A sepoy of the Light Company then put his arm on my shoulder and told me I had better go or I should be shot down, and seeing it was useless to remain, the sepoys of the 54th being no longer under control, I went out and was joined by an officer of the 74th. We were going down to the Flag Staff by the main road, but the sepoy of the Light Company (the only one who stood by me) recommended me going off the road through the several compounds, the main road not being safe. We did so, and on reaching the Flag Staff I reported to Brigadier Graves all that I had noticed. There were two guns and about 300 of the 38th N. I. at this time with Brigadier Graves, and, as far as I could perceive, still obeying orders, but I was not there more than fifteen minutes when a retreat was determined on; the men of the 38th saying they would retreat with us wherever we went. They fell in. marched down the hill, took the road through cantonments, but on getting near their lines went off by ones and twos to their huts, and on my asking them what they were going to do, said, they were going to drink water. They took off their arms and accoutrements, and in fact went off together. On seeing this I went to my own quarter-guard. This was about half past seven. I endeavoured to persuade the guard to come along with me, and remained talking to them for about half an hour, and at last the havildar-major and two sepoys agreed to accompany me. We then started off, but lost our way during the night,

and found ourselves not more than four miles from Delhi in the morning. I remained three days in the vicinity of the ice pits about three miles from the city. The havildar and one of the sepoys left me the first morning under the pretence of bringing me food, the other left me the next day, and I finally made my escape assisted by a fakir to Karnaul.

Not from anything that I observed on the 11th of May or previous to it, do I think that the sepoys of the 54th N. I. had been apprised of the coming of the mutineers from Meerut, before they were generally known to be near; but I now am convinced from their whole conduct on that day, as well as from information I have since received, that they knew generally what was going to occur. Lieut. Vibart in September last told me that the subadar-major of the regiment, Shekh Imam Baksh, had stated to the late Capt. Russel that men had been in our lines, two months before the 11th of May, coming and going away and instigating the sepoys to rebellion. Capt. Russel was killed at Badli-ka-Sarai on the 8th of June last; the subadar-major is, I believe, still at Meerut, and it was there after the outbreak that I imagine Capt. Russel got this information from him.

Captain Tytler's Statement.

I was in Delhi on the 10th of May last. About 3 P. M. on Sunday, the 10th of May, I heard a bugle and the sound of carriage wheels pass my door. This being very unusual where I resided, I told a servant of mine to run out and see if any one was coming to my house. He went and returned immediately, and said it was a carriage with natives going towards the lines. My house being a corner one, the carriage was obliged to pass three sides of the grounds; so before it passed a second side, I directed the same servant to run to the lines, and give my salam to the subadar-major of the regiment, and say I wanted to see him, for it occurred to me that he and the other native officers of my regiment who had been to Meerut on court martial duty must be returning in this carriage. The servant returned shortly afterwards, and said there were a great number of natives in the carriage from Meerut, but none belonging to our regiment, by which I distinctly understood he alluded to soldiers.

On the morning of the 11th of May, I think about 9 o'clock, one of my servants rushed into the room and said, Lieut. Holland had sent over to say that troops were marching on Delhi. I put on my uniform and went over to him. He joined me and we then went together to Lieut. Gambier, the Adjutant, where we met Colonel Knyvett, commanding the

regiment, Captain Gardner and the Brigade Major, Captain Nicoll; and I then learnt the mutineers were marching from Meerut on to Delhi, and I was ordered at once to proceed to the lines and take my own Company along with Captain Gardner's, completing them to the strength of 200 men, with the usual allowance of ammunition in pouch. I was then ordered to proceed to a house on the ridge above the new powder magazine outside the city, and to be very particular that no body of men crossed over from the opposite side of the river. Captain Gardner and I went immediately to the lines; we found the men of our companies rather excited, and it was with some slight difficulty that we succeeded in completing each of our companies to 100 strong. A slight delay now took place in serving out the ammunition, and after sending repeatedly to the magazine to ascertain the cause, I went myself, and the khalassies said, "what can we do? the sepoys about here who have come for ammunition are quarrelling and squabbling with us about the cartridges and caps, and we cannot give either without counting them." I hurried the work and returned to the company. When the cartridges and caps were being served out, many of the men seized more bundles than they were entitled to; therefore to prevent further delay at the time I had these men marked, that I might punish them afterwards. Captain Gardner also remarked to me that the men of his company showed the same anxiety to secure more ammunition than they were entitled to. The order was now given to the companies to march. Both Captain Gardner and myself remarked the excited manner in which the men left the lines, shouting vehemently every now and then, and which neither of us could prevent. I wish here to record a circumstance that occurred on the morning of the 11th, but which I have omitted mentioning. There was a Brigade parade that morning to hear the sentence of a general court martial read regarding a native officer Ishwari Pandè at Barrackpore, when I remarked a murmur of disapprobation throughout the whole regiment. Though it lasted but a few seconds, it struck me forcibly as something extraordinary, never having witnessed any thing like it before. When we arrived at the house over the magazine, I placed sentries at different points which commanded the bend of the river. The rest of the men after piling arms, I took into the house; it was a very hot day, and as some of our men had procured water-melons and some sweetmeats they brought them to us, and insisted on our partaking of them; both Captain Gardner and myself remarked the great attention our men were paying us. In the meantime we were called out to see fires that were every now and

then appearing in the city. Shortly after this we heard a report of cannon. All this we could not account for. Captain Gardner remarked to me how lucky it was that our men seemed so well disposed, as we were convinced that there was something serious going on in the city, particularly as we remembered the fires that had broken out in Umballa and other places. We now remarked that our men were forming small groups in the heat of the sun. I ordered them to come in and not expose themselves thus. They said, "we like being in the sun." I ordered them in again. When I went into one of the rooms, I remarked for the first time, a native from his appearance a soldier, haranguing the men of the companies and saying that every power or Government existed its allotted time, and that it was nothing extraordinary that that of the English had come to an end, according to what had been predicted in their native books. Before I could make a prisoner of him the magazine in the city exploded, and then the men of the two companies with a tremendous shout took up their arms and ran off to the city exclaiming, "Prithiviraj ki jai!" or "Victory to the sovereign of the world."

One of my old servants, a man who had been about twenty-six years in our family, was about this time going on leave, and when I urged him particularly to return, he on several occasions, with sorrowful expression, said,—"yes, Sir, provided your hearth is still in existence," that is, provided you and your family are in a condition to give me service. He made use of these expressions about a week or ten days before the outbreak. He left me about this time and I have not seen or heard from him since.

Statement of a Mace-bearer of Captain Douglas.

About 7 o'clock a cavalry soldier rode up to the Lahore Gate of the palace and demanded admittance to the interior, which the guard at the gate refused. He, however, persisted, and a report was immediately made to Captain Douglas, who at once went down to enquire into the matter. Captain Douglas asked the man what he wanted, when he replied that he had mutinied at Meerut, and, arriving at Delhi, had come to the guard for a drink of water and a pipe. Captain Douglas gave orders to seize him, when he immediately galloped off. Returning from the gate, Captain Douglas was yet in the covered way, when a messenger sent by the king met him and reported that a number of troopers had arrived and were collected under the lattices of the palace. Hearing this Captain Douglas came in at once to the hall of audience, and, going to the balcony,

asked the troopers what they wanted there. One of them replied, "we have mutinied at Meerut and have come here for justice." Captain Douglas said, "go to the old fort of Feroze Shah and you shall have justice." After this Captain Douglas returned to the Lahore Gate of the palace, where he heard that Mr. Fraser was engaged making arrangements at the Calcutta Gate, accompanied by the principal police officers of the city, and the guard allowed for the protection of the agency, and immediately went on to join Mr. Fraser. I and the chaprassy present went with him. At the Calcutta Gate there were collected Mr. Fraser, Mr. Hutchinson, and two other gentlemen whose names I do not know. Mr. Fraser was directing the chief native police officer of the city to take two of his sowars and see that there was no laxity in the arrangements at the gates. While he was there engaged, four or five cavalry troopers were seen approaching at full speed with drawn swords from the direction of the palace. One of them approached and fired his pistol at Mr. Fraser, who immediately jumped out of his buggy, while Buktawar Singh, chaprassy, took a musket from the police guard at the gate, and handed it to his master. The musket was loaded, and Mr. Fraser shot the trooper dead on the spot. This dispersed the man's comrades, who, however, before making off, wounded Mr. Hutchinson in the arm. An excessive crowd having by this time collected, Captain Douglas jumped into the fort ditch and was severely hurt in the feet and back by so doing. Mr. Fraser then came to the Lahore Gate of the palace in his buggy, while Captain Douglas and Mr. Hutchinson walked along in the ditch of the fort. On reaching the gate Captain Douglas had to be assisted out, and being considerably hurt, asked to be taken into the room called the Kulivat Khana, till he should recover a little from the shock he had received. In the meantime the Rev. Mr. Jennings came down to him, and he and Mr. Hutchinson conveyed him to the apartments over the gate. At this time Mr. Fraser remained below trying to suppress the disturbance, and while thus engaged, I noticed that Haji lapidary cut him down with a tulwar, and almost at the same instant some of the king's servants cut at him with swords till he was dead. I was at the head of the stairs and this was perpetrated at the foot of them. One of Mr. Fraser's murderers was an Abyssinian. After this they made a rush to the upper apartments when I immediately ran round by another door, and closed the door at the top of the stairs. I was engaged in shuting all the doors when the crowd who had found entrance by the southern stair, having forced one of the doors on that side, came and gave admission to the men who

had assisted in murdering Mr. Fraser. These immediately rushed into the apartments where the gentlemen, *viz.* Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Jennings had retired, and attacking them with swords at once murdered them, and the two young ladies. On this I ran down the staircase. As I got to the bottom I was laid hold of by one Mamdoh, a bearer in the service of the king, who said, "tell me where Captain Douglas is, you have concealed him." He forced me upstairs with him. I said "you have yourselves killed all the gentlemen already;" but on reaching the room where Captain Douglas was, I saw that he was not quite dead. Mamdoh perceiving this also, hit him with a bludgeon on the forehead and killed him immediately. I saw the other bodies including those of the two ladies. Mr. Hutchinson was lying in one room, and the bodies of Captain Douglas, Mr. Jennings, and the two young ladies in another, on the floor, with the exception of that of Captain Douglas which was on a bed. A gentleman had arrived that morning travelling from Calcutta, and he was killed somewhere in the direction of the Delhi Gate of the palace, he having tried to escape on that side. All the murders were perpetrated within a quarter of an hour after Mr. Fraser's death, and it was now between 9 and 10 o'clock A. M. After the death of the gentlemen, the crowd began plundering their property, and fearing for myself I ran off to my own house in the city, and never returned to the palace till after the recapture of Delhi.

Statement of Jat Mall.

I was at my own house in Delhi when I heard that some of the Cavalry from Meerut had killed the Toll Collector at the Salimpore bridge, and burnt the Toll house; I, however did not credit the report and went on writing my news letter. Having completed it I came to the palace, and I then learnt that Captain Douglas, Mr. Fraser, Mr. Hutchinson, the Magistrate, and Mr. Nixon, the head clerk of the Commissioner's Office, had gone in the direction of the Calcutta Gate to make arrangements against the mutineers. I consequently followed them, and there saw that they had the Calcutta Gate, *viz*, the one nearest to the Bridge-of-boats, closed. While occupied there some one happened to report that the mutineers had entered the city by the Zinatul Musjid Gate, and were then in Darya Ganj, and had already fired the staging bungalow, and certainly the smoke was then visible. This was about 8 o'clock in the morning, and just afterwards I saw three of the Company's Cavalry coming from the direction of Darya Ganj, pursuing at a gallop some European gentlemen at whom one

of them fired his pistol as they came up, but missed his aim. This gentleman rode on in the direction of the magazine and escaped. Just then Mr. Fraser took a musket from one of the constabulary guard at the gate, and shot one of the troopers; the other troopers then shot the horse of the man who had been killed, and Mr. Fraser then got into his buggy, accompanied by Captain Douglas and Mr. Hutchinson, both on foot, proceeded in the direction of the palace. Mr. Hutchinson had by this time been wounded in the right arm just above the elbow, by a pistol shot from one of the troopers; and while Mr. Fraser was proceeding to the palace some more troopers had arrived, and one of these coming up behind fired his pistol, but missed Mr. Fraser. At this time Bakhtawar, who was an ordinary Chaprassy of Captain Douglas, was seated behind the buggy of Mr. Fraser; Captain Douglas, seeing that he was surrounded by these troopers, jumped into the Fort ditch, and in doing so fell upon some loose stones and was much hurt in consequence. The troopers by this time began to disperse in pursuit of the Europeans in all directions; so getting an opportunity, Bakhtawar and other native Government servants took Captain Douglas out of the Fort ditch in a state of insensibility and carried him to his apartments over the palace gate. When he recovered his speech and senses a little, he issued instructions to people about him to bring in Mr. Hutchinson who had also been wounded, which was done. Mr. Fraser who was walking in the covered way below adjoining the Lahore Gate of the palace, accompanied by some gentlemen who had only that morning arrived from Calcutta, directed Pran messenger to go and procure two cannons from the king. Pran had just left on this errand, and Mr. Fraser had just come under the centre opening of the covered way, when by this time a great crowd of men and boys of all ages having collected, began clapping their hands as a kind of insolent bravado at what was occurring. Mr. Fraser, seeing such marked feelings of hostility, began to return to Captain Douglas's quarters, and as he reached the foot of the stairs, Haji lapidary raised his sword to make a cut at him. Mr. Fraser, who had a sheathed sword in his hand, turned sharply round and thrust at him, with the sword in its sheath, saying to the havildar of the Gate guard, "what kind of behaviour is this?" Upon which the havildar made a show of driving off the crowd; but no sooner was Mr. Fraser's back turned, than the havildar nodded with his head to the lapidary, to signify to him that he should now renew the attack. The lapidary, thus encouraged, rushed upon Mr. Fraser and inflicted a deep and mortal wound on the right side of his neck. Mr. Fraser at

once fell, when three other men of the names of Khalak Dad, a Cabuli Pattan, Mogul Beg, or Mugul Jan, and Sheikh Din Mahomed, who had been concealed in an out house adjoining, rushed out and cut him with their swords over the head, face and chest, till he was quite dead. Sheikh Din Mahomed was an armed orderly in the king's pay, and Khalak Dad and Mogul Beg were also armed retainers of Mabhub Ali Khan, the king's prime minister. These three men after having dispatched Mr. Fraser, followed by a crowd of others, ran upstairs to Captain Douglas' apartments over the palace gate. After they had arrived at the second landing place, a servant of Government in attendance on Captain Douglas, by name Makhan, told him of the circumstance, and was ordered to close the staircase. While this was being done on the north side of the apartment, numbers of the crowd rushed in by a corresponding staircase on the southern side, and came down and forced open the door which Makhan had closed, and thus gave admission to the armed crowd headed by the three men already mentioned, as having cut Mr. Fraser when he had fallen. These people successively murdered Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, the Collector, the Revd. Mr. Jennings, Miss Jennings and Miss Clifford, all of whom were in Captain Douglas's apartments. The stranger who had arrived that morning from Calcutta contrived to get out on the ramparts of the palace wall, and had gone unobserved as far as Mirza Kochak's house near the Delhi gate of the palace, when he was fired at by some body, and wounded in the shoulder. On this he retraced his steps, and was eventually cut down at the foot of the southern staircase leading to Captain Douglas's apartments. All these murders were committed in about quarter of an hour. The details as given here, I collected from Makhan, Bakhtawar, Pran, and Kishan, servants of the Government in attendance at the time on Captain Douglas; but of the circumstances up to the death of Mr. Fraser I was myself an eye-witness.

Immediately after the murder of the Europeans in Captain Douglas's apartments, I went to my home in the city and did not come to the palace for several days.

The king assumed the reins of Government stores, viz. the gunpowder outside the city, and all the ordnance, arms, &c., in the magazine, on the second or third day after the arrival of the Meerut troops, and in a week or so, began generally to issue royal orders to the different departments, and to receive petitions on Government business. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired during the night of the 11th of May; but I am not certain what was the occasion of it. Some said it was the

salute to the colours of the regiments come from Meerut, and some said that the king had gone into Salimgarh, and the guns had been fired as a salute to him.

Mirza Mogul was virtually Commander-in-Chief from seven or eight days after the out-break, in as much as the native officers used to go to confer with him and receive their orders from him ; but it was not till a month had elapsed that he was publicly proclaimed and received his dress of honor. On the same occasion, the other sons of the king and grandsons of the king were severally made generals and colonels, each receiving his dress of honor.

Hasan Askari continued in the same position with reference to the king as formerly, and did not appear to take any such active part in the rebellion as to be particularly remarkable. A daughter of the king was avowedly a disciple of Hasan Askari; but people generally said that there was an improper intimacy between them.

I heard that scaling ladders were used at the magazine, but I don't know where they were brought from.

Some people said that the chapaties were a propitiatory observance to avert some impending calamity ; others that they were circulated by the Government to signify that the population throughout the country would be compelled to use the same food as the Christians, and thus be deprived of their religion ; while others again said that the chapaties were circulated to make it known that Government was determined to force Christianity on the country by interfering with their food, an intimation of it was thus given, that they might be prepared to resist the attempt. Sending such articles as the chapaties is by no means a custom ; I am fifty years old, and never heard of such a thing before. I never heard of any message being sent with the chapaties. These chapaties were indiscriminately circulated, without reference to either religion, among the peasantry of the country.

I had heard a report in the city that the Europeans were to be slaughtered, I don't know the exact date, but it was some seven or eight days after the out-break ; and I got into the palace among the crowd. This was about 8 o'clock in the morning. On my reaching the first court-yard of the palace, I saw the Europeans seated in a row with their hands tied behind their backs along the edge of the square reservoir, and also along the small canal leading to it; there were men, women and children. Shortly after I arrived one of the Meerut cavalry mutineers fired a pistol at them. He was standing at some distance on horseback, the shot missed the Europeans and hit one of the king's sepoys, who was standing some way off be-

hind them. This man died in consequence, and owing to this accident, the crowd decided on killing the Europeans with swords. The king's retainers as well as some of the mutineers drew their swords to carry out this resolve; but I had not nerve to stay and witness the execution, so went home and subsequently heard that they had all been slaughtered by the king's servants and the mutinous soldiery.

Murder of Mr. Berresford and his family.

I was witness (says Golab, a messenger) to the murder of Mr. Berresford and his family. When the Bank was attacked by the mutineers and the rabble, Mr. Berresford and his family retired to one of the out-offices for concealment, and, when discovered, were on the roof of the building. Mr. Berresford was armed with a sword, and Mrs. Berresford had a spear. The mutineers being afraid to approach them by the stair-case in front, two of the rabble suggested that they should go round and scale the wall in the rear of the house. Mrs. Berresford struck one of the assailants with a spear and killed him; they were, however, over-powered and all killed. I do not know what number of persons were killed at the Bank; but there were several. This occurred on the day of the out-break at about 12 o'clock.

Mrs. Aldwell's Statement.

I was residing in the part of the city known as Daryá-ganj, and I got intimation of the sepoys coming from Meerut between 8 and 9 A. M. on the 11th of May.

One of my saises came and told me that the troops had mutinied and come from Meerut, and had murdered all the Europeans they met with on their way here, and recommended that our carriage should at once be got ready to take us away, as the soldiers had determined on murdering all the Europeans in Delhi also. While I was speaking to the man, our next door neighbour, Mr. Nowlan, confirmed the report that the sais had just brought, and asked if he could speak to Mr. Aldwell. The two consulted together, and as our house was the largest and strongest, it was determined that all the Europeans in the neighbourhood should collect there, and defend themselves as long as they could, or till such time as help should arrive. After that Mr. Aldwell and Mr. Nowlan went to the guard at a hospital close by. This guard was composed of native infantry sepoys, and Mr. Aldwell and Mr. Nowlan asked them whether they would assist in defending us, adding that the

Europeans would, in return, render them all the assistance in their power. "Go and mind your business and we will mind ours," was the reply given by these sepoys. At this time, shortly after 8 o'clock, the Meerut sepoys had not even crossed the bridge, and could not therefore have communicated with the sepoys of this guard. After this the Europeans who had by this time collected in our house began barricading the doors, and the women and children were sent upstairs. I think we must have numbered, inclusive of men, women and children, upwards of thirty people. We then saw the mutineers crossing the bridge at about 9 o'clock. A good number of them were cavalry and some infantry; this portion of the mutineers passed close under the walls or parapets of our house, which is immediately on the banks of the river, and some of them fired at one of the gentlemen who was then on the top of the house. This body then went off in the direction of the jail, with the intention, as we supposed, of setting the prisoners free. Shortly after that we heard they had entered the city, and were murdering the Europeans wherever they met them. About this time one of the city people, a Mahomedan and a dyer by trade, rushed into our grounds with a drawn sword in his hand, reeking with blood, repeating the *kalima* * and calling out to know where the Europeans were. Mr. Nowlan asked him who and what he was, and on his not replying shot him dead. This man was the only one that had entered our grounds, but then fifty or sixty of his followers, city people, collected at our gate. About 11 o'clock, a Mrs. Foulon was brought into our house by a Mahomedan; she had been severely wounded on the head by some of the city people, who had entered and plundered her house. Nothing further of consequence happened till about 3 P. M. when the magazine blew up. I then requested Mr. Aldwell to let me and my three children leave the house, as the servants told me that the mutineers had gone for the purpose of bringing guns to bear upon it, and I was anxious to obtain concealment elsewhere. Myself and three children then dressed ourselves as natives, and left the house in two native doolies, and were taken to the residence of one of the king's grandsons by name Mirza Abdulla. His wife and sister received us kindly, for Mr. Aldwell and myself had known the family before. We remained there till eight that evening, when Mirza Abdulla came and said he would remove us to a house of greater security, *viz.* to one belonging to his mother-in-law. He removed us there, keeping some of our property with him, saying it would be dangerous for us to take it in the streets, and that I was to

* Mahomedan confession of faith.

send my Munshi for it next morning. I accordingly sent my Munshi for this property, *viz.* 200 rupees in money, and some silver plate; but Mirza Abdulla denied having received it, and sent word that if we did not remove from his mother-in-law's house, he would send people down to murder us, and accordingly that evening at about 6 o'clock he sent his uncle and some of his servants to see if we had left his house, and if not, to murder us there. I did not see the uncle, but I saw the servants, and they had drawn swords in their hands, when my Munshi's mother upbraided saying, "Is this the Mirza's hospitality—if this had been his intention why did he not refuse to receive us? Why promise shelter and safety merely for the purpose of murder?" She also added, "If you are determined to kill any one, kill me first, I have eaten the Christian's salt, and cannot now see them murdered." She also added tauntingly, "By killing me you will perform a very meritorious action, as I am a Saydni and a Shiah." This was in allusion to the king's family being Sunnis, and the sect of Sunnis having originally murdered the sons of the prophet or the Syads. The men replied to her that if they were to do so, they would be as bad as infidels; but that they were determined on killing all the Christians; and advised all who were not so either to leave the house, and let them kill us there, or to turn us out of the house and they would murder us in the streets. It was finally permitted to us to remain till next morning on condition of our then leaving. During the night, however, my Munshi brought my tailor to me, and I asked if he knew of any place where he could take and conceal us. He said that he had heard that Nabab Ahamud Ali Khan was sheltering Europeans, and he would take us there. He went to get the Nawab's conveyance; but when he returned, he said the mutineers had already got information of Europeans being concealed in the Nawab's residence, and had brought guns to bear on it; but that he would take us to his own house. He did so, and while we were there, he said that he had heard that several Christians had been taken to the palace, and that the king had guaranteed their lives there, though he had put them into confinement, and he advised us as the safest place to go there. On Wednesday night between seven and eight, this tailor and one of the cavalry mutineers by name Kadirdad Khan, escorted us to the palace; this trooper had formerly received some kindness from the tailor, and on this account agreed to escort us, saying at the time he would not prove ungrateful to him, although they had all taken an oath to murder every European. On reaching the Lahore Gate of the palace, we were made prisoners by some of the king's police stationed there as a

guard. These men took us to Mirza Moghal, who ordered us to be confined with the rest of the Europeans then in confinement. We were accordingly taken there on Wednesday, the 13th of May. As far as I can guess I should say, men, women and children included, there were from forty-six or fifty persons imprisoned. Their names, as far as I and my children have been able to recollect them, are according to the following list, viz. Mrs. Scully and three children; Mrs. Glynn; Mrs. Edwards and two children; Mrs. Molony and two children; Mrs. Sheehan and child; Mrs. Corbet and daughter; Mr. Staines; Mrs. Cochrane; Miss Staines; Miss M. Hunt; Miss E. Berresford; Miss L. Ryley; Master Richard Shaw; Miss Alice Shaw; Miss Ann Shaw; Mr. Roberts and son; Mr. Crow; Mr. Smith. There was another man whose name I don't know, nor can I recollect the names of the other women and children. We were all confined in one room, very dark, with only one door, and no window or other opening. It was not fit for the residence of any human being, much less for the number of us that were there. We were very much crowded together, and in consequence of the sepoys, and every one who took a fancy to do so, coming and frightening the children, we were obliged frequently to close the one door that we had, which then left us without light or air; the sepoys used to come with their muskets loaded and bayonets fixed, and ask us whether we would consent to become Mahomedans, and also slaves, if the king granted us our lives; but the king's special armed retainers from among whom the guard over us was always furnished, incited the sepoys to be content with nothing short of our lives, saying we should be cut up in small pieces and given as food to the kites and crows. On Thursday some of the sepoys came and told the ladies that they intended to kill us all, by mining and blowing up the palace. We were very indifferently fed; but on two occasions the king sent us better food. Nothing further of consequence occurred till Friday afternoon, when one of the king's special servants asked one of the ladies (I think it was Mrs. Staines) if the English were ever restored to power how they would treat them, and she replied, "Just as you have treated our husbands and children." The next morning between eight and nine o'clock, viz. on Saturday, the 16th of May, the whole party of the Europeans, with exception of myself, three children, and an old native Mahomedan woman, who had been confined with us for giving food and water to some Christians, were taken out and murdered.

Before leaving my tailor's house I had a petition written addressed to the king, and was taking it myself in hopes of seeing the king and being able to present it to him in person,

but when I was taken prisoner by the guard at the Lahore Gate, the men composing it took the paper from me; in it I had stated that myself and children were from Cashmere and were Mussulmanis. On this account we had our food given to us separately, and the king's own servants evidently believed we were Mussulmanis, as they ate and drank with us. Since the out-break on Monday, I had learnt and had taught my children, the Mahomedan confession of faith, and we were all able to repeat it. It was from believing us Mussulmans that our lives were spared. On the morning of the 16th of May, some of the king's special servants attended by a small number of infantry sepoys, came and called out to our party, that the Christians were to come out of the building, and that the five Mahomedans were to remain; the women and children began crying, saying they knew they were going to be murdered; but the Mahomedans swore on the Koran, and the Hindus on the Jumna, that such was not the case, that they wanted to give them a better residence, and that the one they were then in would be converted into a magazine. On this they went out, were counted; but I do not know the number; a rope was thrown round to encircle the whole group, the same as prisoners are usually kept together when on the move, and in this manner they were taken out of my sight, and as I heard brought under the Pipul tree by the small reservoir in the court-yard, and there murdered with swords by the king's private servants. None of the sepoys took part in killing them. The privilege, for it was so considered, of murdering them was particularly reserved for the king's own servants, as it was believed by them, that the killing an infidel would ensure them a place in paradise. I was told of this at the time by the wife of a sweeper, and afterwards when residing in Delhi during the whole time of the rebellion, frequently heard this circumstance confirmed. Two guns were fired immediately after the massacre had been completed, and I was then informed that this was intended as a token of joy. About an hour after the massacre, an old man who used to be known as the Mufti Sahib, came and said to the king's private servants who were guarding us, that he wanted to see the five prisoners who had been saved. He told us that our lives had been spared, and told the king's servants to conduct us to some place of safety, but on no account to do it during the day, as the sepoys or city people might murder us. (I may mention that some of them had suspicions of our being Christians.) In the evening we were taken back to my tailor's house, and the following Tuesday we were again made prisoners by the police officer of the quarter where we were hiding. We were brought as prisoners before

Mirza Moghal; the police officer informed him that we were Christians in disguise, and he gave orders that we should be executed; but the sepoys of the 38th prevented this being carried into effect, saying they would take us. We were then taken and confined in Captain Douglas's apartments, where we were kept in confinement till the day after the battle of the Hindan, when we were released by the 38th sepoys. When the sepoys who returned, defeated on that occasion, came back to the city, the men began talking dispondingly, saying they would have no chance against the English. The Hindu sepoys especially upbraided the Mahomedans, saying—"This is your first engagement with the English; is this the way you intend to fight for your faith?" They also already spoke in terms of much regret of the turn that affairs had taken, reproached the Mahomedans for having deceived them on pretences of their religion, and seemed to doubt greatly whether the English Government had really had any intention of interfering with their caste. Great numbers of the Hindu sepoys at this time declared that if they could be sure their lives would be spared, they would gladly go back to the service of the Government; but the Mahomedans on the contrary, used to assert that the king's service was much better than that of the English, that the Nawabs and Rajas would supply the king with large forces, and they must eventually conquer.

Deposition of Heera Lal, Native Preacher at Delhi, respecting the death of Mr. Sandys and the Rev. A. R. Hubbard.

On the 11th of May last, I (Heera Lal) was in the Delhi Dispensary with the late Sub-Assistant-Surgeon Chaman Lal, when at once Makhan Lal, the son-in-law of the late Sub-Assistant-Surgeon, informed us that the mutineers had entered the city gate and were killing the Christians. Having heard this, I instantly returned to my house in the compound (close) of the Rev. A. R. Hubbard's kothee (house), and went to see the gentleman, who was dressing himself at that time. I informed him of the out-break, but he smiled, and seemed to discredit my report. I assured him that the gates of the city, palace, and magazine were closed, and that what I tell you is true. As I had heard the above, and not seen it with mine own eyes, I went myself to inquire into the fact. When I arrived near the magazine, I saw that its gates were closed, and a man was standing there. I returned to Mr. Hubbard's house, and saw on the way that great clouds of smoke were rising from the burnt bungalows in the Duryagunj, and that Mr H. and two teachers of the mission-school were standing in the verandah of the kothee. Mr. Sandys, one of the school masters, riding in his buggy, went to Mr. Collin's, the late deputy-collector of the treasury. After a short time, I saw that some

of the Mutineers' cavalry-men were running towards the magazine; and some minutes after, the syce of Mr. Sandys returned and informed us that Mr. Sandys was killed by the mutineers near the magazine. On hearing this, I dragged Mr. Hubbard and the other gentlemen towards the gate of the kothee which leads to the Bank. When we came near the gate, a chaprassee (orderly) of the Bank came to us and desired us to give up the key of the doors, that he might lock them. I replied that the key was with the chokedar (watchman)—he must go to him. The chaprassee went in quest of the chowkedar, and I remained at the gate, and Mr. Hubbard and the other gentlemen went to the Bank. No sooner was Mr. Hubbard gone to the Bank than the mutineers rushed towards his kothee, and set on fire our houses and plundered the kothee. Being fearful of my own life, I left the gate and stood under the shade of the trees of the garden. I saw from that spot that the jemadar and chaprassees of the Bank came to the gate, and there conversed with two or three other persons who had come from Mr. Hubbard's kothee, and laughed, and then returned to the Bank without shutting or locking the doors after them. While the jemadar and the rest were conversing together, I left that spot and hid myself under the walls of the garden, and there remained to see what might happen. From this place I saw that no sooner had the jemadar left the gate than a great crowd of men rushed from the gate and made their way to the Bank, and began to break the doors of the Bank-house. I heard the shattering of the doors from the place where I was standing. Afterwards, I saw that the gardener, bihishtees, and some sick workmen were sitting near a well in the garden. I myself repaired to that place and sat with them, and remained with them till two P. M. During my stay there, I heard that the gentlemen had concealed themselves in the cook-room, and I very well remember that the name of Mr. Hubbard was also mentioned among the gentlemen in the Bank. At about two P. M., I heard the match-lock-firing, and the men with whom I was sitting said that now the sahib-log are killed.

Heera Lal himself escaped from the city in a miraculous manner, and eventually found his way into the British camp.

The following account is by a Moonshee and English writer.

On the morning of the 11th instant, we were proceeding in a bhylee from Delhi to Mussoorie, and after we had crossed the bridge-of-boats, and had proceeded 200 yards, we were met by eighteen troopers with drawn swords; they asked us who we were. We replied, "pilgrims proceeding to Hurdwar." They desired us to turn back to Delhi, or they would murder us; we accordingly returned. On arriving at the bridge-of-boats, the troopers plundered the toll chest, and a regiment of sepoys crossed the bridge and entered the city, after having killed a European whom they met on the bridge.

The regiment had crossed, but the troopers were on the other side of the river, when the boatmen broke the bridge; the troopers crossed the river on horse back, and entered the city by the Delhi gate; and cantered up to the Ungooree Baugh (under the palace), to murder the "Burrah Sahib." The Kotwal on hearing of this, sent word to Mr. Simon Fraser, the Commissioner, who immediately ordered the records of his office to be removed into the city, and getting into a buggy, with a double barrel gun loaded, with two orderly horsemen, proceeded towards the mutineers; the troopers advanced upon him, Mr. Fraser fired, and shot one dead through the head, and with the second barrel killed a trooper's horse, he then got out of the buggy, and entered the palace at the "Summun Boorj," closing the gate, and proceeded to the Lahore Gate of the palace, and there called out to the Soobadar on duty to close the gate (i. e. the palace guard gate) which he immediately did. A trooper then rode up, and called out to the Soobadar to open the gate; he asked "who are you?" and on his replying, "we are troopers from Meerut," the Soobadar observed, "where are the other troopers?" the man replied, "in the Ungooree Baugh," when the Soobadar desired the trooper to bring them all, that he would open the gate, and on their arrival did so, when all the troopers entered the palace.

Mr. Simon Fraser and Captain Douglas, the commandant of the palace guards, called out to the Soobadar—"what treachery is this? desire your men to load". (N. B.—an entire company *if not more* was on duty at the palace guard gate.) The Soobadar abused the Commissioner, desiring him to go away, on hearing which both Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas left the quarters, and ran towards the interior of the palace, and were pursued by the troopers, one of whom fired a pistol at Mr. Fraser, on which he staggered and leant against a wall, when another trooper went up, and with a sword severed his head from his body at a single blow, and also in a similar manner killed Captain Douglas, the commandant of the palace, and then proceeded to the king's hall of audience, where they killed two more Europeans, and then proceeded to Durreeahgunge, and set fire to all the houses there. Another regiment of sepoys arrived into the city, and desired all the budmashes (bad characters) to plunder the houses, since they (the mutineers) considered it "huram," and would not condescend to touch the booty themselves. The troopers then murdered five gentlemen and three ladies in Durreeahgunge, and the remainder took shelter in the Kishungur Rajah's house. They then came to the Delhi Bank, set fire

to it, and killed five gentlemen, they then went up to the Kotwalee, desiring the budmashes to commence plundering; on hearing which the Kotwal absconded, and took no steps to protect the people, and even allowed the Kotwalee to be plundered. The mutineers then came to the late Col. Skinner's house, which they did not touch, but set fire to all the houses in the vicinity of the Church, killing all the gentlemen, ladies and children therein.

After this five troopers galloped to the cantonments, and on their approach, all the sepoys set fire to their officers' houses, murdering all the gentlemen, ladies and children they could find in cantonments; the remainder of the troopers proceeded to the magazine in the city. On their approach four officers were standing before the magazine gate, which they closed, and from inside, fired two shots at the troopers, and then set fire to the magazine; all the four officers, and upwards of a thousand men of the city were blown up with the magazine. Two regiments from the Delhi cantonments joined the mutineers at the Delhi Kotwalee, and commenced plundering the city. The two Delhi regiments then went and encamped near the Ellenborough tank before the palace. A guard was sent to the Kishungur Raja's house, on suspicion of his having given refuge to Europeans. Upwards of thirty-four Europeans, (men, women and children) were concealed in the house; the mutineers set fire to the house, and it kept burning all day and night, but the Europeans were safe in the "Tykhana." The next morning the troopers brought two guns from the magazine, and kept firing at the house all day, but without effect. They then took to plundering the city in every direction. The late Colonel Skinner's house, which the mutineers did not touch, was regularly plundered by the scamps of Delhi. On the 13th, the mutineers again attacked the Europeans that had taken shelter in the Kishungur Raja's house. The Europeans commenced to fire, and shot thirty of the mutineers; but on their ammunition and supplies being out, thirty Europeans came out, and four remained in the "Tyknana." The heir apparent now rode up to the house, and begged the mutineers would deliver them into his custody, and that he would take care of them; however, paying no attention to what he said, they put all the Europeans to death. Mr. George Skinner, his wife, and children had taken shelter in the palace; spies gave information, they were seized, taken to the Kotwalee, and there most cruelly put to death. Dr. Chimmun Lall, the sub-Assistant Surgeon, was also killed at the Dispensary, and the English Doctor was killed at the Jail. For three days the dead bodies were not

removed, and on the 4th day the mutineers caused them all to be thrown into the river.

The mutineers then asked the king either to give them two month's pay or their daily rations. The king summoned all the Shroffs and Mahajuns, telling them if they did not meet the demands of the mutineers, they would all be murdered, on which the Shroffs agreed to give them Dall Rotee for twenty days, adding they could not afford more. The mutineers replied "we have determined to die, how can we eat Dall Rotee for the few days we have to live in this world." Whereupon the king ordered four annas a day. The mutineers placed two guns on each gate in the city, and brought a thousand maunds of gunpowder from the cantonment magazine, and took possession of all the shot and shell in the city magazine. Supplies having been stopped, and everything becoming exceedingly dear, viz. attah 13 seers, wheat 18 seers, ghee 1½ seers, &c. all the neighbouring villages were up and plundering, the king accordingly burnt five Goojur villages. The late Col. Skinner's house at Balaspore was also plundered. After plundering Delhi, 200 troopers proceeded to Goorgaon, and set fire to the houses, murdered the collector, and plundered the treasury, bringing away seven lakhs, eighty-four thousand rupees; and with the Delhi treasury, the mutineers have in their possession twenty-one lakhs, eighty-four thousand rupees, which is kept in the palace, guarded by them and the king's troops. The troopers have also advanced towards Allyghur and Agra, with the intention of persuading the troops there to join them, and set fire to houses and murder all the Europeans there. At Delhi there are three regiments, one from Meerut, and two of the Delhi regiments, and 200 troopers, the rest have all proceeded towards Allygurh and Agra. The great Banker, Lutchmee Chund Sett, by feeding the mutineers daily, saved his firm from sharing the fate of the others, and was the only shroff who had not been plundered.

NARRATIVE *of Occurrences in Delhi from 11th to 20th May* 1857, *both dates inclusive, in the form of a Diary, by Chunilall, news-writer.*

Some time during the night of the 10th May 1857, Mr. Fraser received a letter from Meerut, intimating the mutinous conduct of the infantry and cavalry there; but he did not make any arrangements then. In the morning, intelligence arrived that the 3rd Cavalry and two regiments of native infantry had had a fight at Meerut on account of the cartridges, and were coming to Delhi, when Mr. Fraser immediately directed the trooper in attendance as his orderly, to call the

Agent of the Jhajjar Nawab. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe at the same time came into the city, and directed the chief police officer to place guards of the constabulary force at the gates and to have them closed. The police officer carried out these orders immediately. Mr. Fraser also came into the city in his buggy, accompanied by the troopers of the Jhajjar Cavalry, constituting his personal guard. It was now ascertained that some cavalry men had arrived at the bridge, and had murdered the toll-collector, setting fire to his house. One of these troopers was very insolent to the Commandant of the palace guards, and fired a pistol at him, but without effect. The troopers above referred to collected under the palace windows, and telling the king they had come to fight for the faith, requested him to have the gate at this point opened for them. The king immediately sent word to the commandant of the palace guards that some troopers had come from Meerut, and were bent on causing a disturbance. On receiving this message Captain Douglas at once came to the king, and addressing the troopers told them they were offending, and directed them to go away ; they replied they would settle with him. Mr. Fraser in the meantime came to the Cashmere Gate and reasoned with the guards there, telling them they had been nurtured in the service of the East India Company, that some mutinous troops had come from Meerut, and that he required them to assist him in making arrangements. They, however, refused, saying that had an enemy come against him, they would have had no objection to do as they were ordered. Mr. Fraser, then, accompanied by some gentlemen went to the Calcutta Gate, and made such arrangements there as were necessary. Jowala Singh, Mr. Fraser's personal jemadar, now urged him to leave the city, telling him that all Mahomedans were disposed for a revolt. Mr. Fraser replied that he would not do anything of the kind. About this time all the shops in the city were closed. The Rev. Mr. Jennings and another gentleman were watching the troopers coming from Meerut with a glass, from one of the turrets of the apartments occupied by the commandant of the palace guards. Captain Douglas getting into his buggy joined Mr. Fraser at the Calcutta Gate, and taking a letter out of his pocket gave it to him to read. Mr. Fraser then told the troopers of his personal guard to remain in a state of preparation. The Mahomedans of the Thanbi-Bazar went to the Rajghat and having made a solemn compact with the mutineers opened the gate and allowed them to come in, when they immediately commenced firing the houses and killing the Europeans. Having killed the Europeans who resided in Daryá Gunj, and set fire to their houses, they murdered Chaman Lal, the native doctor, as he was standing in front of the dispensary. The Mahomedans of the city now told the troopers, that Mr. Fraser was at the Calcutta Gate. They immediately went thither and fired their carabines and pistols at the gentlemen who had collected there, and killed two of them. Mr. Fraser's mounted guard being Mussulmans, made no defence, but Mr. Fraser taking a carabine from one of the guards in question, wounded one of the mutinous cavalry men. Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas then retreated to the palace in a buggy. The latter went up to his

apartments over the gate, and the former was about ascending the stairs when he was attacked by some of the mutinous cavalry, seconded by the armed retainers of the king, and killed on the second step. His murderers now rushed up to the apartments above, where they killed Captain Douglas, the Rev. Mr. Jennings and his daughter, and another gentleman. At this time the Mahomedans of the palace and city were going about, plundering the apartments of the commandant of the palace guards, and the houses of the Europeans residing in the city. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe mounted on a horse and having a drawn sword in his hand, was pursued by the mutinous cavalry as far as the Chandni Bazar, and got away out of the city by the Ajmere Gate, notwithstanding that the saddlers living there turned out with bludgeons to prevent his escape. The three infantry regiments of Delhi joined the mutineers, and murdering a number of their officers, came into the city. The whole mutineers then killed all the Europeans, male and female, whom they could find concealed in Daryá-Gunj about the Cashmere Gate, and in Major Skinner's house. After this joined by the Mahomedans and some Hindus of the city, they destroyed the chief of the twelve subordinate police stations, and broke all the street lamps. The chief police officer hid himself, but his assistant made his escape after being wounded. When the mutineers and rebels attacked the bank, two gentlemen and three ladies with two children took refuge on the roofs ; one of the mutineers climbed a tree and was shot by one of the gentlemen. The mutineers set fire to the bank. The cavalry men after this, rode away ; but the Mussulmans remained and killed the gentlemen and ladies with bludgeons. The Mahomedans continued going about with the mutineers shouting cheers for the success of their religion. The Rajah of Bullubhgurh had gone to visit one of the railway officers and returned about 10 o'clock. The three infantry regiments of Delhi plundered the treasury and shared the money amongst themselves, and having plundered also the civil and judicial courts and the college, set fire to the buildings. The cavalry went to the cantonments and fired all the houses there. Having accomplished all this, the regiment of cavalry and two regiments of Infantry which had come from Meerut together with the three that had been stationed at Delhi, waited on the king and requested his support and countenance, promising to establish his rule throughout the whole country. The king replied that he cherished a hearty disposition to show them every favour and kindness, and directed them to take up their quarters in Selimgurh, remarking at the same time that all the streets and bazars had been closed, and suggesting that plunder and robbery should be prevented. The cavalry and infantry hearing that some Europeans with their wives had gone into the magazine, brought two guns from Daryá Gunj and loading them with stones, fired them at the gates, the Europeans within returning the fire from several pieces with grape. Subsequently the magazine blew up when several of the men of the city were killed, and many of the houses in the neighbourhood destroyed. The Europeans, men and women, who had been in the magazine fled in the direction of the river. They were, however, pursued by the cavalry and killed. Three serjeants and two

women were brought prisoners to the king. One of the serjeants begged the king's protection for himself and fellow prisoners saying that otherwise they would be killed by the mutineers, and the king had them placed in the House of Devotion. At about an hour before sunset Rajah Nohor Singh taking his wife, his brother, and his brother-in-law and Mr. Munro in disguise left for Ballabhgurh.

The infantry mutineers attacked the house of Seligram the Treasurer, but were unable to force its massive gates till midnight, when they made on entrance, and in conjunction with the Mahomedans of the city plundered the place of all the property it contained. Some Serjeants were taking away two guns from the cantonments, but the cavalry came up with them and brought the guns back. There was a salute of twenty-one guns fired under the palace, and all night, throughout the city, the greatest uneasiness and tumult continued to prevail in consequence of the plunder, pillage and burning of the houses.

Tuesday, 12th March, 1857.—The king came into the hall of special audience, when the chiefs paid their respects. The Subadars of the 54th Regiment waited on the king and begged that some person might be appointed to arrange for the daily supplies. Ramshay Mall and Delwani Mall were accordingly engaged to provide 500 Rs. worth of meal, pulse, and gram, &c. daily, and to have them conveyed to the regiments. Four European gentlemen were concealed in the house of Muhammad Ibrahim, son of Ali Muhammad, merchant. The troopers hearing this went there, and killing the Europeans plundered the house. A European woman dressed as a native, was going along near the Ellenborough tank, and was killed by the troopers. The infantry soldiers forcibly entered and plundered the shops of the confectioners in all the streets of the city. On hearing this the king appointed Mirza Manir-ud-din Khan, formerly police officer at Paharganj, to the governorship of the city, and sent him to the chief police office with a regiment of infantry, directing him to make arrangements to prevent plunder and pillage. The Mirza represented that the soldiery were then engaged plundering the Churi Bazar. On this the king sent for the Subadars of all the infantry regiments, and directed them to place one regiment at the Delhi gate of the city, and one under the palace windows, one company each at the Ajmir, Lahore, Farash Khana Cashmere and other gates, and one company in the Dorya Bazar, saying that he did not approve of his subjects being plundered. After this the infantry and cavalry made an attack on the Nagar-Seth street, with the view of plundering it. The inhabitants closed the gates, and attacking the soldiery with brick bats, drove them off; several clerks with their wives had taken refuge in the house known as that of Rajah Kalyan Singh of Kishan Garh. The troopers went and attacked them with carabines and pistols. The Europeans defended themselves with their fire-arms. The troopers then brought two pieces of artillery against them, when the clerks with their wives retired to an apartment under ground, and the troopers came away. The king directed Mirza Moghul to take a company of infantry, and adopt steps to prevent the plunder in the city. Mirza Moghul accor-

dingly went to the principal police stations seated on an elephant ; and had proclamation made that every individual convicted of plunder would be punished with the loss of nose and ears, and all shopkeepers not opening their shops, and refusing to supply the soldiers, would be fined and imprisoned. Her Excellency the Queen Taj Mahall was released from confinement. Two European gentlemen going along in the disguise of natives were killed by the troopers in front of the chief police station. The king seated on an elephant with Jawan Bakht in the hind seat, and accompanied by two regiments of infantry and some guns, went in state to have the shops of the principal streets of the city opened, directed the shop-keepers to resume their occupations and supply the army with necessaries, and then returned to the palace. Hasan Ali now obtained a presentation through Ahsan Ulla Khan. He submitted an offering of one gold mohur and was directed to remain in attendance ; the king remarking that he wished to have a conference with him. The king bestowed a dress of honor on Mirza Munir-ud-din Khan on his appointment to the governorship of Delhi. The Mirza presented four rupees as earnest of his thankfulness.

Wednesday, 13th May, 1857.—The King came to his house of devotion, Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan and other chiefs paid their respects. The Chamberlain, Hazan Mirza, was ordered to bring Mirza Amir-ud-deen Khan. The Chamberlain returned and reported that the Mirza was unwell, and was in consequence unable to attend. Mirza Munir-ud-din Khan, chief police officer, was told that the necessaries of food were not supplied to the army and was directed to make arrangements. Hosien Ali Khan being in attendance, the king said to him, " The army has collected in the palace—what is to be done ?" The said Khan replied that these soldiers were murderers who had killed their masters and that they could not with prudence be trusted. Shah Nizam-ud-din, a descendant of the priests, and Budhan Sahib, son of Nawab Mohammed Khan, deceased, were ordered to join in the deliberative conferences. Mirza Moghal, Mirza Khoir Sultan, Mirza Abdulla, &c., were appointed Colonels of regiments of infantry, and were directed to proceed severally with two guns each to the Cashmere, Lahore and Delhi Gates to preserve order. Shah Nizam-ud-din represented that the Cavalry had seized Nawab Meer Hamid Ali Khan at his house, and had brought him on foot to the jewel room to the physician Ahsan Ulla Khan, on the plea that the said Meer had concealed some Englishmen in his house, although the Meer affirmed that he was ready to acknowledge himself an offender if any Europeans should be discovered to be concealed. On this the king directed Shah Nizam-ud-din to go with the cavalry and infantry, and allow Meer Hamid Ali Khan's house to be searched. Shah Nizam-ud-din and Mirza Abulbakr accordingly went and made a search, and no Englishman or Eurasian being found there, they had the property restored, which had been plundered by the cavalry and infantry, the said Meer being at the same time released. Mirza Abulbakr was appointed Colonel of the cavalry regiment. Intelligence was brought that twenty-nine persons, clerks, women and children, were concealed in the house of Rajah Kalyan

Singh of Kishangarh, and the cavalry and infantry going and making them prisoners shot them with volleys of musketry. Some cavalry men went to the house of Colonel Skinner, seized and brought away the son of Mr. Joseph Skinner, and killed him in front of the chief police station. Instigated by some persons, the cavalry and infantry went to the houses of Naryan Das and Ram Charan Das, deputy collector, and alleging that Europeans were concealed there, plundered them of all their property. Kazi Pannu and his son were killed by some of the infantry soldiers. Two English gentlemen dressed as natives were going out by the Badarrau Gate, and were killed by some cavalry men. The king presented all the regiments with 400 Rs. each for their expences. Mirza Munir-ud-din, chief police officer, had it publicly proclaimed that all such persons as wished to take service should come forward bringing their own arms, and that all those in whose houses Europeans should be found, would be dealt with as offenders. Nawab Ahmad-Ali-Khan and Walidad Khan of Malagurh attended agreeably to summons, and paid their respects, and were ordered to attend Court daily. The king summoned the principal grain dealers and ordered them to regulate the rates, and to open their granaries, and to commence selling the grain in the market. Mirza Manir-ud-din Khan having entertained some two hundred men has placed them in the Darya, the principal street, and other parts of the city for the preservation of the peace. Two water carriers who stole some butter from a shop-keeper in the street called the Lal Kunwa were taken up. Kuli Khan and Safaraz Khan, two notorious bad characters, as well as some men accused of having committed acts of plunder in Teliwara and Sabzi Mandi, were also apprehended.

Thursday, 14th May, 1857.—The king came from his private apartments into the hall of devotion. The Chamberlain Hasan Mirza, Captain Dildar Ali Khan and Hasan Ali Khan, and according to summons, Mirza Manir-ud-din Khan, Mirza Zia-ud-din Khan, and Moulavy Sadr-ud-din Khan were in attendance, and paid their respects. The Moulavy presented one gold mohur. The king told him to conduct the duties of the civil and judicial courts. The Moulovy, however, requested that he might be excused. After this the treasurer Saligram attended according to orders, and presented one gold mohur. The king enquired what amount of money there was in the principal treasury. He replied he did not know. The king then directed him to send an agent of his to the treasurer. The treasurer said he would do so. Rahmut Ali Khan was introduced by Hasan Ali Khan, and presented one gold mohur. The king asked who he was, and was informed that he was the son of Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan, and nephew of Hasan Ali Khan, who had presented him. Muhammad Ali Khan, son of Sar Jang Khan, presented one gold mohur. The king inquired who he was, and was informed he was the nephew of Bahadur Jang Khan, the chief of Dadri.

The confidential agent of the chief of Sonowt presented himself and submitted that the chief was unwell and had therefore been unable to come to court, and intended going to Jaipur. An order was accordingly written to the address of Raja Ram Singh, ruler of Jaipur

directing his early attendance at court with his army ; and the confidential agent above said, declared he would leave for Jaipur immediately. After this orders were respectively issued in writing to Nawab Abdul Rahman Khan of Jhajjar, Bahadur Jang Khan of Dadri, Akhbar Ali Khan of Pantadih, Raj Nahar Singh of Bullabghur, Hasan Ali Khan of Dojanna, and Nawab Ahmud Ali Khan of Farokhnagar, directing their attendance at court. Orders were also issued to Mirza Amin-ud-din Khan and Mirza-Zia-ud-din Khan to look after the management of the district of Jhirka Ferozpur, and that of Gurgaon, which was lying unoccupied. Intelligence was received that the Goojurs of Chang Rawal were every night plundering the shops in Sabzi Mandi, Teliwara, Rajpur, Mandersa, &c., and Mirza Moghul was ordered to suppress these evil practices of the said Goojurs. Mirza Abulbakr accordingly went to the village in question with his regiment of cavalry, and had it plundered and burnt. Bahadur Singh, superintendent of the landed property, belonging to the Lucknow state, presented an offering of one gold mohur. A European soldier who came as a spy from Umballa was seized and brought before the king, and was by him ordered to be sent to the jail. A European woman was likewise brought, and she also was sent to the jail. Some Subadars, and infantry soldiers, having their shoes on came and stood on the carpets, and the king reprehended their conduct with anger and displeasure. An order was issued to Manir-ud-din Khan, chief police officer, to take the 38th Regiment Native Infantry, and to proceed to the Delhi cantonments and to make arrangements to prevent the depredations being committed there, in Sabzi Mandi, Pahari Durrung and other places. Four men coming from Meerut told the soldiery that European troops were on their way from that station for their extermination. The soldiery were not pleased at this intelligence, and placed the four men in question in arrest. The police officer of the Negambodh section was ordered to have the corpses of Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas buried in the graveyard, and those of the European men and women thrown into the river. This order was accordingly carried into effect. The Goojurs have plundered and carried away all the furniture of Mr. Fraser's house, and have torn up the whole of the records of the Commissionership, and of the Agency to the Lieut. Governor.

Friday, 15th May, 1857.—The king was in his private apartments, and Moulavy Abdul Kadir submitted a list he had prepared of the pay of the troops. His Majesty bestowed a pair of shawls on the Moulavy on account of his appointment to the situation of assistant to Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan. The Moulavy then went home seated on an elephant. The agent of the chief Sheo Singh of Samnowt presented a bottle of the extract of the *pandonus adoratissumus*, and a phial of essential oil, on the part of his client, and received a written order to the address of the Rajah of Jaipur directing his attendance. Gholam Nabi Khan, superintendent of the Kaulah Mahal, accompanied by Mir Akbar Ali, trooper, who used to remain in attendance on Mr. Fraser, came into the royal presence and stated that

fifty horsemen who had been sent by the Nawab of Jhajjar, were in attendance, but that the Nawab himself had not been able to come in consequence of the unsettled and disturbed state of his territory. Moulavy Ahmud Ali attended on the part of Rajah Nahar Singh of Ballabhgurh, and presented an offering of one rupee, together with a petition, in which the Rajah submitted that he was unable to present himself at Court in consequence of the plunder and violence the Goojurs were carrying on ; but that he will attend the royal presence after making provision for the suppression of these evils. Orders were issued for his early attendance. Intelligence was received that the magistrate of Rohtak had ran away, and that that treasury, it was likely, would soon be plundered. It was also reported that the Goorgaon treasury had been plundered. On hearing this, the king ordered that one regiment of infantry and some troopers should go and bring away the money in the Rohtak treasury. Orders were issued to Abdul Karim to enlist four hundred foot soldiers and one regiment of cavalry, the pay of each foot soldier to be five, and that of each trooper twenty rupees per mensem ; about 200 men have accordingly been entertained. The printer Abdul Kadir presented some papers for the king's inspection and said he would make every arrangement. An order was issued by the king to the officers of the cavalry intimating that Mirza Abulbakr had been dismissed from the command of their corps, and that they would remain under the orders of the king. Kazi Faiz Ulla came before the king and presented an offering of five rupees, and a petition requesting he might be appointed chief police officer of the city, and his request was granted. A goldsmith killed a man of the same trade against whom he had an enmity and was apprehended. The Mewatis at Jaisinghpura had plundered the house of the Railway officer of 4,000 rupees in cash and other property The cavalry and infantry were accordingly arranging to go and seize the Mewatis and to destroy Jaisinghpura, when the confidential agent of Lalla Budh Singh, the agent of the Rajah of Jaipur, presented a petition claiming the king's protection for the population of Jaisinghpura. An order was passed on this petition that no soldier of the cavalry or infantry was to be permitted to go to Jaisinghpura without the king's orders. Information was submitted that the soldiers of the cavalry and infantry as a practice patrolled the bazars, streets and lanes of the city with drawn swords, and that the shops in the bazars were not opened in consequence of the dread this inspired. Hearing this the king sent orders to the gates of the palace, enjoining that no person should go about the city with a drawn sword. An order was issued to the commandant of Jhajjar cavalry to take up his quarters in Mahtab garden. It was reported that fourteen boats laden with wheat and other grains, belonging to Ramjidas Gurwalla, had arrived in the morning, and an order was thereupon issued to Dilwani Mall appointed to arrange for supplies to have the cargo of the said boats landed, and to bring it away. Two infantry soldiers had secured 200 rupees and lodged the money with the firm of Ramjidas Gurwalla arranging that they should receive it in Lucknow. The two soldiers, however, happened to have a disagree-

ment when the matter transpired, and a company immediately went to the house of the banker who at once gave up the money. An order was issued to the merchants of the city directing their attendance. The cavalry and infantry after a consultation amongst themselves came to the hall of special audience, and complained that they did not get their allowances of pay and clothing, and stated their conviction that the physician Ahsan Ulla Khan and Mahbub Ali Khan were in collusion with the British. The troopers and infantry then went off to the house known as the Haveli Lal Kumu, and accused the priest Shah Nizam-ud-din of having two European ladies concealed in his residence. Shah Nizam-ud-din replied that he should be confronted with their informant, and the troopers presented some man who was a resident of Rampoor, and who said his story had been hearsay. Shah Nizam-ud-din now told the troopers that they should be at liberty to plunder his house and kill him if they should discover any European women there ; but if their real object whether or not in this false accusation was to do so, of course they had the power. In reply to this the troopers had nothing to say. Mahbub Ali Khan made oath on the Koran that he was not in collusion with the British. The soldiery plundered and carried away all the property from the house of Agha Muhamad Khan.

Saturday, 16*th May*, 1857.—The king came into the hall of special audience and held a court. The physicians Ahsan Ulla Khan, the pay master Agha Sultan, Captain Dildar Ali Khan, Rahmat Ali Khan and other chiefs attended and paid their respects. The troopers and infantry soldiers, accompanied by their officers, attended and presented a letter bearing the seals of the physician Ahsan Ulla Khan and the Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan, which they said they had intercepted at the Delhi Gate of the city, and complained that the physician and Nawab had sent this letter to the English, inviting them to come into the city immediately, and promising that provided the English should agree to acknowledge Mirza Jawan Bakht, the son of the king by the Queen Zinat Mahall as heir-apparent, they would on their part engage to seize and make over all the soldiery now in Delhi. This document was shown to Ahsan Ulla Khan and Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan who declared it was a forgery, got up by some person, and the impressions on it were from counterfeit seals of gypsum, and they took off their signet rings and threw them before the soldiers. They further swore by the Koran that the seals on the paper were not theirs and that the document was a forgery. However, the soldiers would not believe their asseverations. Some persons told the troopers that a number of Europeans were concealed in one of the covered drains of the canal. Hearing this Mirza Abulbakr accompanied by the troopers went to the place indicated, and, jumping into the drain, discharged his pistol in it ; but no Europeans were discovered. After this the men of the cavalry and infantry drew their swords and surrounded the physician Ahsan Ulla Khan, declaring their firm belief that he maintained an understanding with the English. They agreed that it was on that account that he kept the European prisoners intending that when the English came he might make them over and

would have the soldiers killed. The matter ended in their taking the Europeans, men, women and children, fifty-two in number, from the jail, where they were confined, to the reservoir near the music gallery with the intent to kill them there. The prince Mirza Majhli attempted to remonstrate, urging that the slaughter of women was not legal according to the Mahomedan law. The troopers on this resolved to kill the said Mirza, but he ran away and so escaped. They then made the prisoners sit down, and one of them fired his carabine at them. The bullet wounded one of the king's armed retainers. After this, two of the king's personal armed retainers killed the whole of the Europeans, men, women and children, with their swords. There were about 200 Mussulmans standing at the reservoir uttering the coarsest abuse against the prisoners. The sword of one of the king's armed retainers broke. After the slaughter the bodies were laden on two carts, and thrown into the river. This occurrence caused a great excitement amongst the Hindus throughout the city, who said that these Purbeas who had committed this heinous and atrocious cruelty, could never be victorious against the English. The companies at the gates were relieved. Some one informed the troopers that some Europeans were concealed in the house of the treasurer, Mathura Das, and in the street known as the Chowdhary-ka-Kuncha. They accordingly made a search, but returned without finding any. The troopers did not aggrieve any one on this occasion. An order was written to Walidad Khan of Malagurh, noticing the anarchy prevailing on the eastern side of the Jumna, caused by the lawless conduct of the Goojurs, and directing him to go and take steps to suppress it. Two weavers in the disguise of infantry soldiers were engaged plundering in the city and were apprehended. The shop-keepers of the Lahore gate submitted a complaint that Kashi Nath, police officer of their section of the town, was demanding a bribe of 1,000 rupees from them holding out the threat that if they did not give him the money, he would send them as prisoners to the chief police station. The physician Ahsan Ulla Khan accordingly sent an order to Kazi Faiz Ulla to place the said police officer under arrest.

Sunday, 17*th May*, 1857.—The king was in his private apartments ; the men of the cavalry and infantry accompanied by their officers, submitted that they had fortified Salimgarh, and that they trusted his majesty would go there and inspect what had been done. The king accordingly went in an open litter, saw how the guns had been placed in position, and then returned, assuring the soldiers, he was associated with them in a common cause, desiring them to place every confidence in the physician Ahsan Ulla Khan, Mahbub Ali Khan, and the Queen Zinat Mahall, and telling them he would slay with his own hands, any Europeans they might seize and bring to him. On hearing this the troops were convinced, and the physician Ahsan Ulla Khan was fully exculpated. A man was seized at the bridge with a letter he was bringing from some European at Meerut. The infantry soldiers tied him to a gun, and let him remain there. The mutineers had taken up their quarters in the hall of special audience, whence they have been made to remove, and the hall has

been done up anew with carpets, hangings, &c. Mirza Amin-ud-din Khan and Mirza Zia-ud-din Khan attended agreeably to summons, and paid their respects.

Being ordered to attend court daily, they pleaded sickness. The king then directed them to raise troops, saying that large dominions should be conferred on them, and they replied they should do so. After this Iradat Khan and Mir Khan, brothers of Nawab Mustafa Khan of Jahangirabad, Akbar Khan and others attended and presented offerings of two rupees each. The disposal of the colonelcies of the infantry regiments was next considered. A trooper arrived from Garhi Harsaru, and reported that several lakhs of rupees, being revenue of the Goorgaon district, was on its way to Delhi escorted by a company of infantry and some troopers, and that near 300 Mewatis and Goojars of that part of the country had made an attack upon this treasure and that a fight was going on. On this intelligence Moulavy Muhammed Bakar, of the press, was directed to go out immediately with two companies of infantry and one troop of cavalry, in order to oppose the Goojurs and to bring the treasure in safety. The infantry soldiers beat a sweeper in the service of Mirza Moghul very severely, on the imputation of being a spy. They however, released him on Mirza Moghul's orders. A report was made that some of the Mewatis of Jaisinghpura, who had plundered the house of the railway superintendent, had been wounded : it was ascertained that these men had been in the service of the English. The landholders of the village of Nadhowli attended, and presenting a rupee each, made professions of their loyalty and allegiance. The king told them to keep up a proper management in their village, failing which they would be expatriated. Two of the king's messengers who had been sent for intelligence returned from Meerut and reported that about 1,000 European soldiers with some other Englishmen, women and children, were collected there in the Sudder Bazar, and that they had erected fortifications on the Suraj Kund, on which they had mounted guns drawn by elephants. They further represented that the Goojurs were committing high way robberies all along the road from Meerut to Salimpur, and had maltreated them also. The king had accordingly two companies of infantry stationed at the bridge over the Jumna. The physician Abdul Hak attended and presented five rupees. Five companies of the sappers and miners had come to Meerut from Roorkee. The Europeans required them to remain and perform duties there. To this the men objected, and the English attacked them in consequence. Many men were killed, and in the end, the sappers and miners ran away and have come to Delhi. Several missives were written and despatched, by two, three, or four troopers each, directing early and immediate attendance, to Maha Rajah Narendra Singh of Patiala, Raja Ram Sing of Jaipur, the Rajah of Alwar and the Rajahs in Jodhpur, and the Kotah, Bundi, &c. Two children were killed by the falling of the balcony of Dewan Kishan Lal's house. It is reported that troops are coming from Umballa ; otherwise every thing is quiet.

Monday, 18*th May*, 1857.—The king came from his private apartments into the hall of special audience and took his seat on the throne

in state. The bands of the five regiments attended, and continued playing English music. The king bestowed arms and dresses of honor varying in grandeur, by reference to their appointments, on Mirza Moghal, as commander-in-chief of the whole of the forces, on Mirza Kochak Sultan, Mirza Khair Sultan, Mirza Mendu, and on others of his sons, as colonels of infantry, and on his grand-son Abulbakr, as colonel of the regiment of cavalry. Mirza Moghal presented two gold mohurs, and the other princes one gold mohur and five rupees each in thankfulness for the honors conferred on him. Hasan Ali Khan attended and paid his respects. He was ordered to attend court regularly every day, and said he would do so. The king then said that a very large portion of the country would be bestowed on him, and directed him therefore to raise troops, cavalry and infantry. Hasan Ali Khan replied, that he could not undertake this, but that he would remain in attendance on his Majesty. The two sowars who had been sent with the missive to Alwar returned, and reported that thousands of Goojurs were infesting the road and committing highway robberies, that they had robbed them of their horses, clothes and money, that they had taken the king's letter and tearing it up, had put the pieces back into their hands ; and that it was after much entreaty and supplication that they were prevailed on to give back the horses. A camel rider who was sent with a missive to Nawab Ahmud Ali Khan of Farrukh-nagor returned and reported that the Goojurs would not allow him to go on. The officers of the sappers and miners presented themselves and reported that five companies of their corps had come from Roorkee to Meerut : that all the Europeans with their wives and children were collected in their entrenchments called the Dum-Duma. That the Europeans used every endeavour to tamper with the sappers and miners to dissuade them from coming to Delhi, and to get them to remain at Meerut, and to join in the duties there, promising them an increase of salary ; but that they had declined listening to those proposals, whereupon the Europeans commenced a fire of grape on them about 3 o'clock one morning, by which 200 and upwards of their number were killed, and the remainder ran away and had now come to His Majesty's presence. They were ordered to take up their quarters in Salimgarh. Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan having prepared a nominal list of Ramji Das Godownwalla, Ramji Das Gurwalla, the treasurer, Saligram, and the other merchants of the city, sent it to them by a confidential agent with a message, that the daily expenses of the troops accounted to 2,500 rupees, and that they were therefore collectively required to provide five lakhs of rupees. On this the whole of the merchants went to Mahbub Ali Khan and reported that they were plundered of all they possesed on the out-break of the troops, and whence now were they to raise the money ? Ramji Das said that if Mahbub Ali Khan could get the other merchants to pay, he also would do so. Mirza Abulbakr went with the regiment of cavalry to the villages of Chandrawl and Wazirabad, to punish the Goojurs for robberies they were committing ; but the Goojurs ran away.

Tuesday, 19th May, 1857.—The king came from his apartments into the hall of special audience. Two troopers arrived from Meerut

and reported that a force consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, had come to Meerut with several lakhs of treasure from Bareilly and Moradabad. The Europeans there complained to them that the Meerut troops had revolted, and killing numbers of them had gone off to Delhi. The Bareilly and Moradabad forces replied that the Europeans had taken their revenge by killing three hundred of the sappers and miners, and that no doubt they (the Bareilly and Moradabad force) would experience similar kindness. On hearing this, the Europeans went into their entrenchments and commenced a cannonade when the troops from Bareilly and Moradabad erected batteries and returned the fire. Through the direction of God a shot from the latter fired the mine the Europeans had laid, and the whole area enclosed by their entrenchments was blown up. On receiving this intelligence the whole of the troops and the king were highly delighted and fired five guns at Salimgurh in token of their joy. After this, information arrived that the collector of Goorgaon on running away had left 17,000 rupees at Harsaru Garhi. One hundred troopers and two companies of infantry went thither and brought the money away. It was ordered that it should be lodged in the treasury. A trooper sent by the Baija Bai arrived and stated that his mistress not crediting the slaughter of the Europeans and their wives, had sent him for certain intelligence. The king told him that all the Europeans here had been exterminated, directing him to return to Gwalior accompanied by two troopers, and carrying a special missive and to tell the Bai Sahib to come to the royal presence immediately with her troops and manifest her good will. After this the king held his court in the hall of special audience. His Majesty bestowed a dress of honor of great grandeur together with a silver inkstand, on account of his appointment to the primiership, with the presented title of "prime minister to the king of the conquered countries" on.....* The said Mirza presented ten gold mohurs to show his sense of the honor conferred on him. The king conferred a similar dress of honor on his special son, Mirza Bakhtawar Shah, on his appointment to the colonelcy of the 74th regiment native infantry. The said Mirza presented two gold mohurs and five rupees as his thanks-offering. His Majesty further presented each of his sons who had been appointed colonels with a pair of kettle-drums. The Chamberlain, Hassan Mirza, was ordered to present Kunwar Ajet Singh of Patiala. The Kunwar accordingly attended and presented one gold mohur. The king said he well knew the Kunwar had always been residing in Delhi and gave him a dress of honor, and the Kunwar in acknowledgment presented an offering of five rupees. Ahmud Mirza and the son of the physician Abdul Hak attended and presented five rupees each. The Risaldar sent by Mohammad Akber Ali Khan attended and presented an offering of two rupees on his own account, and a petition from his client stating that after making necessary arrangements in his territory he would speedily come to the royal presence. There were two gentlemen, three ladies and a child concealed in the house of Nathu tailor, the troopers hearing this made

* Name omitted—Jawan Bukht was probably then appointed.

them prisoners and brought them to the palace and burnt the tailor's house. The king placed these prisoners in the custody of the soldiery. His Majesty went to Salimgarh where he received a general military salute from the troops. The officers of the 20th regiment, native infantry, represented that they did not credit the story of the blowing up of the entrenchments at Meerut brought by the two troopers, and that they therefore intended to go and blow them up themselves. The king said it was not necessary ; but suggested that if they went they should do so with the concurrence of their general, Mirza Moghal. An order was issued to Kazi Faiz Ulla, the principal police officer of the city, telling him that two of the boats in the bridge over the Jumna, had become displaced, and directing him to send one hundred labourers to restore their lashings. Intelligence was received that several doctors accompanied by a number of the Mussulman residents of the city, had erected the Mahomedan standard in the Jumma Musjid as a declaration of an obligatory war of extirmination against the British, and that the doctors having represented the great merit of slaying the English who, they said, were infidels, thousands of Mussulmans had joined the standard. The king hearing this sent a message, saying all the English have been killed against whom you have raised this standard, and directing that it should be removed. Moulavy Sadr-ud-din Khan went to the Jumma Musjid and reasoned with the doctors there, and prevailed on them to take the flag down. Several carts of grain, salt, &c. were seized outside the city and brought in.

Wednesday, 20th May, 1857.—The king came from his private apartments into the hall of special audience. The doctor Mahomed Sayad attended and exchanged greetings with him. The king remarked that he (the doctor) had erected the Mahomedan standard at Jumma Musjid against the English, but that as they had been all killed, there had been no necessity for doing so. The doctor replied that it had been set up against the Hindus. On this the king remarked that he regarded Hindus and Mahomedans alike, and he was not disposed to acquiesce in a religious war against the Hindus ; further remarking that as for the Christians, all there had been of them, had been already killed. After this the officers of the army attended and complained that the Mahomedans had raised the Mahomedan flag against them ; but the king assured them that the object of its being erected was the slaughter of the English. The officers further represented that one of the magazine servants was seized at the bridge while in the act of taking away a small brass gun he had stolen from the park of artillery. The king sentenced the man to be blown away from a gun. Mirza Amin-ud-din Khan, Mirza Zia-ud-din Khan, Hasan Ali Khan and Rahmut Ali Khan, attended and paid their respects. The king bestowed a walking stick on each of them as a mark of favour, and they severally presented five rupees each. Mirza Moghal received orders to proceed to Meerut with four guns, four regiments of infantry and the cavalry, in order to blow up the entrenchments there. The said Mirza suggested that Mirza Amin-ud-din Khan, Mirza

Zia-ud-din Khan, Hasan Ali Khan and other great chiefs holding extensive territories, might be sent with him, and promised to exterminate the English. On hearing the suggestion, the chiefs referred to remained silent. The king then directed Mirza Abulbakr to start with the force. Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan and the physician Ahsan Ulla Khan were ordered to provide funds for the expences of the army during its march to Meerut. The infantry soldiers searched a cart coming from Meerut, and plundered some jewellery there was in it. Some troopers searched the Mubarak Bagh, situated beyond the cantonments, and killed two Europeans who had been hiding there. The officers of the army came and requested that the five European women who were prisoners might be made over to them. The king directed the docter Mahbub Ali to present a legal opinion according to the Mahomedan law in this matter. The Moulavy presented the opinion required, ruling that the slaughter of women was not legal according to the Mahomedan code. The king now retired to his private apartments where he remained engaged in conference with the queen and the secretary Mukund Lal.

Escapes from Delhi.

In the afternoon, however, Brigadier Graves sent a message to Major Abbott, directing him to bring his corps back to the station as he required reinforcements, but this order could not be at that time obeyed, if it ever was, as it was considered dangerous to leave the guns without a sufficient protection. Just at this time the guard at the Cashmere gate commenced firing at the officers, who to endeavour to escape, ran up the declivity, leading to the Subaltern's quarters, amidst a shower of bullets. Here it was that Capt. Gordon, and Lieuts. Revely and Smith, 74th Native Infantry, were killed; and Lieut. Osborn, 54th, wounded in the thigh; Lieut. Vibart, and one or two other officers were of the party, but were unhurt. On arriving at the ramparts, Lieut. Osborn, after binding up his wound with his pocket handkerchief, finding escape by any other course next to impossible, in a state I should imagine akin to desperation, jumped from the ramparts down into the ditch a height of, I should think, twenty-five or thirty feet, and great was the surprise of Lieut. Vibart to see him alight all safe, and speedily commence ascending the opposite bank. Seeing the successful result of this bold step, he, Lieut. Vibart, determined on doing likewise, but just as he was about to take this hazardous leap, he heard the cries of women for help, proceeding from the officers' quarters. Without for one moment, considering the imminent danger he would be running, he rushed back amidst hundreds of shots to the above named place, where he found Mrs. Forrest, her three daughters, and two

other ladies. On getting them outside, where I believe, Mrs. Forrest then received the wound in her shoulder, Lieut. Vibart, along with the remainder of the number at the main guard, made a kind of rope of the handkerchiefs, &c. safely landed them all in the ditch, and after about half an hour's delay, they all reached the top of the opposite bank. It seems a miracle that the sepoys did not follow them to the ramparts and pot them of. Their next course was to proceed to the banks of the river, which after a great deal of trouble they forded. Naturally the ladies could travel but a very short distance, and in seven days they had only got twelve miles on their road to Meerut, after encountering severe fatigues and dangers, at some places fed, at others meeting with the greatest incivility. Having arrived so far, they succeeded in inducing a man to convey a letter for them to Meerut, and the next day some troops came out for them and took them in. The letter above alluded to also mentioned that Lieut. Butler, who had been wounded in the head with a brickbat, thrown at him by the towns-people, managed to escape along with Ensign Angelo from the main guard, but that since they had been murdered by some villagers. Captain Russell, Lieut. Anderson, and Ensign Wheatly who were out shooting when the massacre took place, also safely arrived at Meerut.

Intimation of the out-break was received by us only about half an hour before the murder of the Commissioner, consequently it was impossible to think of saving anything but our lives. Fortunately I succeeded in sending off my wife and Mr. F. Marshall (of Hulse and Co.), who reached Delhi a short time before, en route to Umballah. Two other carriages with passengers were at the Dâk Bungalow, and of course shared the fate of the other people who were in the city. There were two gharries at the Agency at the time I was driven from my house, about noon, and took refuge in the flag tower near cantonments, where all the families of the officers were assembled. We defended the tower, until the sepoys turned upon us, and seized the two guns on which our only reliance was in the retreat, when each one went his own way. Col. Knyvett, Lieut. Gambier, 38th, and myself being, I believe, the last to leave Delhi at about 9 o'clock P. M., by which time the whole of the bungalows in cantonment were in a blaze. We were pursued by about seven or eight sepoys, who more than once passed within ten yards of the lump of jungle grass, in which we were concealed. At about noon the following day, Tuesday, we joined another party of six officers and four ladies,

two of the latter wounded. We decided on making for Meerut, and at sun-down commenced crossing the river Jumna. A villager had been enlisted as a guide, with a promise of a very handsome reward if he conducted us in safety; but under pretence of having forgotten something, he left us on the bank of the river, and presently we saw that he had betrayed us, and that a body of armed men were rushing down. As our only chance of safety was in placing the river between us, we lost no time in attempting it, and by a miracle, as it were, we succeeded, as the villain not only betrayed us, but took us to the deepest and most rapid part of the stream. The ladies retained their presence of mind, so by hard swimming, we all reached the opposite bank; the mob seeing our determination did not follow. Next morning we reached a village, where the people behaved well, and gave us food and shelter until noon, when we were told to run, as our lives were in danger. We started into the jungle, and when about a mile from the village, were attacked by a caste; called Goojurs, who robbed us of every article we possessed, even to the buttons from our clothes; of the latter, just enough was left to cover us. The poor ladies were in a sad condition; in fact it was the most trying time, as we were some ten hours under a burning sun, travelling *bare foot*, and not a drop of water procurable. Fortune guided us to a large village of the Jhat caste, where we were detained three days, but found means to communicate with Meerut, which place we reached on Monday night, having thus been one week suffering the greatest dangers and privations.

Mr. Buckley after his escape from the Delhi Magazine.

In the first place he assisted a Mrs. Roberts and her little son, only four years of age, across the river; they both got safe to Meerut, although at the time he had only the use of one arm, having been wounded with a musket ball while defending the magazine against the rebels. On his arrival at Meerut he was admitted into hospital for the cure of his wounds, having fallen into the hands of a gang of ruffians on the banks of the river, who stripped him of everything he had on except his shirt, and left him bleeding and senseless for dead, with five more wounds; but strange to say, he recovered. After rambling in the jungle for twelve days, he arrived at Meerut in a deplorable state along with Lieut. Raynor and his family, whom it appears he met on the following day, and like himself stripped of everything they had, and in the hands of a gang of

ruffians. I am told by Lieut. Raynor and his family, that had it not been for this man's brave and gallant conduct, they believe they should never have reached Meerut in safety, as he suffered his head to be laid on the ground four different times with a man's foot upon it to be cut off, and at the same time offering to sacrifice his life, begging that the females might be spared from insult; his cool and gallant conduct disarmed their oppressors; but what is still more, he had been only six days in hospital, when he went to Brigadier Wilson and volunteered to go with the Meerut force to Delhi, but was refused on account of his wounds. However I am told that he was only nine days in hospital, and, on the evening of the tenth day, was on his way with guns and other stores to join the Meerut force at the Hindun Bridge, nine miles from Delhi, marched with them into Delhi cantonments where he remained up to the 17th June; but having been struck with the sun twice on the road as I am told, and a third time while on duty up at the batteries, he was sent to Meerut much against his will, although his life was in great danger from the stroke he got; but he was soon doing well again. What ought to be done for this man? He had served Government upwards of twenty-six years, and more than seventeen years out of that in the Ordance department; he had lost the whole of his property, and what is still worse the whole of his family (wife and three children).

Adventures of an Officer of the 38th N. I.

Monday morning came, and the whole brigade paraded to hear the sentence read of the Barrackpore courts-martial. About 8 o'clock the 54th were under arms, and marching to the city with two guns of Captain De Teissier's battery. The mutineers from Meerut were then crossing the bridge-of-boats. The 38th and 74th had not long been under arms when news reached us that the 54th refused to fire; that Colonel Ripley and others of their officers had been shot or cut down. We then moved down the Artillery parade ground where were De Teissier's guns and some companies of the 74th. Thence we moved to the Flag-staff tower, where the midday gun fires, and formed line along the high ground. Proctor (38th) had gone down to the Cashmere gate, where he was subaltern officer of the main-guard for that week (afterwards saved). We remained at the tower all day; the ladies and residents, some in their carriages, some walking, gradually flocked there. Dr. Stewart had marvellously escaped from the city, and told us of the fate of Colonel Ripley, who was not dead, but removed

to the Artillery quarter-guard, mortally wounded. It was so inexplicable to us why troops from Meerut did not arrive. Looking towards the city, we saw fires blazing, and heard the firing of heavy guns, which left us in uncertainty as to what was taking place. Dr. Batson volunteered to disguise himself as a native and make his way to Meerut; the Brigadier accepted his services. He took a sorrowful leave of his wife. Men rode in from the main-guard and told us the troops would do nothing. Later I offered to go; 'Gibraltar' was fresh, though he, like us, had had no food all day. I hammered along, and got inside the gate—there are two, the entering one was open; the inner one, citywards, was closed. Our men, composing the guard and companies of the 64th and 74th hung about in knots; two guns were in position, pointing to the gate; a large knot of officers stood on the slope going up to the main-guard. I saw Proctor, Dr. Wood, Hyslop, Smith (74th), Reveley, Osborne, Captain Gordon Butler, Angelo, Elton, and some others. Above was a group of ladies—the Forrests, Mrs. Ironson, Fuller, Forster, &c. While I was there the magazine blew up, it sent us hurry-scurry in every direction, for fear of the falling fragments, but no one was hurt. The saddest sight yet remained. By the gate, side by side, and covered by pretty ladies' dresses taken from some house, as if in mockery, lay the bodies of poor Captain Smith, Burrows, Edwardes, and Waterfield, and the Quartermaster-Sergeant, some lying calm as shot dead, and others with an expression of pain, and mutilated by bayonets and tulwars (swords). I had no business in the main-guard away from the men, and soon after rode back to the tower, I could not look poor Miss W—(step-sister to Captain Burrows) in the face; she had come in the carriage with Mrs. H— and Miss H—. It was thought to make a stand at the tower, and the service ammunition was brought up from the lines, but we had only nineteen Europeans, drummers, &c., besides officers, that we could count upon. The sepoys soon showed the spirit which animated them, by firing on Captain De Teissier, fortunately only killing his horse. The sun was going down when Majors Paterson and Elton came in, stating that they had escaped from the main-guard; that the sepoys were shooting down their officers, and all was confusion. We saw it was hopeless. The Brigadier ordered us to retire. First went the carriages, then the guns, next the 38th, and a portion of the 74th. I cannot say then what became of the carriages. As I brought up the rear our men fell in column in order, but as we retired they streamed off right and left by hundreds into the bazar, till at last the Colonel and I found

ourselves with the colours and a handful of men. We intended to make for a ford by the powder magazine, but our men showed that they were no longer under control, took the colours, and made for their lines. The Colonel and I followed. We sounded the assembly, and there was a great hubbub. We implored the men to fall in, but they stood still and declined. The Colonel went among them, and begged they would shoot him if they wished it. They vowed they had no ill-feeling against us. It was here I saw the last of poor Holland (since safe). His horse had not been ridden all day: it came from his bungalow. I heard Holland exclaim, 'which way did the ladies and carriages go?' Some one answered, the Kurnaul road; and I watched him canter across the parade-ground to the bridge by the Company's garden. If I had had a wife or child, or any one belonging to me in the carriages, I might have done the same; but as it was I dismounted, patted Gibralter with a kind of presentiment of evil, and sent him to my bungalow, and walked disconsolately into our quarter-guard. The Colonel did the same; somehow the idea of flight did not occur to us. I got my bed down from the bungalow and my kit, and went for some dinner. Then our men commenced urging us to escape, but we refused, and I fell asleep. I awoke, and my bearer entreated me to go, and said that the ruffians were coming from the city. Peile was also in the quarter-guard. We each took one of the colours, and got as far as the door, but the men closed on us, and jerked them out of our hands. Firing commenced behind us, and the satisfaction of being shot by one's own troops is small. I met the Colonel in the doorway and, seizing him by the wrist, forced him along over the parade-ground to the bridge by our butts. It was quite dark. We reached it untouched and scrambled on till we fell exhausted by a tree. Soon the moon rose, and cantonments in a blaze threw a glare on the Colonel's scales; my scabbard flashed, and white clothing looked like snow. We crouched like hares, and thus passed all that fearful night, now running forward, now hiding in hollows and gaps, as voices seemed in our track. We kept parallel to the road which leads to the Shalimar gardens. We crossed the Jumna canal by a ford, and drank as perhaps we never drank before. The poor Colonel was terribly exhausted; we had had nothing all day. Day broke, we were under a tree, and the Colonel tore the scales off his coat and hid them in the bushes. I was bent on making for the Kurnaul road, trusting to some conveyance meeting us, but the Colonel was set against the plan, and we made for the Jumna bank. We perceived a

broken down mud hut at a little distance. Into this we crept and lay down; while there as the sun rose, we perceived a a party of sepoys and others advancing towards us; they seemed to search the bushes, and the sun glittered on their arms. I cocked my pistol mechanically, but after two barrels I had no more ammunition. The Colonel had not even his sword. I remember saying, 'Oh, Colonel, death is better than this horrible suspense;' God's hand was over us then as ever. The sepoys turned towards the river, as if thinking that we had taken the ford, and disappeared. Some Brahmins discovered us as they came to work, one took us to the village and put us in a tope (clump of trees), while he got us chuppaties (bread) and milk. On the way Mr. Marshall, the auctioneer and merchant, met us. He had quitted the quarter-guard immediately after the Colonel and me, together with three others, but in the morning Marshall alone remained, and where the others are, alive or dead, we know not. After giving us food our Brahmin friends took us over a ford of a branch of the Jumna, and concealed us in the long jungle grass on the other side. While there another came to me and said a party of fugitives like ourselves were in the grass at a little distance. I followed, and he led me some two miles, when I found a party of ladies and others concealed. The first person I saw was Proctor, and in my joy at seeing him, whom I had believed shot at the main-guard, I saw no one else. After the first joy of meeting him, I looked about and found Mrs. Forrest, her husband, and three girls, Mr. Fraser (Engineers) Mr. Salkeld, Vibart, and Wilson (Artillery). I sent to the Colonel and Marshall, and this made our party thirteen: with guns and swords, we thought ourselves a match for a chance straggling party of mutineers. The escape of this party from the main-guard was wonderful. During the afternoon it was determined by Major Abbott at the Cashmere gate to send what ladies were there to cantonments. There were no conveyances, and they were mounted on the carriages of the guns—who knows what spirit possessed our men?—they were suddenly dislodged, and a murderous fire commenced on all there assembled. There was a rush up the ramparts into the main-guard. Osborne was shot through the thigh; he said, 'I am not going to be murdered by these sepoys,' and led the way, throwing himself over the wall into the ditch below, others followed. Mrs. Forrest was shot through the shoulder, but over they went, one after another, dropping down what in ordinary circumstances one would say endangered life and limb, yet they reached the ditch, scrambled up the scarp, and the party

I mention reached Sir T. Metcalfe's house; the servants gave them some beer and food, and led them to the river bank shortly before the house was fired. They passed much such a night as we did, with one narrower escape. As they lay concealed some men passed and saw a ribband or a bottle, and saying 'Oh, they have been here, evidently,' went on. They came to the same ford, and while concealed heard me described by my eyeglass, sent for me, and thus we happily met. We could not stay in the grass, so that evening started, the Brahmins conducting us to a ford over the Jumna. We travelled some two or three miles up stream before reaching it. Our hearts failed, and no wonder, where ladies were concerned, as we looked at the broad swift river. It was getting dark, too. Two natives went across. We watched them anxiously, wade a considerable portion of the river; then their heads alone appeared above water. It was our only chance of life, and our brave ladies never flinched. It was so deep that where a tall man would wade a short man would be drowned. I thought it was all over when, on reaching the deep water with Mrs. Forrest on my left arm, a native supporting her on the other side, we were shot down the river; however, by desperate efforts and the assistance of another native, we reached the bank in safety. I swam back once more for another of our party, and so ultimately we all got safe over. It was a brave feat for our ladies to do. We passed another wretched night, suffering fearfully from cold, and crouching close to each other for warmth; there was no noise but the chattering of our teeth. Next morning we were discovered and led to a tope, where again the Brahmins temporarily proved our friends, but they turned us out shortly afterwards with news that there were sowars behind and sowars in front. We turned wearily to the left to fall into the hands of the Goojurs. These ruffians gradually collected and with a wild howl set upon us. Our arms had been under water and useless, and they were 15 to 1. They disarmed us and proceeded brutally to rob and strip us. I think a fuqueer here saved our lives. On we toiled all day in a burning sun, with naked feet and skins peeling and blistering in the burning wind. How the ladies stood it is marvellous, yet they never murmured or flinched, or distressed us by a show of terror. We were taken to a large Brahmin village that night and concealed in a fuqueer's hut. We were there three days, and I trust hereafter handsomely to reward our benefactors. While here we sent in a letter in French to Meerut asking for assistance. It seemed not to come, and from Bhekia we were taken to Hurchund-

pore at the request of an old zemindar, who had heard of our whereabouts, and treated us royally. He was a German by birth, an old man of eighty or ninety, and now native in dress, language, &c.—not in heart or religion. He sent us up clean stuff for clothes, and gave us something like civilized food again. That evening thirty sowars (troopers), under Lieutenants Gough and Mackenzie, who volunteered for the service in answer to our letter, rode in, and we enjoyed the luxurious sense of release from the almost hourly expectation of death. The old man provided carts for us, and at 10 P. M. the day week of our escape from Delhi, we reached Meerut.

What a delight it was to be surrounded by kind faces and by sympathizing friends. We were truly in a deplorable condition—lame, filthy, and plundered of all; we were ashamed to look people in the face. There are many who, like ourselves, have lost everything belonging to them. I feel that thankfulness for life must counterbalance every other consideration. My losses are small, for I have lost none dear to me by relationship. I often thanked God that I had neither wife or child. All the 38th are saved, as Holland came in here alive, but with a slight cut on the back from a sabre. Poor fellow, he has been wandering seventeen days, owing his life to the kindness of villagers and others on the road.

Dr. Batson's Account of the Delhi Mutiny and his Escape.

On Monday, the 11th of May, the sowars came from Meerut into Delhi and wreaked their vengeance by murdering the greater portion of the Europeans. The 38th N. I., 54th, and 74th were ordered out with the artillery, but being of the same mind as the sowars of the 3rd Cavalry, they offered no resistance, but told their officers that they had better fly with as little delay as possible. The ladies had been collected in the tower on the hill at Delhi, and when the danger became apparent, I went to Brigadier Graves, then commanding at Delhi, and vulunteered to take a letter to Meerut to obtain the assistance of the European Troops. Brigadier Graves gave me the letter, and after taking leave of my wife and three daughters in the tower, with the rest of the ladies, I went to my house and assumed the garb of a fuqueer, colouring my face, hands, and feet. I made for the bridge-of-boats, across the Jumna, through the city, but on reaching, I found the bridge broken. I returned towards the cantonment and tried to get across the river at a ferry near the Powder Magazine, but by this time the sowars of the 3rd

cavalry had reached the cantonment, and all the neighbouring villagers, Goojurs and Jauts, were rushing to plunder the cantonment, the houses were fired, and I despaired of being able to get to Meerut. I rushed across the parade ground, and was fired at twice by the sepoys. I got as far as the garden near the canal, when I was seized by some villagers, and deprived of every particle of clothes; I proceeded naked as I was born, towards Kurnaul, in the hope I might overtake the officers and ladies that had fled in that direction—but before I had proceeded a mile, I saw two sowars, who had evidently failed in overtaking the officers; they rode up to me with drawn swords, and exclaimed 'Ferungee hy,' 'maro,' 'maro.' I threw myself in a supplicating position, and being intimate with the Mahomedan religion, and speaking the Hindustani, I commenced uttering the most profound praises in behalf of their Prophet Mahomed, and begged they would spare my life if they believed that Immam Mendhee would come to judge the world. I made every moral appeal to them, (after escaping the first cut they made at my throat, which I did by falling down, they being mounted could not well reach me), my entreaties were listened to, and they let me go, saying, "had you not asked for mercy in the name of the Prophet, you should have died like the rest of the kaffirs." I was dreadfully excited and could scarcely stand, but as I felt that I must proceed, I continued my journey; about a mile further, I again met a lot of Mahomedans, who rushed up to me, and said, "Here is a Ferungee, kill the kaffir;" they then said to me, "you Ferungees want to make us all Christians;" they then dragged me away to a village about a mile or more from the road, and tied my arms behind me, after which one of them said: "Kurreem Bux, go and fetch your sword, and we will cut off the kaffir's head;" while Kurreem Bux was gone to fetch his sword, (that was to launch me into eternity), a cry of *dhar dhar* was made by the villagers, and the Mahomedans, who were keeping me, ran off to look after their own interests; I rushed off and ran with all my strength to the road again, and escaped from these unmerciful beings. I continued to run along the road towards Kurnaul, I was again stopped by some ironsmiths, who were employed in the Delhi Magazine, when one of them said, "Saheb, don't fear, come with me to my village, and I will find you food, if you go on, you will surely be murdered by the Mahomedans, who have turned out from the villages to rob and kill the Ferungees." I went with the ironsmiths to their house, and was most humanely and kindly treated, one giving me a *dhotee*, another a cap, another some milk and native bread—I felt my life was safe, I was much excited and could scarcely

speak; they gave me a cot, on which I laid down, but could not sleep. I told these people I was a Doctor, and in consequence met with much greater attention. On the following morning, the Chowdrie of the village sent for me, when the whole village assembled to see the 'Ferungee Doctor;' exhausted as I was, I had to answer a multitude of questions put by the people, but finding I was perfectly acquainted with their religion, language, and manners, they began to take infinite interest in my life, and said, they would protect me. While I was staying at this village, I heard Dr. Wood, of the 38th N. I., was in a village, some five or six miles off at Summeypore; a man from this village came to me and said, a Doctor Wood Saheb is in my village. He requires medicines, as you know all the native medicines, pray tell me what should be given. I prescribed, but I know not whether the medicines reached him. I also heard, while at this village that Colonel Rypley was lying wounded at the ice pits near the parade ground. I persuaded the villagers, that he was a very great personage, and that if they would take him food and water, they would be handsomely requited by the Government for their humanity. They took him food for several days: but after I had left this village some ten days, I heard that one of the sepoys had killed him on finding him at the ice pits. A few days after I was in the village of Badree, it was rumoured, that all the Ferungees at Meerut, Umballah, and Calcutta had been murdered, and that the king of Delhi had taken the government; and that if any village concealed a Ferungee it would be death to the owners, and general ruin. The proprietors of Badree village got alarmed at this proclamation, and I was removed at night from the village to a small mangoe-tope where I was left night and day alone. I was visited at night by some one or other of the villagers, who brought me bread and water in a *ghurrah*. I am unable to describe my feelings during this trying time, I was all day in the sun, in the extreme heat, and alone at night, when the jackalls, &c. came prowling about and crying. It is only God and myself know, what I have endured after five days and nights in this tope of trees. I was again taken back to the village and concealed in a *bhoosa* house, I was here shut in for twenty-four hours, the heat and suffocation, I cannot find language to describe, I did not know which was the greatest misery, the tope of trees in solitude, or the *bhoosa kotree*. A rumour now was set on foot that several sowars had been deputed to hunt for the Ferungees in the different villages, and it was considered prudent that I should quit Badree under the escort of a *fuqueer Jogee;* this man came and offered to convey me anywhere, that I might please, but stated that it was not safe a moment for me to

remain where I was. I then started for Bursooha, where I remained the night, this fuqueer at his friend's dyed all my clothes, and gave me necklaces of beeds (Oodrach), &c., to assume the garb of a fuqueer myself; after making all preparations to pass as a fuqueer, I commenced by pilgrimage with him; he took me to several villages, and passed me off as a Cashmeeree, 'Dadoo Puntee, fuqueer Jogee.' In all the villages that I passed, I was cross questioned, but understanding their 'Jotish' religion and oaths, I met with every kindness, some giving me pice, others food. The Hindoos all expressed the most merciful feelings towards the Ferungees, while the Mahomedans could not disguise their murderous feelings. I was taken to a village to the house of Sewak Doss, Sunt Fuqueer Kubbeeree, understanding his code of religion, and being able to recite several Kubbeeree Kubbits, he received me in every kindness. I told him I was a Cashmeeree, but the sage could not reconcile his mind that I was a Cashmeeree with the blue eyes. He said your language, gesture, clothes, &c., are all complete, but your blue eyes betray you—you are surely a Ferungee. I disclosed to him that I was, nevertheless as I had acquired the Kubbeeree oaths, he continued to behave the same, while I was sitting at this fuqueer's place, a sepoy came saying, he had letters which he was taking to the Umballah force that was at Raee. He did not discover that I was a Ferungee, but I disclosed to him that I was a Doctor Saheb, would he take my letter to the officer commanding the force. I gave him a letter; soliciting assistance, which he most faithfully conveyed, but after waiting a day in hopes of getting assistance, and none coming, I thought it prudent to proceed towards Meerut; the beggar who had conducted me thus far, volunteered to take me on, several people of this village accompanied me till we got to Hurchundpore, where a Mr. Francis Cohen, a Zemindar, (originally a Tussildar in the Government employment,) resides; this old gentleman received me in all kindness, and showed me certificates under the signatures of Colonel Knyvett, Captain Salkeld, Lieutenant Holland, Mr. Marshall, merchant of Delhi, and others, setting forth that they had received every kindness from Mr. Cohen, who had kindly sent them on to Meerut. I then made arrangements to proceed to Meerut when a letter was brought from Kaykrah village to my address, telling me that a 100 men of the Jheend Rajah's force, commanded by Captain MacAndrews, was waiting at Kaykrah to take me on to Raee, where the Head Quarters were. Mr. Cohen sent me back in his cart, and I again had the gratification of seeing Captain Mac-

Andrew and Lieutenant Mew of my own regiment. I had been twenty-five days wandering about in villages, topes, &c., and were it not that I speak the Hindustani language as fluently as I can English, I must have been murdered; I look upon my escape as the most miraculous and providential possible. I am unable to describe what I have endured. I am living, and at Delhi, with the force, and am truly thankful to the Almighty, for the mercy that has been shown me.

My wife and children are at Kussowlie.

Dr. Balfour's Statement.

After a retreat was determined on, I was offered the use of a dog cart by Mr. Le Bas. I put up my sister (Miss. Smith). I then picked up Lieut. Thomason (Engineers) and Mrs. Tronson with the child of Capt. Fraser in her arms. We started along the Kurnaul road. After starting, Lieut. Thomason recommended that we should strike the canal bank, intercept his camp which was coming in, and then decide on our future movements. We did so, making Chota Thanna; next morning while consulting as to our future movements, the heads of the village of Rohud (Jats) came in, said, they had heard of the massacre of Delhi and offered us asylum. I advised the acceptance of the offer and at night we accompanied them to the village. There they left us for four or five days, showing us the most extreme kindness, and at last when we could hear nothing of a force advancing towards Delhi, they recommended our marching along the canal bank to Kurnaul. They guarded us, felt the way and made arrangements with villages of bad repute and showed us such extreme kindness and attention as I never expected to receive, and which, I fear, it will be impossible to repay. We arrived safe at Kurnaul on the night of the 20th. The Lieut. Governor will be glad to hear that the great mass of the country through which we passed was distinctly in our favour, even at the worst time, and that the insurrection had been almost confined to the Goojur villages along the Grand Trunk Road.

One of the ladies alluded to in Dr. Balfour's letter thus states her own mode of escape:—

On Monday morning, the 11th, about 8 o'clock, after morning service, I had gone over to see a friend living near the magazine, when I first heard the report that the disaffected corps were coming over from Meerut, and I with other ladies was advised to take shelter in the magazine. I did not go, however, but walked over to my mother's house to warn her;

on arriving there, I told the servants to be on the look out to give information, but they all said that no harm could come to us, as Delhi was too carefully protected. Several ladies came in from the adjoining houses, and in about half an hour the servants cried out to us that the mutineers were plundering houses, and had got as far as the Church. This being close to our compound, flight had become impossible, and our servants advised us to hide in one of the out-houses, which we hastened to do. Soon afterwards, two troopers galloped up close to where we were hid, and shouted out to the servants, "where are the sahibs or ladies? Don't be afraid for yourselves, we will not hurt any of you, but we mean to kill every Christian in Delhi." The servants said that all had left, they knew not where, but for some place of refuge, and they had better search the house if they thought they could find any one. The answer satisfied the troopers, who galloped off hunting for Europeans in every direction. Some little time after, a party of six men of the 54th Regiment N. I. came into the compound, and discovered our party, where we were lying hid, upon which they laughed and taunted us, pointing their muskets and threatening to shoot us. We begged them not to kill us, on which they said, "come out and follow us, and you will see what we will do." We all then went out and followed them to their own quarters, at the main-guard, where they brought us to look at the bodies of our officers lying dead upon the ground, and then they laughed and cried out to us, "see these have been murdered, because the Commander-in-chief wished to take away our caste, and destroy our religion with the new cartridges."

Then the officers at the guard seeing ladies below near the men's lines, ran down, pushed aside the sepoys, and told us to go back quickly to his quarters which we all did. On arriving there we found several officers, and remained from about 10 o'clock till about 3 P. M. in great distress for want of food and water.

Major Abbott, one of the officers present, sent up to the Flag-Staff for two gun-carriages, on which he said he would place the ladies and escort us with a company of his sepoys up to that post, which was considered safer than that in which we were then remaining. These carriages came down accordingly, but with them two guns and a party of 38th L. I., and as soon as we had all seated ourselves on the carriages, Major Abbott turned round the guns and marched on in advance at the head of his company supposing we should follow. The men of the 38th waited until he had got outside the Cashmere Gate, when they ran and closed it behind his party, and then cried to us that they would murder us all if we did not immediately

get down again; all but my sister immediately obeyed, but she was holding her baby and could not jump down, so she prayed them to wait till she could hand the baby, and on their shouting out, she threw it into my arms and jumped off. At this moment I felt my arm seized by a Drummer of the 54th N. I., who told me to follow him if I valued my life, and he dragged me out through a wicket door, and led me up to the Sudder Bazar. On the way I heard the sepoys firing at several officers who had escaped, and saw several pursued by the men of the 38th, and I believe some were then murdered. My conductor took me into Captain Burrough's house, where he said there was a lady who would take care of me, but I found she had gone to the flag-staff and begged to be allowed to go on there. Several sepoys laughed at me, but one came forward and said, "I will escort you there in safety," which he did. I remained there about ten minutes, when we heard the retreat sounded:—all the sepoys by that time having mutinied and refused any longer to listen to their officers—upon which every one rushed to escape in the best way we could. Doctor Balfour kindly took pity on me and gave me the spare seat on his dog cart. We drove away as fast as possible out of Delhi, avoiding the main-road, and went along the canal road twenty-five miles, halted an hour, and then went fifteen miles more, when we came to a chowkee where we remained, sleeping the remainder of the night in the field. A canal contractor from the neighbouring village of Rohul came to us, and said he heard we had fled from Delhi, but he would protect us.

He took us in the morning a long distance to a garden near his village, where he told us we must remain by day, and every night, lest we should be attacked by plunderers; he took us into the village where we slept on the top of his house, and we remained in this way six days. At last the neighbouring villagers said, he must have received a large sum of money from us to induce him so to befriend us, and if he did not give them part, they would come and murder us all. Consequently our protector told us to go off at once to Kurnaul, where he heard part of the army had arrived, and he went with us to protect us by the way. We reached safely on the fourth day, and the Commander-in-chief made him a present of one thousand rupees.

The child I had carried died in two days, and I had to learn the sad tidings of the death of my mother, who sunk under the hardships of that fearful day.

The party we left, with whom my sister was, I have since heard, were pursued by a gang of the mutineers, and only escaped their deadly fire by a miracle—hiding and creeping

along under bushes full of thorns which were lacerating and tearing their flesh in fifty places.

Narrative of Mrs. Dr. Wood.

Dr. Wood was wounded, and I ran down on foot to meet him, having previously sent for him to the tower as being safer. Mrs. Peile, the lady who shared with us all our hardships, was by the kindness of a friend, put into a buggy which I also occupied. When I reached Dr. Wood, there happened to be a hospital-doolee near, into which he was assisted, as I thought he would get along easier in it than any other conveyance. We proceeded a short way, when the bearers put him down, refusing to go further. Here he got into the palanquin carriage I had fortunately ordered to follow him, and at last started for Kurnaul, bidding adieu to Major Patterson and Mr. Peile, the last ladies on the Delhi parade ground, as the delay in changing Dr. Wood's conveyance three several times caused us to be long after all the other ladies, and officers too, in leaving the station. We had proceeded only ten miles, when the villagers came out upon us and tried to stop us, a syce at the same time coming up to us and telling us if we went on ahead we should be killed as the villagers were awaiting us on the road. Here even violence was threatened, as our horses were seized and swords drawn, I think, on my syce: we however got away from them, and resolved on returning to the Company's garden to hide ourselves there, if possible, till next day.

This we did, and the mally promised to shelter us. Ere very long, however, a band of some forty or fifty fellows rushed upon us with *lattees*, demanding all we had; to resist was vain; two helpless women amongst a band of savages. Dr. Wood was too severely wounded to be able to speak or move. Mrs. Peile and I had each a box of our little valuables and jewels with us, which we hoped to save, besides I had in cash 100 rupees. Our hopes proved vain, for they robbed us of all, taking as well Mrs. Peile's cloak and bonnet, and my dress and two sheets literally soaked in blood, breaking up our conveyances and riding off with the horses. Band after band followed till, in truth, they found that we were actual beggars, and would you believe it, one of these savages who came to rob us had white kid gloves on and a *lattee* in his hand. About 1 o'clock in the morning we left the garden, Dr. Wood laying down beneath a tree, whilst Mrs. Peile and I went in search of a village. After much persuasion, a Zemindar took us in, sheltered and gave us milk and bread till next night, when we

started on foot for Kurnaul. We travelled on in this way by night at the rate of seven miles a night, dragging a wounded man between us, begging food from village to village, and sleeping on the bare ground. We met with kindness at some places, but at others insult and unkindness in every shape, being refused even shelter from the heat of the sun. Thus we passed six weary days, three of which we passed in the sun below trees and bridges, having had our lives threatened, running short of water, and always being consoled by the intimation that we would never escape the king's sowars. The sixth day brought us to Balghur, the Ranee Mungla Dabee's village. Here we received much kindness from the Ranee who promised to protect us, but the second day of our stay with her dashed all our hopes again, for we found that the Ranee's own people were displeased with what she had done for us, and threatened to destroy her own village, if she did not send us away. This was sad news for us, but we were helpless, and had decided on starting again, when night came on. In the meantime, however, a little comfort was in store for us by the unexpected, but most welcome, arrival of Major Paterson, wounded and foot-sore and tired. In two hours more Mr. Peile was also welcomed by us unhurt, he having traced us all along the road. Our meeting, as you may fancy, was a sad one; the gentlemen, like ourselves, had been stripped of every thing, and wore native clothes. Before sun-set we were hurried away from the village, and leaving the main road passed two or three villages when all felt so tired and exhausted, that we begged a Zemindar of a village to give us rest and food till next day, and here we were most kindly used, getting food in plenty and charpoys to rest on. At 4 o'clock next morning, we again started on our weary march. A villager offered us a bed for my husband and bearers also, and by this means we were enabled to make a march of twenty miles before evening; my shoes were worn out and so Major Paterson, and I came along bare-footed through the burning sand, and through fields full of thorns. We reached the thannah of Gossowlee and were very kindly used there, one man taking pity on us and cooking us most delicious curry. Next morning, we were provided with two horses, a mule and a donkey, to take us on to Gossowlee tehseeldaree, where we considered ourselves safe. Shigrams next day were sent for us from Kurnaul with an escort of the Puttialla Raja's men for our protection, which place we reached at midnight of the 20th May. Here we went to the house of young Mr. Righy who, in very truth, acted the part of a Christian and friend to us poor beggars and refugees; from him we received every kindness and attention,

and never shall we forget it. With him we remained rather longer than a week, but again continued a journey so eventfully begun, travelling in a common bullock train to Umballa and from thence to Kalka in a dog cart, having frequently to get out and push our conveyance ourselves through the deep and burning sand. We dressed Dr. Wood's wound,—and such a wound as it was, the jaw being shot away,—ourselves for eleven days, ere a medical man saw it. Ours was a disastrous retreat and much we suffered, and worst of all insults—brutal insults were heaped upon us. We have lost all we possessed, and both Mrs. Peile and I had several valuable articles amongst our stock of jewels, presents from dear friends and others purchased by our own little savings. But those ruthless plunderers thought not of this. We also suffered much for want of water, our thirst was intense, and when our small water jar was exhausted, we were only too glad to drink from the jheels by the road side, muddy and full of insects though it generally was, drawing water from the wells which were not very deep, (our rope being only a short one) and this often proving bad and brackish. I may add that poor Colonel Ripley was being carried on ahead of us in the doolee, but where he was put down I do not know. I only wish we had had the chance of even trying to bring him on with us; if in our power, we should not have left him alone to be cut up.

Narrative of Lieut. Peile of the 38th N. I.

Since the morning of the dreadful catastrophe at Delhi, many have been the hardships, many the severe trials both in mind and body, that I, in company with two ladies have endured, together with Dr. Wood, severely wounded on the morning of the 11th in the face, and Major Paterson, 54th N. I. Having no reason to expect any assistance from the sepoys left in cantonments, it was resolved that we should have recourse to flight. Nearly all the ladies were sent off in conveyances of several descriptions, and most of them have been reported as having reached Meerut, Kurnaul, &c., in safety. I, along with several gentlemen, however, went to the native guard of the 38th native infantry, and tried to rally the sepoys, many of whom stated their willingness to stand by us; but by degrees our party decreased, until at last Ensign Gambier and I were alone left, we having agreed, if possible, to carry the colors of the regiment away. We made several attempts to take them, but were not permitted to do so by the sepoys. Ensign Gambier finding this, left me by myself. After a great deal of persuasion, I was allowed to take the regimental colors, but

on arriving outside, to my horror I found that my syce had decamped with my horse. I was, therefore, compelled to place the standard again in the quarter-guard. On again coming into the open air, I was fired at by a sowar, but he missed his aim, and I shot him down with a pistol ball through the head. Another man also aimed at me, but before he could fire he was bayonetted by a sepoy of my own company. The firing then became general, and I was forced to flee amidst a shower of bullets, but by the miraculous interposition of Providence, not one touched me, although three passed through my helmet, and one through the flap of my coat. Exhausted and weak through a late severe illness, I was unable to continue running long, and tried to conceal myself under a bush in the Company's garden; I had not been there long, when a party of thieves found me, who took from me every thing I had on me or about me, leaving me entirely naked, with the exception of a banian and socks. Having an idea that I had concealed some property or from some other cause, they tore off the sleeve of my shirt, threw me down, and attempted to thug me with it. After a few seconds of intense agony, I became insensible, and did not recover my consciousness for a long time. I then crawled more than walked, to a chowkee, were a chuprassie hid me until day-break, when I again commenced to walk, whither I knew not, in this wretched plight. At about 8 o'clock, I arrived at Aleepore after having been stopped and threatened by several bands of robbers, when the Tehseeldar gave me a few old clothes, but would not allow me to stay there long, as he was afraid he would be murdered for allowing me to do so. Again I set off on my journey, but avoided the main road, and about noon arrived at a village about seven miles from Aleepore, the Zemindar of which offered to provide me with a place of safety, and well and generously indeed did he fulfil his promise, although much against the desire of many of the ryots. About four hours after my arrival, two sowars of the 3rd Light Cavalry came in from Delhi, and were informed by some one of my presence there; they immediately paid me a visit, and seemed bent on my destruction, and on seeing how ill and helpless I was, they relinquished their object, and went away. The next news came, that a body of forty or fifty sepoys were coming into the village. I was, therefore, forced to fly to the fields, where I remained in the broiling sun the whole day. The sepoys after searching for Europeans there, went on their road towards Meerut, where my kind friend, the Zemindar, again sought me out, and took me back to the village. On the morning of the 17th, a villager came in, stating that he had seen about two

days before a gentleman and two ladies some eight miles away on the main road, but that as the gentleman was severely wounded, they could only travel five or six miles a day. Feeling confident from his description, that they were of all others the very people I most wished to see, viz., my wife, Dr. Wood and his wife, I determined to go in search of them, and almost immediately started off on the Zemindar's horse to the Trunk Road, where I enquired from some travellers, if they had seen any persons corresponding to my friends. On receiving an answer in the affirmative, and that they were about ten miles on ahead, I started off on foot, and to my great joy overtook them about 4 P. M. at Balghur, where the Ranee Mungla Dabee had given them shelter. Here also we met Major Paterson, who had experienced the same difficulties as ourselves, as well as having received two severe cuts on the head with a *lattee*, from the thieves on the road. He had travelled a long distance in the disguise of a *faqueer*, in company with a *jogee*, who was likewise severely maltreated by the same band of thieves, and ran away. About six o'clock, we all five, escorted by some men belonging to the Ranee, once more started off through the fields, but were soon compelled to halt for the night at a large village, as Dr. Wood was so weak. Here we met with great liberality from the Zemindar, who provided us with chapatties, milk, dhal, &c. At about 2. A. M. we again started off, but had not gone far, when at a village the people offered to carry the Doctor on a charpoy. This enabled us to proceed with greater speed, and by 12 at noon we came to a large village, where we begged for food and shelter, which was denied us, but three or four miles on, we were more fortunate, and obtained everything we required, with the exception of civility. After resting for a few hours, we resumed our journey, not feeling safe where we were; and after a walk of about four miles, we came to a place called Ghuseowlie. Here we also met with very great kindness, and were comfortably lodged for the night, having walked about twenty miles; the ladies the whole way shewing the greatest courage and perseverance. The next morning we were provided with two horses, a mule and a donkey, the doctor being still carried on a charpoy, and at 8 A. M. arrived at the Lursowlee Tehseeldaree, when we sent off a letter to Kurnaul for a conveyance which we expected would arrive the same night; but on account of the delay on the road, the carriages did not reach till 3 P. M. next day, which caused us much anxiety as the road was very unsafe. However when they did come, about thirty sowars of the Putteealah Rajah accompanied them, and escorted us the whole way to this. So far our trou-

bles were at an end, and we were now partaking of the hospitality of a friend. The evening previous a sepoy of the 60th N. I. was caught on the road by some soldiers of the 1st Fusiliers, and as he was supposed to be a spy from Umballa, he was by order of the Commander-in-chief hanged in the presence of the troops. All the villagers round about could not be depended on, and plunderings were carried on in wholesale. Poor Wood had been a great sufferer on his march, and it is perfectly wonderful how he ever survived it. Drs. Balfour and Stewart were attending on him, and had removed a large piece of the broken jaw, and anticipated a speedy recovery. Lieutenant Holland, 38th N. I., was supposed to have been murdered, as also Ensign Gambier. Colonel Ripley was said to have died of his wounds on the road. Captains Burrows and Smith, Lieutenants Waterfield, Edwards, Vibart, and Dr. Dopping were killed in the city. Of the six troops of 3rd Light Cavalry, two remained faithful, as have all the native officers. An officer came in from Meerut under an escort of that corps. Some most miraculous escapes have taken place, and many are the narratives of dangers avoided, and hair-breadth escapes. One poor woman, who had been but lately confined with a baby at her breast, dropped her handkerchief while in the dâk carriage, and after having given the child to some one else, got out to pick it up, when the driver, I conclude being alarmed, drove on leaving her behind. She had not been heard of since, and the child died a day or two after, from want of its proper nourishment.

Escape of Mrs. Leeson.

A lady, Mrs. Leeson, was brought into the camp before Delhi on the 19th of August. She was escorted by a Ghazee from Swat. Two Ghazees originally started from the city, but one was taken prisoner by the mutineers. Mrs. Leeson escaped as an Affghan boy. She had been a prisoner in Delhi since the out-break on the 11th of May, a period of upwards of three months. Her child was shot in her arms, and the same bullet wounded the mother. She had been taken care of by the two Ghazees.

It was on the preceding night that she managed by some means or other, to pass through the Ajmere gate, and hid herself in the long wet grass until the dawn of the morning in question, when she sent out one of the Ghazees to reconnoitre, who could see that the Subzee Mundee was occupied by European troops. He went back and related the circumstance to her, when she sprang up and made the best of her way

towards the place in question; the enemy's sentinels perceived them and shot one of the Ghazees, and several ran after Mrs. L. and the other man; but on coming within range of our rifle bullets, they dared not venture any further, therefore the party soon reached the Subzee Mundee, when Mrs. Leeson fell upon her knees and offered up a prayer for her safe deliverance from bondage.

She was in an awful condition, and many of the soldiers shed tears of commiseration and pity, when they saw her sad case; she had a wound in the hip, and her thumb had totally withered away, owing to her having been tied up by it. The men did all they could for her, some fetched water, others rum, some bread and beef; but the poor woman was too weak to partake of anything. She was for a time surrounded by our men, who kept asking questions, until they almost bothered the woman, still she bore it with the greatest patience, and answered all the questions she could. At length Captain J. A, Bailey came up, provided a dhoolie, and sent her safe under escort to camp, where she was provided with a staff tent and had all she required. All she had on at the time of her escape, was a piece of old dirty cloth, wrapped round her body, and another piece round her head, no stockings, and only an old pair of native shoes on. In fact she could not well have been in a worse plight.

A Party of Fugitives from Delhi.

It had been intended by the cantonment party to make a stand at the flag staff tower, but this now appearing hopeless, a retreat was ordered. As the movement began, the sepoys of the 38th and 74th fell rapidly out of the ranks, till but a handful of men was left with officers and the colors. The ladies and carriages mostly took the Kurnaul road. The officers were urged by some of their men and private servants to escape without loss of time, as the insurgents were coming from the city. It was now dark, firing of muskets had commenced around them, and many bungalows in cantonments were now burning, and lighting up the country for a great distance round. There was no choice but flight; and the few officers who remained together, having found all their efforts fruitless to restore order among their men, left the ground, which was becoming every instant more unsafe for them, and wandered on, sinking at length exhausted, to snatch a broken sleep or watch for day. At sunrise, sepoys were observed in search for the fugitives, but their places of concealment remained undiscovered, and the sepoys disappeared. To the

good offices of men from the neighbouring villages were they now indebted for food and protection. In the course of the day, scattered officers met as they wandered on, and others lost sight of members of their party, who had been with them the previous evening. The villagers conducted the party of officers they had taken under their protection, by a ford, across a branch of the Jumna, to a place of concealment among the jungle grass, and in the course of the afternoon brought them information of another party of fugitives, including ladies, who were at a short distance from them. These were found to be a small number who had escaped from the main-guard at the Cashmere Gate. When it became no longer safe to remain, an attempt was made to send the ladies to cantonments on the gun carriages, there being no other means of conveyance. This was frustrated by the sepoys, who dispossessed them of even this accommodation, and opened fire on the whole party. These now letting themselves down into the main ditch, and scrambling up the opposite side, made their escape. Among others, one of the ladies was shot through the shoulder. They pressed on, spending just such a night as the other party, and more narrowly escaping from the sepoys, some of whom passed within ear-shot in full search.

The two parties, comforted by their meeting, and re-assured by their augmented strength, pushed on together. They passed between two and three miles up the bank of the Jumna to a ford,—a deep and difficult ford as it proved,—neck deep, and deprived of their footing by the strong current, and carried down the stream for some distance, but succeeded at length in reaching the bank in safety.

Night had now come on, and throughout it all suffered severely from the cold after this passage of the Jumna. Next morning again the people of the villages befriended the wanderers, sheltering them in a tope of trees, but shortly after obliged to urge them to proceed as there were parties of horsemen after them. In the next move, the fugitives fell into the hands of a large body of Goojurs, whose hostile intentions were soon manifest; but all the fire-arms having been under water were useless, and resistance was impracticable. The Goojurs, with wild shouts and savage rudeness, disarmed, robbed, and stripped them; but their lives being spared, it is believed through the intervention of a friendly faqueer, they toiled on in their half-denuded state under the burning sun and before the scorching wind, till night brought them relief and concealment in another faqueer's lodging at a large Brahmin village. There they remained three days, enjoying the kindest treatment at the hands of their protectors, and such surgical

aid to the wounded as the village barber-surgeon's skill and means could afford.

From this place they were conducted forward to another village, by desire of an aged Zemindar of the place, a German by birth, who had received intimation of their circumstances, and refreshed them with further kind treatment, supplying them with shelter, food and clothing. That evening, to their great comfort, arrived a party of horse sent out from Meerut in reply to a letter sent from the resting-place of the previous day. The old Zemindar provided them with conveyances, and, on the eighth night after escape from Delhi, they found themselves again among English faces and kind friends at Meerut.

Extraordinary escape of Mr. James Morley and party.

I and my friend, Mr. William Clark, occupied a two-storied house in the Cashmere bazar. We were both married. I had three children, Mr. Clark had only one; but Mrs. Clark was about to give birth to another. On the morning of the 11th May, I was preparing about 9 A. M. to go to my office. We heard a great uproar, and one of my servants came in and said that some regiments had come over from Meerut and entered the city, and that they had come away from Meerut after killing all the Europeans. We did not know what to do, and I sent away my buggy. We waited two or three hours, and then another of my servants came in and said that all the budmashes of the city had got together, and were murdering all the Europeans. On this, my wife and children all began crying. Some of the servants went and stood at the gate, and one man came and told us to come and hide in his house. However, I was determined to go out and see what was the matter. I took a thick stick in my hand and walked into the street. It was altogether empty. I continued to walk down it without meeting any one. When I came to the end where it opened into another street running at right angles to it, I walked both ways along the latter, but it too was empty. There was only an old man sitting in one shop door. I stood for some time, but at some distance along the right, I could see what seemed to be a crowd of men. It was very far off, and I could only just hear the noise and shouting. As I thought they might come up to our house, I stood watching them for some time. At length I heard a great noise behind, and looking round, I saw a large crowd rushing into my gate-way. They had also seen me and some men came running down the street towards me. I immediately ran down the other street to the left. I knew that there was a small lane that led to my house, but by going a long way round, I ran into it. There were some women standing at the doors and one or two men, but they

did not say anything to me. I was running along, when two men ran out of another lane and calling out "*mar feringee ko*," they rushed at me. One man had a sword in his hand and the other a lattee. I stopped suddenly, and turning quickly round, I gave the man with the sword a blow over the head which brought him to the ground. The other man aimed a blow at my head, but I had stooped forward, and the lattee only grazed my shoulder behind. I swang my stick round and it caught him just on his knee, which made him sit down howling with pain. I saw people collecting behind me and running on. I came to a place where there were old carts and hackeries lying in front of a carpenter's shop, and there is a roof of a shed which had fallen down and was lying on the ground. There was just room for me to creep under. I rolled myself up and lay there. I heard four or five men run by saying *idhuree ko gya*—"he went this way," I could hardly draw my breath. For some time after they had left, I could hear nothing more. Then I began to think of my poor wife and children, and of Clark and his family. What if they all had been murdered? As I thought of this, I determined to go home. It made me feel like mad, but now again, I heard a loud noise and a large crowd passed by shouting and yelling in a dreadful manner. They used the most horrible language, and it was all about the Europeans. Two or three women came out of the house and stood close to the shed, and a little child was leaning against the side. Some one, however, called out to them from above to come in and shut the door. I lay still for a long time, for in that public street I did not know where I might not meet a man. But again, I thought of my wife and children, and I determined to go to them at any cost. I crept out of the shed and stood up suddenly. I heard a woman call out "koun hy," but I made no answer and walked towards my house. This street was not in the centre of the city, but near the walls, and was not inhabited by bunyas and such people, but by baboos and native writers. And all the budmashes had gone out to loot the station outside; I only met one or two natives I knew, and they only said, save yourself. At length I came to the wall of the garden behind our house, I entered through a small wicket. It was now nearly 4 o'clock, for I had been all day under the shed. I had heard firing and once there was a terrible shock, which I afterwards found must have been the blowing up of the magazine. As I said before, I got into our garden; every thing was as still as death. When I got to the house, all round it were lying broken chairs, tumblers, plates, books, &c. that had been thrown out from the houses. There were some bundles of clothes lying burning. I went round to the side where the

servant's houses were. There did not seem to be any one in them. At length I heard a noise, as if some one crying near the cow house. I went there and found that it was our old dhobee, an old man who had been in my father's service for nearly twenty years. I called out his name and when he saw me he burst out louder, saying 'oh! Sahib! they have killed them all—they have killed them all.' I felt very weak and faint, and I said, get me some water. He brought me some water from his own house, I sat down and said, 'now tell me how it happened.' First he only cried and then he said, "Oh! saheb when you had gone away, the Mem Sahibs, and the children all sat together very frightened, for we could hear a great noise and the firing of guns. And Clark Sahib got out his fowling piece and loaded it, I asked him if I should shut the gate, but he said, no! we have nothing to fear. But soon a large crowd with sticks, swords, and spears came into the compound. Clark Sahib stood on the steps and said 'What do you want.' They only abused him and said they would kill every Feringhee. He came into the house, but did not shut the door. The people all rushed in. The servants all ran away, only I remained behind. Mr. Clark said, 'take every thing away, but do not kill us.' They then abused him and looked at Mrs. Clark, and said, is this your wife, and laughed at him. They began to break and loot every thing. My Mem Sahib had taken three babas into the ghosulkhana and shut the door. Mr. Clark had stood with his gun hidden behind him; but they saw it and said, 'give it to us,' and then one man went to Mrs. Clark and touched her face and spoke bad words to her. Clark Sahib called out in a terrible voice 'you soour,' and shot him dead. He then wounded another man with the other barrel and commenced fighting with his gun like a *lattee*. I knew that now they would murder every one. I ran to get the Mem Sahib out of the ghosulkhana, but there were people all round the house. They hit me and told me to go away, or they would murder me too. I went into the garden and sat behind a hedge. I heard a great crying, and they threw things out of the house and broke the panes of glass in the doors. They then said, 'let us go,' and loot, and they all went away. I felt as if I had been stunned for some time. I then got up, but I could hardly stand, and I said 'come into the house' with me. We went into the house. Everywhere things were lying about that had been most wantonly destroyed. Tables had been split to pieces with hatches, cupboards had been emptied out and every thing strewn on the floor, jams and jellies were lying in heaps; biscuits were thrown about, and there was an overpowering smell from the brandy and wine that had ran out from the broken bottles.

Every minute detail is distinctly imprinted upon my mind, for with that cowardly shrinking from a knowledge of the worst, which is common to us all, I lingered in the outer room and kept looking round it. At length I nerved myself and stepped into the next room which was the hall. Oh! I had indeed need to nerve myself. Just before me pinned to the wall was poor Clark's little son with his head hanging down, and a dark stream of blood trickling down the wall into a large black pool which lay near his feet. And this cruel death they must have inflicted before the mother's eyes. I closed my eyes and shuddered, but I opened them upon, even as yet, a more dreadful sight. Clark and his wife lay side by side. But I will not, I could not, describe that scene. I have said that she was far advanced in pregnancy.

I heard an exclamation and going into the bed room near the hall, I saw the old dhobee wringing his hands and crying. He was standing at the door leading into the bath room, I rushed to the door, but I could not enter. I could not bear to face that spectacle. I could not bear to think that I might see my poor wife as I had seen poor Mrs. Clark. I sat down and placed my hand on my knees. I did not cry, it seemed as if there was some terrible weight that had been placed on my brain, and the tears could not come out. I do not know how long it was that I sat there, but at length the old dhobee said that he heard people passing, and that it was not safe for me there; so he took me into his house. It was now nearly dark. My servants would most likely be coming back to their houses, and I could not trust them. He told me that he would take me that night to his brother's house, which was on the other side of the city, and then try and get me out into the open country, when we would make for Kurnaul. I lay down in his house, and he sat outside; not long after a large gang of people came into the compound. They laughed and shouted and yelled. They passed out by a small wicket which was quite close to the servants' houses, and I heard one man say, *aysa tumasha kye*, 'what fun this is.' The servants too came back. They began to talk about what had happened, and I was glad to find that they were sure that I was dead. One man said that it was very wrong to kill the Mem Sahib and the children, and that how were they to get 'rozgar.' But another said that we were kaffirs, and that now the king of Delhi would provide for every one. After midnight I crept into the garden and there put on a petticoat and veil belonging to the dhobee's wife. I then went into the road where I met him. He took me to his brother's house. Everywhere there was great excitement in the streets. There was a terrible blaze in the direction of the magazine. And outside of the

wall there was a fire of musketry. When we came near his brother's house, he told me to remain quiet at the corner, and he would go in and see who was there. And this was very lucky for me; I found afterwards that his brother was very happy at the thought that he could now keep all our clothes. He would not have tried to save me, but just the contrary. I sat there for a long time with people passing and re-passing. If they had only known that a Feringhee was within a few feet of them! I have been all my life time in the country, but still I felt afraid lest any one should speak to me. I did not know, but they might remark that my *chudder* was held awkwardly and thus find me out. In this suspense I sat for some time. It was now the first dawn of the morning, and suppose I had to remain the whole day in the city? This thought began to trouble me; but at last the old man came out driving before him a bullock on which was a load of clothes. He did not come towards me, but went down the street the opposite way. I again began to be afraid that he wanted to leave me to my fate, when I remembered what a loyal and trustworthy servant he had been, and it struck me he did not want to draw observation on me. I therefore waited till he had got some distance and then followed him. We went on till we were out of the street in which his brother's house was. He then stopped and beckoned to me. I went and joined him and he told me that his brother would not have assisted me, and that he himself had at once said that he would not stop in the city where there was all this disturbance, and that he had now come away on the pretence that he was going home to his village. We were not stopped at the gate, which was wide open. We went on along the broad road for about three miles. The old dhobee then said that we must make for the Kurnaul road. In order to do this we had to make a circuit almost round the whole of the city. People were hurrying along the road towards Delhi, and did not molest us. We got on very slowly, but towards evening we got into the Kurnaul road. Here the case was different. People were to be seen going along it laden with plunder; one gang surrounded us and said that the old man was very cunning, and was taking away some rich goods. He, however, said at once "search my bundle," which they did, and finding nothing, they let us go. I then told the old man whenever a gang came near us to call out to tell them to go and loot the Feringees, and to make jokes about what had occurred. This he used to do, and it averted all suspicion from us. And after the first day we always started very early in the morning, indeed very shortly after midnight, and I could then go along on the bullock. On the third day

we halted near a small temple. We sat down under a peepul tree, and a gooseen came and sat by a pool of water near it. The old dhobee went to procure some food, and sitting in the shade, with a cool breeze blowing, I fell asleep. when the dhobee came back he woke me up, and the old priest said that he knew I was a Feringee; we then begged of him to have pity on me, and he said 'go, go, I never hurt any one.' I got tired of this disguise, and was indeed ashamed of it, so as I thought no one would harm us so far from Delhi, I put a suit of the dhobee's clothes. We were often insulted, hooted and abused by the villagers, but they did not offer me any personal violence. I saw the body of an European woman lying shockingly mutilated by the road side, and it made me sick to see a vulture coming flying along with a shrill cry. I saw another body of one of our countrymen. It was that of a lad about sixteen. He had been evidently killed with the blow of a stick. I buried him; but it was a shallow grave that I could give him, poor fellow. I heard on the road of a party of Europeans being some distance ahead of me and tried to overtake them, but could not. I had been suffering for some time before of a peculiar running in my leg. This had become very much worse from the severe exercises from the heat and from the dirt that got to it. Frequently I could just drag myself along. At any other time I could not have borne the agony. But the desire of life is a very powerful motive to exertion.

I had very often thought before of that hour when death should stand by my side. I had not thought that I should ever be thus brought face to face with him. And though after all I had lost, life seemed darkened for ever, yet the strong natural instinct urged me to make every endeavour to save my life. Still, strange as it may seem, it was n t death that I feared. As I stood wrapped up in the *chudder*, I would have welcomed a shot that would have at once destroyed me. It was the thought of the bitterness of that moment when I should have to gaze on death's naked face; it was the thought of the humiliation of the moment when I stood uncovered before those whom I had hitherto looked down on, and be at their mercy; but I think above all, was the thought of the pain and agony of dying through the effects of the ghastly wounds. But from all these things the goodness of the Almighty has delivered me. On the sixth day after leaving Delhi, I arrived at Kurnaul. The excitement that had hitherto sustained me being now over, a re-action took place. A brain-fever set in, and I became delirious.

My poor friend Clark! my poor wife and children, never more shall I see them upon earth again.

Escape of Mr. G. Wajentrieber from Delhi.

On the 11th of May 1857, early in the forenoon, a report prevailed outside the city of Delhi, where I resided, that some sowars of the 3rd Light Cavalry had entered the city by the Calcutta gate, and were murdering right and left and committing all sorts of excesses. The reports brought by the natives varied as to the number of sowars; by some they were stated to be 250, whilst others estimated them at 150. On going down to my usual avocations in the city, about 10 A.M., I found the Cashmere gate closed, and in the space of ground facing it there were about ten or twelve of the Residency sowars, from whom I could gain no further information, than that no person was allowed to go into the city. All seemed quite enough, but people about me said there was a great disturbance near Deriowgunge. Finding I could not obtain admittance, I went back to my house, where I found my family and servants in a state of alarm, in consequence of the report which had reached them of the extent of the out-break. Soon after my arrival, I wrote to a neighbour and asked him for some particulars of the disturbance, and concluded by advising him to come with his family to my bungalow, which being *tiled* was not likely to prove so combustible as a thatched one, and there make our stand. He replied there was no cause for alarm, and that it would be advisable not to show any signs of anxiety. I therefore loaded my fire-arms, and removing them all into one room, prepared to resist any attempt that might be made on my property. Meanwhile my servants brought various reports from those who had just come from the city, some stating that seven or eight Europeans (including the Resident, Mr. Simon Fraser) had been murdered, and that the sowars were like fiends, shooting down every white man and woman, and child, without distinction. Fires were blazing in the direction of Deriowgunge, and it was soon reported that the sowars had come from Meerut, where they had committed frightful excesses the night before, and that they were a portion of the 3rd Light Cavalry, who had been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for mutinous conduct, in having disobeyed the orders of their officers on parade. With the knowledge that *revenge* was the principal object of their visit, and the certainty that they were acting more like fiends than men; matters assumed a serious aspect, and we began to think of seeking safety in flight. Our work-people soon asked permission to leave our compound and go home, and only a few domestics remained with us. All this time firing was heard in the direction of the city, and we were told that the treasury and bank were *looted*, the several Europeans employ-

ed in them having been murdered. The 54th N. I. had meanwhile proceeded from cantonments to the city, accompanied by two guns from Capt. De Teissier's battery. These marched through the Cashmeree gate and main-guard in order, but as soon as they had reached the road nearly in front of the church, the sepoys of the 54th suddenly ran to one side, leaving their officers in the middle of the road; at the same time a small party of the troopers galloped forward, and suddenly pulling up short, fired at the fated officers. The only one who had fire-arms was Col. Ripley, and he managed to kill two of his assailants, or badly wounded them, before he himself fell mortally wounded. The remainder, Capts. Smith and Burrows, Lieuts. Edwardes and Waterfield, and Lieut. Dopping were then coolly pistoled; the men of their regiment looking calmly on at the butchery, and when ordered to fire, making a display of doing so over the heads of the murderous troopers, or positively refusing to obey any orders whatsoever. The 38th L. I. and 74th N. I. were then sent down with two guns, but it became evident that their presence at the scene of action only increased the dangerous character of the out-break, as they were in a state of open mutiny, and under no sort of discipline. All this time the massacre was being perpetrated at Deriowgunge; the dawk bungalow was burnt together with several other houses near it, and the inmates ruthlessly butchered. The treasury and bank were *looted*, the church and the *Delhi Gazette Press* destroyed, and the college and all public offices set fire to or battered down. Private houses were entered by troopers, (their horses being held at the gates of the gardens,) who said they did not come for *loot* but *life;* and when they were disappointed in their greed for European blood, they let in the *budmashes* of the city, who in the space of half an hour cleared out the best regulated houses, from punkah to floor cloth. They then either set fire to the house, or, if it was not of an inflammable nature, they pulled out the doors and window-frames, &c.; in some cases the beams from the roofs. In the church the ruffians found ample employment; they tore the monumental slabs from the walls, stole the plate, and actually went into the bell tower where after tolling the bells in mockery for a time, they loosened them and let them fall into the church below.

As soon as the troopers had shot down all the officers of the 54th N. I., they are said to have dismounted, and going up to the 54th *shook hands with the men*, uttering words of congratulations, and I conclude, thanks for their forbearance; the gates were closed and barricaded, so that no one could escape from the city; and had it not been for several acts of kindness

rendered by individuals (in one or two instances by sepoys themselves,) not one Christian in that city would have lived to tell the tale.

On our hearing the real state of the case, it became evident that our position in our own house was extremely hazardous; and on a friend driving up and telling us that all in the Civil lines were going up to the Brigadier's house in cantonments, we drove up, taking with us only a small supply of necessaries for the child, and my guns and pistols.

On arriving at the Brigadier's we learnt that the ladies and gentlemen had all left, whither, the sepoys on duty did not know or did not choose to tell us; we therefore followed Dr. Balfour's buggy in the direction of our own house. On arriving there, Mr. Murphy, Deputy Collector of Customs, came over and begged of us to come to his house, as it was a pucka one, and we accordingly went, forming a party of six gentlemen, and eight or ten ladies. We were well armed, and determined there to make a stand, and at least defend the ladies and ourselves as long as we were able. It was not long, however, before a report reached us, that the cantonment ladies were congregated at the flag-staff tower, where the Brigadier and several other officers also were, and as at the same time we heard that a party of the troopers had issued from the Lahore gate of the city, and were coming up the centre road into the civil lines, we packed off the ladies in carriages, ourselves following on foot, carrying each three or four guns; the tower was distant a mile, and the wind blowing like a furnace blast, which together with the mid-day sun, affected poor Mr. McWhirter so much, that he was near fainting, and seeing an empty buggy in advance of us, we seized it, pushed him in, I following, and drove up the hill to the tower.

Here we found a large number of ladies and children collected in a round room some eighteen feet in diameter. Servants, male and female, were huddled together with them; many ladies were in a fainting condition from extreme heat and nervous excitement, and all wore that expression of anxiety so near akin to dispair. Here were widows mourning their husbands' murder, sisters weeping over the report of a brother's death, and some there were whose husbands were still on duty, in the midst of the disaffected sepoys, of whose fate they were as yet ignorant. It was a Black-hole in miniature, with all but the last horrible features of that dreadful prison, and I was glad even to stand in the sun to catch a breath of fresh air.

For some hours we remained here; the two remaining guns of the light field battery pointing down the hill towards

the city, a company of the 38th Light Infantry on the right, with piled arms, and the Christian drummers of the three regiments, and others, well armed, on the left.

From what we had heard of the troops, it was very evident that the fidelity of the small body of native infantry with us could not be relied on. It was put to the test by the Brigadier and Brigade Major, haranguing them and reasoning with them. Their replies were direspectful, not to say offensive; and they were altogether in such a disorganized state, that it became necessary for us to look to ourselves. Muskets were brought in together with ammunition, and it was the intention of the Brigadier to defend the tower, in the hope that assistance would arrive from Meerut; the native troops we certainly could not depend upon, but we formed a pretty large body of Europeans, and were well armed, so that we might have held our own for several hours, by which time, it was only natural to suppose, succour would be near us. However, a little before 4 P. M., a puff of white smoke, followed by a magnificent coronet of red dust, high above the city walls, told us the magazine in the city had exploded. The report which followed was breathlessly listened for, but only a deadened *thud* was all we heard after the lapse of a few seconds. The sepoys rushed to their arms with loud cries of *Deen! deen! deen!* and on my wife showing unmistakeable symptoms of the meaning of this, I most unwillingly consented to get into our carriage, and seek safety in flight. Many endeavoured to overrule this determination, but we were firm, and were soon driving rapidly down the hill through cantonments. My wife knew of a garden house about five miles on the Kurnaul road, belonging to the Nawab Zea-ood-deen Khan, a native gentleman to whom I had several times been of trifling service, and who had frequently invited us to come and remain a week at his garden house. We therefore felt secure inside his walls, where we soon found ourselves; but it was a miserable place, and seemed doubly dreary under the circumstances in which we were placed. The servant in charge readily promised us shelter, advising me to go on to the roof of the house, as it was only for me that the mutineers would search; I consented, and was soon on the roof, with my step-daughter and my infant, my wife remaining below to put them "off the scent", if any one should come to seek me. May Heaven reward her devotion! During the first part of the night the beautiful moon rose in all her splendour, and through her white soft light, the lucid glare of many a fire in cantonments, flickering and blazing above the trees, told that the work of destruction was still going on. Shots too we

could distinctly hear, and ever and anon a couple of louder reports from field pieces set us wondering what could have caused their discharge. We tried to sleep but could not, there was such a weight of sorrow, such a sense of lonelinpse upon our hearts, a dread of what was to come. Yet with the knowledge that our houses were plundered and burned, and that we had not even a change of linen, nor so much as one rupee with us, we felt thankful to all bountiful Providence for sparing our lives, and permitting us to remain together, and we hoped on.

It was now near midnight, and our coachman whom we had sent to try and get some money and food, had not returned. We gave up all idea of his fidelity, and soon after were told by the Nawaub's servant that the only syce we had with us had also absconded; nor were we comforted by the information, that all the people we had left there had deserted the flag-staff tower, and were on their way to Shalimar gardens—and that we had better follow them! We remonstrated with the Nawaub's servant, and told him we could not leave at that hour (between 12 and 1 o'clock at night,) but he said we were known to be there, that some twenty sowars had already been making enquiries for us, and that in fact the Nawaub himself was our enemy, and they would not spare his life if he sheltered us. Matters were thus desperate, and there was nothing left for us but flight, so in the absence of any assistance, my wife harnessed the horses with her own hands, put them to, and mounting the box drove out of the compound of the inhospitable Nawaub.

Before we entered upon the high road, my dear wife advised me to keep my fire arms at hand, so I took a double barrelled gun loaded with ball, and my pistol on the box with me, leaving two rifles inside: and telling my step-daughter, who was inside the carriage with the child, to hand them the moment I fired, we commended ourselves to the protection of the Most High, and entered upon the Grand Trunk Road. We may have proceeded a mile, when my wife pointed out to me a knot of people drawn up on both sides of the road in advance of us. They were evidently after no good, so I prepared to protect myself and family. As we approached they closed in across the road, and I presented my gun at them which had the effect of keeping them off, but they followed the carriage howling and screaming and flourishing clubs and sticks in a very menacing manner. We left them far behind, but only to fall in with a second body; this time more numerous and formidable. As we approached, they drew across the road in front of our horses, holding up spears, swords, and

lathees in a threatening manner, and loudly calling out *thammo!* To this I replied by pointing my gun and calling out, *hut jao!* but one, more daring than the rest, stept forward and seized the horse's head by the rein, and I, seeing nothing else for it, fired, the rascal falling beside the carriage. The remainder fell back, my wife whipped up the horses and dashed on, but the ruffians followed very fast, and thinking they were gaining on us, I fired a rifle shot, and hit one man (the foremost) in the abdomen, he fell, and the others contented themselves with howling and heaping abuse upon the heads of myself and my family for many generations.

We got a little ahead, and got down to put the harness in order, and to re-load my empty guns; after which we resumed our journey. But we had not proceeded far before we came upon another body, this time a man rushed forward and struck our horses on the head with heavy *lathees*. I immediately shot him down, and we proceeded onwards, pursued by the enemy, howling and screaming that they would have my life. We soon came upon a party of the 38th Light Infantry, returning from the musketry Depôt at Umballa. These men had their muskets in their hands, and on our passing they called out to us not to go on. Seeing a large body of dacoits in advance, we determined to return and seek the protection of these sepoys, but turning the carriage we found ourselves completely surrounded by dacoits, the party we had left behind having come up, collecting numbers on their way; and a considerable number in advance. Finding this to be the case we called upon the sepoys to protect us, my wife saying that she was "Sekunder's daughter,* and entitled to the protection of all good soldiers." In an instant four or five of them stepped forward, and standing beside our carriage, levelled their muskets at our enemies, telling them to keep off or they would certainly fire. Upon this, one of the dacoits, apparently the leader, stepped to the front, and said something (we could not catch *what*) to the sepoys, which appeared to alter the aspect of affairs, as the havildar suddenly called those away who seemed ready to assist us, and told us in loud tones to go on our way. My poor wife was horror-stricken, and entreated them in the most piteous tones to save us, or, if they would not save us, to put an end to our existence, and not let us fall into the hands of the dacoits: but they said, no, they would not molest us, and could not protect us, and in spite of all prayers and entreaties left us to our fate. I then told my wife to turn the carriage, and put the horses to speed. I myself standing up

* The late Colonel Skinner was known and respected among sepoys as Sekunder or Alexander.

to make better use of my weapons. We dashed on, and were not long on it, before we perceived a strong rope tied across the road at the end of a *pucka* bridge. Fortunately my wife is a first-rate whip; she rallied the horses, pulled them up sharply as they stumbled over the rope, and all the damage the carriage sustained was a bend in the step iron, and some severe cuts in the hood: the horses were cut, but whether in this attack or any subsequent one I cannot tell. The dacoits made sure of us this time; one daring rascal advanced with a long heavy iron-shod *lathee*, and struck my poor wife a dreadful blow on the right arm and leg, and another got on the hood from behind and attempted to cut through it with a *tulwar*, but I shot both villains in the head; upon which the remainder of the party fell back, hesitated, and finally left us to pursue our journey; they yelling in the most horrible manner, after the fashion peculiar to *Goojurs*. After this we were not molested at close quarters, the villains confining their attack to spears, *lathees*, and heavy stones thrown at us in showers from behind the parapets of bridges, but which most providentially struck none of us. One of our mares sustained some severe cuts and bruises, and the carriage bore marks of great ill-usage.

I received a hard knock on the nape of my neck (intended for my head) and a sword cut on my left arm. One of my pistols was smashed by a heavy blow, and the Damascus barrel will bear the iron-ring marks as long as it remains in existence.

During all these attacks not one word of fear escaped either my wife or step-daughter, and the child slept peacefully in the arms of the latter. Such devotion and bravery are of rare occurrence and worthy of the highest admiration! Had either of them screamed or shown any sign of alarm, I might have lost nerve, and been unable to take accurate aim at our assailants; as it was I did not throw away a single shot; I killed four and wounded two, and, under Heaven, this precision saved us from being brutally murdered.

By break of day we found ourselves about twenty-five miles from Delhi, opposite to a thanna, and finding the mares as completely fagged as ourselves, I determined to give them some rest and water. I at the same time took this opportunity to straiten the step-iron. Whilst talking to some people, who had collected round, some villagers asked us to go into their village, and they would protect us; but although they appeared disposed to assist us, their appearance was not prepossessing, and I could not avoid a feeling of doubt as to their intentions. At length one old man who said he had been in the late Col.

Skinner's service, stepped forward and volunteered to conduct us as far as Casberry, (near Paneeput,) where the Skinner's family have an estate. He asked for some earnest of our intention to reward him, and my wife gave her gold watch, promising 200 rupees, when he returned it to her. (The old man brought it to Kurnaul soon after our arrival, and refused to take any money from us, but I gave him a note describing the extent of services rendered.)

We now started, with a feeling of comparative safety, the old man on the box, and his *bhaee* behind the carriage. We met several suspicious persons in parties, but on seeing the old man with us, they one and all made a low obeisance to us, and gave a cunning glance of recognition to our guide. In this way we travelled up to about 11 A. M. of the 12th instant, when we arrived at a dawk bungalow, and on the people about it telling us that a large party of fugitives had left only a short time before we quenched our thirst with a draught of very bad water, and resumed our journey. About an hour after, we saw the party a mile or so in advance, and, on coming up with them, found it to consist of Mr. LeBas, C. S., Judge of Delhi, Brigadier Graves, Captain Nicoll, Lieuts. Grants, Taylor, Mew, Drummond, and the Serjeant Major, 74th N. I.

We now considered ourselves a strong party; all were travelling in carriages, with led horses behind them, and at a walk; we pursued our way up to the Paneeput dawk bungalow into which we turned, glad enough to get some food and some cool water to drink, having been without a morsel to eat for more than twenty-four hours, and exposed to the hot sun and hotter wind the whole of that day. After we had refreshed ourselves, we resumed our journey towards Kurnaul, reinforced by sowars from the kotwallee; the Kotwal accompanying us in person. By 8 P. M. we were at the tehseeldaree of Paneeput, where we halted to allow some of the horses to come up and to give those in the carriages rest and water. About half past 8 P. M. we left, and without further molestation, arrived at Kurnaul at 3 A. M. of the 13th. My wife and myself were so wearied, that neither of us could keep our eyes open, rather a necessary arrangement, as we relieved each other of the reins. Those only who experienced the troubles and dangers of the 11th of May at Delhi, can fully appreciate our feelings, when we found ourselves far away from the polluted city, well housed and cared for.

Mr. Brown's Escape.

On Monday, May 11th, 1857, all the Christian compositors

were present at the press *(Delhi Gazette)* in consequence of a message having been received about 6 A. M. from the Electric Telegraph Office, to the effect that the mutineers of Meerut were coming on to Delhi, and might be expected in about two hours; this was printed and circulated in the station by the usual office chuprasis. The clerks and natives also had apparently fled to the office for protection. People were in great alarm on account of this news. About 8 or 9 o'clock the mutineers did arrive, but it was not till mid-day that the bazar people and the rabble of the town entered the *Delhi Gazette* Press. We still believed that there was more safety in the Press than elsewhere. We could not resist them when they came in, as with the exception of the usual guard of nujeebs, four in number, we had not any arms, and the assailants had a very large party of Goojurs with them, who, as well as themselves, were armed. Some of us had, before they got into the place, caused our heads to be shaved, and put on portions of native dress, that the native compositors lent us; some of us hid in the Tykhannas (apartments under ground used for their coolness in the hot weather.) The rabble commenced with clubs and iron bound latties to break every thing they could lay their hands on, demolishing, as far as they could, the iron presses, and breaking every thing they could; each man took away as much type of all kinds as he could; they pulled out the *chowkuts* (posts) of the windows and doors, and after doing as much harm as they could, set fire to the "cases," the library, the house, and destroyed every thing; the roof (pucka) of the house subsequently fell in. They did not seem at all inclined to hurt the natives of the establishment, who generally said, if they had been armed they would have defended the property. I heard that some of the Christian compositors were killed. But I and three others escaped by the gate of the Tykhanna into the river, and wandered to the north until we arrived at Sir Theophilus's garden, and hid ourselves in some ruined out-houses belonging to the estate; here we remained for two or three hours, and then returned to the river, close to the office, hiding ourselves as well as we could in it, and the sand-bank, until night, when we got under the Dhobies' large gumlahs which are used to boil the clothes in. On Tuesday morning we woke early and saw the houses occupied by the Christians in flames on every side; they were blazing in every direction, and as the noise was great, we had no alternative but to remain—hungry as we were, for we had not had a mouthful to eat since we escaped—under the gumlahs; in the course of the day we saw the native book-keeper and some other natives on the walls of the city on which the Press is built; we dared not speak

to them for fear of attracting notice from the sepoys on the walls elsewhere. Thus passed Tuesday, the 12th May, we were very fortunate that the Dhoobees did not come to work, we suppose there was none for them. On Wednesday, we could scarcely sustain ourselves, the pangs of hunger were so strong, and to appease them we constantaly drank water; it was necessary to do something, so we left the gumlahs and getting into the river passed up towards cantonments with the view of swimming to the opposite bank. I had ten rupees, to my three companions, amongst whom was Mr. Pereira, the printer, I gave a rupee each, and tying up the remaining seven rupees twisted them between my toes; we accomplished our desire and crossed the river, but no sooner had we landed than we were attacked by a party of Goojurs, they stripped us of our clothes, and threw us each a small piece of cloth; in their fright my companions had dropped their rupees into the river. Again we crossed the river, returned to our gumlahs and thought ourselves fortunate, even starving as we were, to save our lives, but at dusk I mustered courage to get into the Ty-khanna and passing into the house, and through the compound, went away to my house not very far from the Press. The others did not accompany me. I knocked at my door, this aroused some natives who hailed me and asked, "who was there." I replied, "Gholam Navees," but as soon as they heard my voice, they cried out "Feringhee uya."—I then ran away into the main-road, and about forty Mussulmans soon surrounded me. I recognized two men among them who were relations of the compositors and friends of mine and said, "have you been so long my neighbours and would now kill me?" They carried me to the thanna of the Cashmere Gate, and gave me up to the Daroga, he was friendly to me and got rid of the crowd, by telling them that I should be sent to the king who would judge me. He put me into an inner room, and when all was quiet, about half an hour afterwards, he sent two men with me and told them to convey me to some distance so that I might have a chance of escape. I accompanied them for about half a mile, when we met a Hindoo sepoy coming towards us, these two men pointed out that I was a Feringhee, and the sepoy brought up his musket to my chest, and was searching for a percussion cap in his *cummerbund*, when I cried out in Bengali, and said I was a petty merchant from Calcutta lately arrived in Delhi. I gave an oath on the cow and on Kalee and was not harmed; they all left me, and the Mussulmans said that as the sepoy had not killed me they would not. I then went on towards the magazine and met with one of the Mussulman apprentices of the Press, and as

I was almost dead with hunger, and having all this time supported myself with water—I cried bitterly to him and asked him to save me for the night; he took me to a mosque and told the Cazee that the king had ordered me to be converted to Islamism at once, and that no one was to harm me. The Cazee bathed me, and made me repeat the *Kulma*, and the apprentice brought me bread and water, a pajama and koortee. Not the least attempt was made to circumcise me, had there been, I was so weak I could not have resisted; I was named Shaik Abdoola. The apprentice slept by me in the mosque, and early in the morning *he* returned home to prepare breakfast for himself, promising to send me some. In the meantime lots of people came into the mosque, asking "where is this Christian who has been converted?" Others said—"kill him, he has only become Mahomedan to save his life." The Cazee replied, "to kill him, will be no gain to us, he is now one of us;" others said "still it is better to kill him, for if the Feringhees come he will betray us." I managed to pass out of the mosque in the crowd as soon as I could, and in the street met our jemadar pressman, we recognized each other, and he, though a Mussulman, did not betray me, but advised me to go up to Calcutta, for said he, "I cannot protect you, and intend getting to Calcutta as soon as I can;" he was a native of Calcutta. Again I returned to the gumlahs and found my companions still there walking about, this was on Thursday morning, and we agreed to separate some distance from one another so as not to be so distinctly seen, and got at last over the bridge-of-boats on to the Meerut road, I arrived first at some walled place, the name of which I do not know, and waited a long time for my companions, but they did not arrive, I thought they had been arrested, perhaps murdered, so I went on towards Gazeedeenuggur. I was again stripped of every thing I had by the Goojurs, and arrived at Gazeedeenuggur at six in the evening stark naked. I went to the Jemadar and represented myself as a Mussulman who had been plundered of every pice I had, besides my clothes; he gave me bread and dholl and allowed me to sleep there. The next morning I went on to Boolundshuhur where I met James Lambert Jones, an Eurasian, and head clerk of the Magistrate's office; he had some relations at Delhi, who had been massacred; he asked me many questions to convince himself that my story was true; when he found it to be so, he gave me to eat and went to the magistrate to tell him; the magistrate, he said, did not believe my story, but the clerk still protected me, and giving me two annas of pice and a piece of cloth, set me on my road; he did not give me more for fear of my attracting

notice and of being robbed. I begged my way to Agra, as the people would not admit me into the seraie—they would not admit any strangers. On the eighth day or thereabouts I got to Agra, and was almost immediately employed by Mr. Longden, the Superintendent of the Orphan Press (he did not go to the *Dehli Gazette* branch) being from Calcutta he was quite unacquainted with the position of the people belonging to it, but he knew some of the "hands" at Secundra. When Mr. Longden went into the Fort, the compositors, &c. remained there armed to protect the establishment at Secundra, so we did not go, we were a great many and thought ourselves quite secure. When the battle took place, and the establishment was destroyed, I got refuge in an old mosque, and my servant fed me for three days, after which I left Secundra disguised as a Mahomedan, I feared to go to the Fort as a Christian for fear of the Mussulmans, nor into the Fort in a Mahomedan dress, lest the European sentries should shoot me!

I got out of Agra on the 11th July, and reached Cawnpore in safety, still in a native dress; on the 18th a soldier of the 64th Queen's when marching to Bithoor, captured me believing me to be a sepoy, and took me to an officer, with whom I spoke and read English; he was soon convinced that I was a Christian, and advised me to report myself to General Havelock. I did so in the evening when we arrived at Nuwabgunge, and after enquiring about the roads, he dismissed me giving me two rupees and telling me to remain in camp. I went and lived with the European soldiers who were very kind to me. I accompanied the camp in the battle of the Mungulwarra, Oonao, and Bushiregunge, and afterwards returned to Cawnpore and Bithoor; subsequently I came on to Allahabad with the sick and wounded under the charge of Apothecary Price, and subsequently to Benares.

Escape of Mr. Roods, the Painter.

I was staying with my kind and hospitable friends J. Michel, Resident Engineer, E. I. Railway, and A. H. Spencer and Mr. Cummings, of the same Company, at their bungalow, two miles south of Delhi.

We first heard of the mutiny about 9 o'clock. At ten two sowars' horses were brought to the gate, riderless, with one pistol having been fired off. At twelve the Bank was looted, and five Europeans killed in defending it. The bungalows both in the city and cantonments were blazing away all day, until we left; when the reports became so alarming at half past one, we thought discretion was the better part of valour, so we

hastily put a few things together, and ordered the Baboo to send them on with our servant, and started at two o'clock, leisurely walking down the line of road beside the Railway embankment, and passing within a few hundred yards of 150 sowars posted at Mahoun's tomb to prevent any escape; but though there were thousands of coolies and others at work, they had no knowledge of our passing, and we arrived at Mr. Taylor's bungalow and found he had just gone on. We waited there a short time, and saw the explosion of the magazine, then we went on four miles further where we overtook Mr. Taylor, and stayed to dine at the bungalow and walked on to Furredabad, six miles further on. Here we remained, had tea, and set watches. About midnight the Rajah of Bullubghur came down, and told us fifty sowars were after us and advised us to change our clothes with our servants and get on to his fort as soon as we could, and he would try and protect us, whilst he went down and made all quiet. He sent a sowar out to meet us near the fort, and after waiting some time he returned; and we galloped into the fort, and were concealed; immediately after down came some fifty sowars at a hand gallop, who were told we had gone on; they then dashed on, and we after a nap were sent on to a village about six miles in bullock carts used by women, escorted by the Rajah's brother-in-law, where we remained five days in a small room at the top of a house, with only one small window and door. We started at night on camels, sent by the Rajah of Bullubghur under charge of a faithful man; we went down by the side of the Muttra road passing round all the villages, until we came to the village of Erwan, when one camel driver drove to the front and took us into the village, which we found blockaded by carts, and were obliged to turn back; four got out safe, but he with Mr. Benn, remained behind. We waited outside surrounded by villagers armed, until we heard two shots, when we all started off at full trot; the first camel got off safe with Mr. Michel, the second with Mr. Spencer fell flat on his side, broke the girths and got loose, the next fell also with Mr. Cummings and got loose, and ours threw itself down and would not get up, and roared and tried to bite us, so that we were obliged to leave him. S. and C. ran off the road, but Mr. Taylor and myself ran on the road, and were soon overtaken, and headed also. As it was just dawning, we turned on our pursuers who soon surrounded us. Mr. Taylor parleyed with them, and they promised not to hurt us if we gave up our guns, which we did; but whilst he was parleying, one struck me a heavy blow on the shoulder, I turned and snapped my rifle at him. After we had given up our guns, and were walk-

ing back to the village, Mr. Taylor suddenly seized his pistol from the hands of the man who had it and walked back pointing it at him. I was standing still, when a man cut me over the head with a sword. I held up my hand and said "buss," I would give up my money, 150 rupees, which I did, and they all scrambled for it, and looking up I just saw Mr. Taylor disappearing, but no one following him; then a man rushed on me and gave me a heavy blow with a blunt sword on my head, which knocked me down, and I laid still shamming dead. I laid on my back. They at once began to scramble for my clothes, shoes and my cigar case, slung over my shoulder with thirty rupees. And they stood all round me and sang a mournful chorus for some minutes, occasionally giving me a kick; when one, to see if I was *really dead*, put his foot under my neck, and lifted me up and let me fall, which I did like a stone: he then put his foot again under my neck and lifting me up turned me on my side, when I felt a hand on my flank, I stopped my breath as long as it was held there. I could not make out what they said, but I heard a rustling and very soon opened one eye and saw on one. I got up and staggered off very weak from loss of blood; I this time took another road and came on a party of armed men who conversed together, when they made signs for me to be off, and one man offered to take me to a well to get water, and was very kind in trying to pick a clear path for my shoeless feet, and help me along; he offered to wash my native dress which was covered with blood, and he took the opportunity of robbing me of my waistcoat with blood-stone buttons and gold chain: he afterwards wanted to ill-use me, but we were alone and I soon gave him to see that though wounded I was an European, so shook him off and proceeded alone. I then finding the sun very hot, took off my English shirt from under my native one, and put it round my head. I walked a mile or two, when two or three natives came up, armed with clubs and threatened me. I told them they would get nothing by killing me as I had no money, but if they took me to Bullubgurh I would give them 100 rupees, and 300 if taken to Agra. They gave me some water and let me go. After that a savage looking fellow came running across the field hollowing to me; I stopped, and he ran up to me and snatched the shirt from my head, and was in the act of striking; I held up my arm and told him I had nothing, and offered the same reward as to the others; he did not seem to believe that the Rajah was our friend. Two villagers then came up and told me that two sahib logues were gone to the next village, they gave me some water at a threshing station, and showed me into the village, where I

found Mr. Spencer and Mr. Cummings unhurt; the former kindly washed my wounds. They had offered the head man 500 rupees each to take them to Agra; after a long parley he refused to take them, but took their guns and 300 rupees. We then received a note from Mr. Michel, to follow the messenger and join him at a friendly village two miles off, where we remained till evening, when our guide said it would be better to go on six miles farther to a large village able to protect us, and they did for eight or nine days, though threatened by the Mavatees with an attack. Had we remained in the small village we should, I have no doubt, been all killed. We were relieved by the advanced guard of the Bhurtpore force, sent by Mr. Ford from Hodul, the Magistrate of Goorgaon, by whom we were hospitably entertained. We remained many days, daily expecting the fall of Delhi, until the mutiny at Muttra, when our force followed their example and ordered us off; after which we formed a part of Mr. Harvey's party, and we all four arrived safe in Agra from Hodul, June 26th.

Mr. Michel obtained from the Rajah of Bullubgurh all the horses except one, and the loan of 200 rupees, before we left Hodul, which was a great assistance.

Escape of Mohun Lall.

Mohun Lall, who did us service in Cabul, was at Delhi when the out-break took place, he escaped the massacre and took refuge with Waleedad Khan, who made him a prisoner in the Fort of Malaghur. After a detention of forty-two days he was enabled to escape thence, and at length reached Meerut the first week in August. He thus states his adventures:

Hodges arrived in Delhi on Sunday, the 10th of May, at breakfast, and we were delighted to see each other, and made arrangements how to send the pair of leopards that I had purchased for the Raja sahib. In the evening, I took him in my carriage and shewed him the principal places in the city. We passed an agreeable night, talking a good deal about your and Henry's education, and about how he was discharging the duties of his office at Sirsa while so young.

The unhappy morning of 11th May appeared. Till Sunday at morning all was quiet, and we received newspapers from Calcutta. Suddenly soon after we were thunderstruck to learn that the mutineers from Meerut had arrived, and were perpetrating the cruel deeds of murder, plunder, and burning the houses of the Christians and those who were there. The infantry regiments followed the cavalry, and having joined the Delhi garrison, finished the work of massacre. I tremble when I remember that day.

About 2 P. M., four sepoys with muskets in their hands made their appearance before the doors of our house, which were shut. Instigated as they were by the rogues of the city, they began with abusive language, adding that this house was a Christian's, and that a sahib had come yesterday and put up here, and that they would murder both of us. Our servants and the street fellows declared that it was not the house of a Christian, nor was there any sahib concealed. After they were besought and treated with some cash by Sher Khan, the rascals went away that day.

While this was going on outside the house, your poor papa and myself were concealed in a very small dark room, where wood was placed for burning.

In the dark of night, Hodges was removed into my uncle's house with the fear, that if those sepoys came again and entered the house, they should not find him there.

On the 13th of May, after the rogues of the city had told the mutineers everything regarding my circumstances and connexion with Government, they came in a greater number plundering all the neighbouring shops; they entered into my house by force; they plundered everything, and after seizing me (as they were informed by certain men of the city) said by my going to England, I could not remain a Hindoo, and by sending my daughter for education in London, and being related with your papa, I cannot be a Mahomedan, adding that I was a "mookbir" of Government, and received on that account a high pension. They will, therefore, put me to death. One of them placed his musket over my breast, and was about to shoot me. The screams of the females of the house, and the entreaties of the neighbouring Hindoos and Mussulmans, and the demonstration of the Kotwal, (who happened to pass at that time) induced his comrades to stop him from killing me till they had made further enquiry.

After this I remained concealed, and moving from one place to another. Hodges was also removed from my uncle's house to that of my aunt, whence, after remaining a few days, as the people had began to suspect his being concealed in her house, Hodges and all of us (though dangerous,) thought better to try the chance of escape, than to be seized and slaughtered in the house. He was disguised in colour and dress, and about 8 P. M. he left the house for going out of the Lahore gate, and then go on to Kurnaul. Unfortunately (as his guide reports,) he was suspected by his walk and dress from the mutineers who throng all the streets. After being seized, it was proved by his talk, that he was in disguise a sahib, on which in great perplexity Hodges told them who he was, whence and where (mentioning my name) he came.

On this they shot him to death, and next day more search was made after me. Some of my friends, on spending about 500 Rs. obtained the permission of Khizur Sooltan, one of the corrupt "Shahzadas," under the name of the ungrateful king, of quitting the city with their friend Waleedad Khan, the Talookdar of Malaghur, about two miles from Boolundshuhur, whence Mr. B. Sapte, the Collector and Magistrate, was holding his authority. The Khan was a pensioner and loyal subject of our Government, and continued to obey the Collector till the 10th of June last. Concealed in a palanquin I came out of the city in the train of his family. He had promised in Delhi to send me to Agra, and remain faithful to my Government. But the fool, on learning the misfortunes of our rule in some districts, turned a rebel, and kept me a prisoner with intention to murder me on his flight, if attacked by an European force.

Though not happy but miserable, I was trying to procure my escape from this traitor's hands by some means or other. I wrote secretly to Rao Golab Sing, a rich and great Talookdar at Kochesur, a loyal subject of the Government, an acquaintance of the rebel, asking him to write to Waleedad Khan to send me to him. The Rao kindly sent his Deewan and asked the favour of the traitor to send me to him. But he declined.

I then wrote to a friend of mine in Agra to employ about twenty armed men, come to Malaghur, and steal my escape. He could neither get money nor men, and therefore failed to assist.

I had no other course, but to rely on the protection of God who had hitherto saved me. On the 29th July, the little brave party of Europeans came from Meerut, and defeated the traitor's force near Haupper. There was so much confusion, consternation, and alarm in the night attack created in the fort by this defeat, that early on the morning of the 30th I escaped from my dungeon to Bahaderghur, near the Ganges.

A few days after, Mr. Sapte, whom I had the honor of knowing at Boolundshuhur, heard of my escape. He, as well as Mr. Dunlop, the Meerut Collector, wrote to me a kind letter, and sent an escort of Mr. Wilson's horse to bring me to Meerut. Here Mr. Williams, an excellent and kind hearted gentleman, has shown me great consideration, and by his desire, I have submitted to him a map of Malaghur, with report on the state of things of the traitor there.

Narrative of the Escape of the Christian Convert Baboo Ram Chandra, late Professor of Mathematics in the Government College, Delhi.

According to my promise, I send you a very brief account of my escape from Delhi on the 13th May last, when the mutineers occupied the city. The 10th was Sunday. I saw the Sub-Assistant-Surgeon M. S. Cheman Lal, and when we had returned from the evening service at church, I dined with him and then went to our missionary friends at night. As customary, we took tea, read a chapter of the New Testament, said a short prayer, and then I and the doctor both returned to our respective homes. When we were taking tea, Mr. Hubbard, missionary, told me that he had learned from the paper that the cause of the sepoy disaffection had now been removed, for they had been allowed to apply 'glue' to their cartridges. I went to bed as usual, little dreaming then of the dreadful scene which was to confound us the next day. As it was the summer season, we attended the Delhi College at six A. M.; so the next day, the 11th of May, I went to the Collge early in the morning. At about eight o'clock A. M., when I was teaching my class in the yard of the upper room, some students told me that the mutineers from Meerut had come to the city. I threatened the students who had said such things, not in the least believing the report. At last some servant of Mr. Roberts brought the news that the mutineers from Meerut had actually arrived, and had killed an European officer in charge of the bridge. Then Mr. Taylor, our Principal, thought proper to give leave to the whole College, though still he and others did not consider this as a very serious matter. I went to the College hall, and sat down with Mr. Taylor, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Stewart, junior, and we were talking on the subject. Mr. Taylor wrote a letter to the Captain of the magazine, to be informed whether these reports about the mutineers had any foundation. The Captain wrote only these words in reply—'Come quickly.' No sooner were these words read by Mr. Taylor, than we were all struck with horror. Mr. Taylor, Mr. Heatley, the editor of the *Dethi Gazette*, Mrs. Heatley, Mr. Roberts, and all the Euorpean teachers of the College, went over to the magazine immediately. I looked on these things with amazement. When all had left the College, I also left it with Moulvie Subhan Buksh, of the Arabic department. We went towards the Calcutta gate to see what was the matter. There we saw that it was shut up, and a number of nujjeebs, police sowars, &c., and a vast crowd of citizens. We learned that the Commissioner, Mr. Fraser, was on the city wall, watching the movements of the mutineers. We then proceeded towards the Lal Dighee (reservoir), but we saw nothing excepting the crowd of the city people, and the kotwal (head of the police) on horseback. On the way I met Captain Douglas, of the palace guard, who returned my salam with a smile. Till this time I had no fear, nor dreamed that the sepoys in Delhi were also in league. At last I, with the moulvie, reached the tank. There I saw the magistrate, Mr. Hutchinson, going on horseback, with a sowar, in full speed towards

Duryagunj. After a few moments, I saw that gentleman returning in a great hurry, and lo, I observed at a distance, some fierce mutineer troopers following him with great rapidity. Seeing this, all the people at the tank fled away, and I did the same, but I soon commenced to walk slowly; and some of the mutineers passed by me, and I looked at them, little thinking that if any of the city people were to tell them that I was a Christian they would shoot me down instantly. Many of the Hindoos and Mohammedans passing by knew that I was a Christian, but God shut their mouths, and they did not say to the mutineers that I was a Christian. Dr. Chaman Lal was shot, because some good people of the city took the mutineers to his house and told them that he was a Christian. It was the will of our Heavenly Father to take the doctor to himself, and to preserve me in the world for a few days more. For my part, I consider it a miraculous interference of God. On the way I was informed that the commissioner and the magistrate were both murdered. When I reached my house, I stood up in the verandah towards the bazar side, looking at the mutineers and the crowd of the city people passing that way. I heard a man saying in the bazar that the poor sub-assistant-surgeon, Chaman Lal, was shot and killed. I was thunderstruck at hearing this, but till this time I did not believe all that I heard. I sent my old servant, Boodh Singh, to ascertain the truth of the murder of Europeans and Christians; in the meantime, I was terrified to see a buggy in the bazar, drawn by a horse in full speed, but without a driver or a syce (groom). Soon after, my two brothers came to my house, and told me that some of the European officers and Chaman Lal were murdered, and requested me to leave the place immediately for the house in the lines. I did so, and concealed myself in the zenana. There I continued to hear of the murder of many English gentlemen, and, in the afternoon, I saw the explosion of the magazine. I also learned that the mutineers were seeking after me, and some of the mutineers actually passed in the lane where I was hid, and the chowkedar of the lane pointed them out the house of my concealment, but other people of the street soon gathered round and assured the mutineers that the house belonged to a Káyasth, who was Wakeel, so they went away disappointed. Just consider in what state I was in then, expecting death every moment. In this manner the first day passed away. On the next day, the 12th of May, I was again told that the mutineers were seeking after me in different places; then, about ten, on opening my Bible with the Prayer-book all bound in one, I found the xlvi psalm, to my greatest consolation—a psalm whch has exactly been fulfilled.

This, my friend, was the psalm I observed on first opening my Bible! What comfort I received from this I cannot tell. I was expecting an English army in a day or two, but God does what he pleases in due time; so the second day, or the 12th of May, passed off. On the third day it was notified by the mutineers, that if any Englishman or Christian were found concealed in any person's house, that man should also suffer death. I feared greatly, not only for myself, but for my family, as I was concealed with them. My brother also feared,

and so I determined to leave the house, but still wishing to stop two or three days more, hoping that during that time an English army might arrive and destroy the mutineers. Our landlady, in whose house we lived, urgently requested my mother to expel me (as I was the only Christian in the family) from the house instantly, for she feared that if I were found in her house, she would also be punished. This vexed me much, and I felt grieved at her very unfriendly conduct ; but this was a wise providence of God. That very day (third) I leaped over a wall, and went into an adjoining house, where I stopped till it was dark. I dressed myself like a common coolie, and with my old and faithful servant, Boodh Singh, left the city for Dheeruj-Kee-Paharee, where my servant's family lived, and, thanks be to God, no one recognised me on the way. Next day, I and my servant went to a village named Mutra, ten miles from Delhi, where one of his relatives was a lumburdar ; there I received comfort, but still I was in danger, for some zemindars knew me to be a Christian. But the psalm I remembered. I lived in this village, for about a month. 'Jauts' and the 'Jautnees' inquired why I lived in the village, as the mutineers were not against any native, but I could not satisfy their curiosity. At last the English army came, and defeated the rebels at Badlee-Kee--Sarai. I expected Delhi would be taken in a day or two, but it was not so. On the tenth of June, at midnight, some rebel troops passed by the village I lived in, and some zemindar opposed to the lumburdar who gave me protection, informed the mutineers that a Christian was living in the village. But before the mutineers came over to the place where I was, my servant learned all the particulars, awoke me from my slumber, and told me of my danger. I went inside the hut, and expected a bullet or a sword-thrust every moment. At that time God alone was my refuge, for I was certain that the mutineers would search for me in the hut and that my days were numbered. A Zemindar friend advised me to leave the hut immediately, and fly to the jungle. I did so, and my old faithful fellow followed me into the wilderness. When we had gone about half a mile from the village, I heard the noise of the mutineers entering the village, and, as it was moon light, I feared lest I had been seen during my flight. They fired their muskets ; they plundered the house where I had lived (as I came to know afterwards) ; and when I heard the galloping of horses distinctly, I then believed that they were pursuing after me into the jungles. I found a small thorny bush, into which I thrust myself (so dear is life to man !), though many thorns went into my flesh ; still, having a white kurta (tunic) on, I was in constant dread of being discovered—it was clear moonlight then. But God turned away the mutineers from that direction where I was hid ; and when I ceased to hear the galloping of the horses, I came out of the bush and met with my servant Boodh Singh ; and then we both started for Dheeruj-Kee-Paharee, and the following day (the 11th of June) we went by a circuitous way to Allipore, and thence to the English camp before Delhi. On the way I was plundered by the worthy Goojurs, who robbed me of my rupees and a flannel jacket, which was all I had. The British camp I reached with only a dirty piece of rag around my waist.

Sir T. Metcalfe, Bart., assisted and comforted me a great deal, and I remained in the camp till Delhi was taken.

Captain T. W. Holland's Escape.

On the evening of 11th May 1857, when escaping from the mutiny at Delhi, and when about three miles from the Cantonments, I found myself attacked by two troopers of the 3rd cavalry, who wounded and unhorsed me during the night. I lay concealed in a field, and could hear the mutineers talking as they passed. Next morning (12th) I was discovered by some villagers who accosted me kindly and asked me to go with them as I should otherwise surely be discovered and killed. The man who spoke proved to be a Zemindar by name Maun Singh, and by caste an Aheer; he took me to his village, which was close by and called Bhulsooa, and gave me food and drink. He would have kept me concealed in his village, but the other people feared I should be detected by the troopers, who were scouring about all over the country, which would have subjected them all to the fury of the mutineers. Maun Singh then said he would send me to another and more remote village of his own, which being nearly surrounded by a jheel, and moreover being a very poor and wretched place, was not likely to be visited by mutineers. Accordingly he sent two men, one named Jumnadass Byragee and the other Dowlut Ram Aheer, to guide me to the village of Jehangeepore, which was about a mile distant. I reached it about 11 A. M.; the villagers who were nearly all Aheers, surrounded me, pitied my condition, and regretted what had happened, and assured me that they would do all in their power to insure my safety. I was taken at once to the hut of one Lalljee Jat, who with his sons Hurna and Sitiya did all in their power to make me comfortable. I remained in this village seven days; being close to Delhi, it was very unsafe to stir out, and the troopers came daily with their ponies to cut grass near it; my presence in the village was known to all the people of it, they all used to come and talk and express their sympathy; they all seemed to think that the British rule was at an end, and all regretted it. There being no milk in the village, one Pultoo Sweeper or others of his family used daily to take the trouble to go to procure some from adjacent villages. I had nothing to reward these poor people with, and thought at that time every thing seemed going against the English, still they stuck by me and behaved most kindly. If my presence had become known it would inevitably have brought ruin on them. Maun Singh came and visited me once or twice. However, the

seventh day (18th) some one frightened the people of Jehangeepore by saying that, the existence of a "Feringhee" in their village had become known to the mutineers, who declared they purposed to hunt me up; they therefore begged me to quit the village, and said they would take me again to Maun Singh at Bhulsooa. Seeing they were really alarmed, and fearing there might be some truth in the report, I agreed to go, and I accordingly started at night; on reaching Bhulsooa they first took me to Jumnadass's house which is on the outskirt of the village, word was then sent to Maun Singh that I had come to ask his protection; one of his men came and professed that Maun Singh was away (this I believe to have been untrue), and that I had better to go away to some other place. I then applied to Jumnadass Byragee, who very readily and kindly said he would take care of me, and added that being Byragee and Brahmin he was not likely to be suspected.

I remained with Jumnadass for six days. He gave me the best part of his house to live in, and the best food he could. My presence in the village was known to only one or two, and I could never venture out of my room except when dark. Bhulsooa being situated so close to the road where the mutineers passed and repassed daily, I was obliged to be extremely careful. Jumnadass said, if I waited a few days till he got his grain in, he would device some plan for my getting to Meerut. He, his wife and his brother, Gungadass, remained uniformly kind to me, and were also praising the English rule, and regretting the state of things that prevailed, and said the sepoys must have all become mad to turn against such good masters. On the evening of the 24th May, Jumnadass having got all his grain in, said to me, "I will start with you to Meerut to-morrow if you like to venture." I agreed and disguising myself as well as I could, we started before daylight. Dawlut Ram also accompanied us. We crossed the Jumna by boat, and though we passed several villages, and I was seen and interrogated by several people, still no one molested me; whilst resting under a tree at noon, an old man invited me to his village; he proved to be a Jugga Zemindar of Soobhanpore; he gave me food, and I rested at his place for three hours. I learnt from him that certain of the fugitives from Delhi had passed a few days before, and had gone on to a person he called "Fransoo Sahib," who, he said, was an European Zemindar, and proceeding on at sunset. I reached a large village called Khekra, there the people were also extremely kind, and told me that a large party of English of both sexes had started with them for two days, and

then gone on to "Fransoo Sahib," some of them volunteered to accompany me there and did so. I reached Hurchandpore about nine, and there I found an old man, Mr. Francis Cohen, an Eurasian of German descent. He received me most kindly and did all he could to make me comfortable and happy. His two grandsons vied with him in showing kindness, their names were Messrs. George Cohen Piche and John Cohen Piche. I then found that the undermentioned had met with like kindness from the Cohen family:—Lieutenant Colonel Knyvett, Lieutenant M. Proctor and Lieutenant H. Gambier, of the 38th light infantry; Captain G. Forrest; Mrs. and the Misses Forrest; Lieutenant Vibart, 56th; Lieutenant Salkeld, Engineers; Lieutenant W. Wilson, Artillery; Mrs. Fraser; and Mr. Marshall. For all his kindness to us, Mr. Cohen and his family afterwards suffered, being obliged subsequently to fly to Meerut after being plundered of a good deal of money and property; this circumstance and all Mr. Cohen's good deeds are well known to Mr. Fleetwood Williams, Commissioner of Meerut. After resting a day at Mr. Cohen's, he very kindly lent me a poney and sent several attendants with me. I went on all night and rested during the heat of the next day at a large Goojur village about four miles from Meerut.

Eventually I reached Meerut on the evening of the 27th May. I am naturally most grateful to these people for their extreme kindness to me, but it is not in my power to reward them all and sufficiently.

Jumnadass has received 100 rupees from the Commissioner of Delhi, and Lalljee and his family 80 rupees.

Dowlut Ram received a post under the Collector of Customs, Delhi.

Mr. Cohen has had the Zemindary of three villages bestowed on him.

Mr. G. C. Piche was appointed by Mr. Murphy an Assistant Salt Patrol.

Slaughter of Women and Children.

A lady, a member of the Skinner family, made her escape from Delhi, disguised as a native, and reached Meerut on the 14th September. She states that on the day of the out-break, a number of persons, residing in Durriagunge, collected in an upper-storied house, and there held out for three or four days. The sepoys seeing musketry was ineffectual in dislodging them, brought down a 9-pounder, a ball from which killed Sub-Conductor Settle; during all this time they had nothing to eat or

drink, and the poor children were crying with hunger and thirst. The wretches told the children, that if they came down they should have both victuals and drink, but immediately they went down a signal was given, and the poor little innocents were all butchered, and shortly after the slaughter became general. Three of the magazine conductors and families, together with Mrs. Price, and her two* daughters and two grand-children, and Conductor Buckley's wife and children, appear to have been among the number murdered.

Arrival of Delhi Fugitives at Meerut.

19*th May.*—Last night the fugitives from Delhi arrived here, escorted in by some of the 3rd Light Cavalry, under Mackenzie, who went out a distance of some thirty miles or so, to bring them in. They must have been sadly terrified, poor creatures, when they saw the uniforms of the 3rd Cavalry advancing upon them; and their last hope must have fled. These *sowars* were, however, thirty or forty of that regiment who remained faithful, and have done good service since the gloomy 10th. The scene, on the arrival of these fugitives, was most distressing, as most of them had been separated from husbands or other relatives, of whose safety they were ignorant, and about whom they were naturally in a painful state of anxiety. Those whom I saw were, Colonel Knyvett, 38th N. I.; Lieutenant Vibart, 54th; Lieutenant Gambier, 38th; Lieutenant Wilson, Artillery; Lieutenant Proctor, 38th; Lieutenant Salkeld, Engineers; Mr. Marshall, merchant; Lieutenant and Mrs. Forrest and two Misses Forrest; Mrs. Fraser, two sergeant's wives and two children. They had been robbed of every thing by the villagers *en route*; even their wedding rings having been torn off, and it is needless for me to attempt to describe the state of haggard fatigue, exhaustion, and misery in which they were. Poor Mrs. Fraser's enquiries and entreaties about her husband were truly heart-rending; and as I happened to be the person who helped her out of the waggon, I came in for the pain of tantalising her by vague answers. Tea and refreshments were soon got ready for these poor people; but it appeared as if suffering and exposure had taken away their appetites, and entirely prostrated them.

Delhi after the Outbreak.

The following is the statement of a Native regarding the state of Delhi after the outbreak:—

I reached Delhi on the 21st May, 1857, and stayed there till the 23rd June.

* Mrs Ryley and two children, and Mrs. A. Ives, daughters and grandchildren of Mrs. Price

On my arrival there, I saw five infantry regiments, and the sowars of the 3rd Cavalry, who were stationed in Mohtab-bagh and Salim Gurh.

The sepoys were so much afraid of the English forces that they looked quite pale. The cavalry mutineers had a little spirit, and were wishing to go to Meerut, for a fight; but the footmen did not agree with them, saying we are hardly sufficient to guard Delhi, how can we go to Meerut? I will give you a small description of the oppression committed by sepoys in Delhi.

They plundered every rich house and shop in the city. They took every horse they found in the stables of the citizens. They killed a number of poor shopkeepers for asking the proper prices for their things, they abused the respectable men of Delhi in their presence. The guard at Jumna bridge looted the passengers crossing it. On the 11th May, the magazine was blown up, it did great damage to the adjacent houses, and killed about five hundred passengers walking in different streets. The bullets fell in the houses of people to such a degree, that some children picked up two pounds and some four pounds of it from the yards of their houses, afterwards the mutineers together with the low people of the city, entered the magazine compound, and began to plunder weapons, accoutrements, gun-caps, &c.

The loot continued for three days, each sepoy took three or four muskets, and as many swords and bayonets as he could.

The calassies filled their houses with fine black-smith's tools, weapons, and gun-caps, which they sell by degrees, at the rate of two seers per rupee.

The copper sheets were sold at three seers per rupee. In these sucessful days, the highest price of a musket was eight annas, however the people feared to buy it; a fine English sword was dear for four annas, and one anna was too much for a good bayonet.

Pouches and belts were so common, that the owners could not get anything for this booty of theirs.

The gunpowder which was kept at Mujnoos Tila, more than half of it was plundered by Goojurs and their countrymen, and the rest was brought to the city.

Since the day of my arrival, till the day of my departure, I never found the bazar opened except a few poor shops. The shop-keepers and the citizens are extremely sorry for losing their safety, and curse the mutineers from morning to evening. Poor people and workmen starve and widows cry in their huts.

Respectable English servants have confined themselves to their houses.

A Kotwal is changed every second day. The sepoys plundered every treasury in the city, and put the money in their own pockets, they did not give a farthing out of this to the king, so the sepoys of four or five regiments possessed thousands of rupees each, and under the weight of silver they could hardly walk, consequently they were obliged to change their silver for gold. The Mahajuns charge them twenty-four or twenty-five rupees for a gold mohur, which is not worth more than sixteen Rupees.

Since the bankers were plundered by the sepoys, they also cheated them by giving them brass coins instead of gold ones.

The poor regiments are very jealous of those who are rich, as the rich sepoys don't wish to go to fight or to the field of battle simply, they are very often insulted by their poor friends. I am of opinion their private feelings will compel them to fight with each other, some day or other, as many times during my stay at Delhi, I heard there was very likely to be a quarrel between the rich and poor regiments.

One regiment from Allyghur and Mynpoorie, 150 sowars, and some unarmed sepoys from Agra, one regiment and 200 sowars from Hansi, and Hissar, some unarmed sepoys from Umballa, 200 sowars and 2 companies of Nizamut from Muttra, 6th Light Cavalry, two regiments from Jullunder, two regiments and artillery from Nusseerabad reached Delhi before me, and joined the mutineers.

I will acquaint you with the names of the stations, from whence the rebels brought treasure for the king.

Moradnuggur Tehseel—Toll gate, near Hindon bridge:—Rohtuck;—Allygurh;—Hansi;—Muttra;—Hursaroogurhie; Tirsalili;—out of which His Majesty pays four annas to each footman, and one rupee to each trooper per diem. I am quite ignorant of the amount of the money—but I know as far as this, that on the 17th June, there was left one lack and nineteen thousand rupees in the King's Treasury.

The princes are made officers to the royal army—thousand pities for the poor luxurious princes. They are sometimes compelled to go out of the door of the city, in the heat of the sun—their hearts palpitate from the firing of muskets and guns.

Unfortunately they do not know how to command an army, their forces laugh at their imperfections, and abuse them for their bad arrangements.

The king sends sweetmeats for the forces in the field; and

the guard at the door of the city, plunder it like the property of an enemy.

The bravery of the royal troops deserves every praise; they are very clever indeed; when they wish to leave the field of battle, they tie a piece of rag on their leg, and pretend to have been wounded, and come into the city lame and groaning, accompanied by their friends.

On the night of the 30th June, at the Hindon bridge—the mutineers were quite out of their senses; a good many of them threw their muskets and swords in the wells, and scattering them on the road, ran towards villages and jungles, as they thought themselves to have been pursued by English soldiers.

Had the English forces taken them they could have taken Delhi the same night, because the sepoys did not return to the city till next morning, and many of them disappeared for ever; they were plundered and beaten by Goojurs, and did not bring a farthing back with them.

The old king is very seldom obeyed; but the princes are never.

The soldiers never mind their regimental bugle; disobey their officers, and neglect their duty; they are never mustered, and never dressed in uniform.

The noblemen and begums, together with the princes, regret the loss of their joyful days. They consider the arrival of mutineers at Delhi a sudden misfortune for them.

The princes cannot understand the sepoys without an interpreter.

The shells have destroyed lots of houses in the city, and in the fort the marble of the king's private hall is broken to pieces.

His Majesty is very much alarmed when a shell is burst in the castle, and the princes show His Majesty the pieces of it.

Many of the royal family have left the palace through fear.

The Delhi college was destroyed the first day. English books are lying in the streets still.

The sepoys beat and imprison people for speaking English.

I lived in Delhi from the 13th July, 1857, to the 30th. I found the Delhi government ten times worse than I had seen it, on my arrival there at first, of which an account is given above. The mutineers are quite tired of fighting; the city is full of wounded men; there is no regular hospital there; I heard several wounded sepoys talking among themselves in a street, saying, "We were very well treated by the English Government; if we were only to have a slight headache, we were attended by a respectable European Doctor twice

a day, notwithstanding the services of the native doctors were available to us; besides we used to get medicines at the Government expence; here we die for want of physic, we have to provide doctors for ourselves, there are very few native doctors in the army, who are always absent from their places, their patients (if moveable) are obliged to run about in search of them; had we been aware of the difficulties we met with before, we would have never thought of coming to this cursed station." The loot is still going on, the bazars are never opened, but a few poor shops; shop-keepers get blows and thumps for the price of their things; a fortnight ago a poor buniya was killed by a sepoy for not giving him credit; when the sepoys find out a rich house in the city, they accuse the owner after the following manner in order to plunder its property; they take a loaf of bread and a bottle of grog with them and make a noise at the door and break it to pieces, get into the house, take possession of the furnitures, jewels and cash, lick the poor householder, saying, "where is the Englishman you have been keeping in your house?" when he denies having done so, they just shew him the bread and the bottle, and say, "how is it we happened to find this in your house? we are quite sure, there was an Englishman accommodated here, whom you quietly sent elsewhere before our arrival." Soon after the talk is over and the poor man is disgracefully put into custody, where there is no enquiry to be made to prove whether he is innocent or guilty, he cannot get his release unless he bribes the General. There is no money left in the royal treasury, consequently the bankers of the city were requested to furnish his majesty with it, they replied as follows: "We are sorry we have not cash in hand, but Government notes and hundees, your Majesty can have them if they are of any use." His Majesty being angry, sent guards at their doors. The Bareilly General advised his Majesty to take money from the bankers and citizens by force, but his request is not taken in consideration, he says he could obtain 40 lacs of rupees for his Majesty from the city by plundering the mahajuns. It will come to pass some day, as his Majesty necessarily requires the money to pay his troops, who have received their daily pay for twenty days. The Shazadas and his majesty's private regiment together with servants have not been paid for the last two months, they are all *bhak mart* at present. The sepoys and sowars say, "if we are going on in arrears this way, we will soon be compelled to pay ourselves by looting the city." The rebels sadly complain of their newly made powder, it is too weak, since it is made of unrefined saltpetre. As I was about to leave Delhi, I heard

there, that the fresh powder was hardly so strong as to expel a ball out of a musket. There was a talk in Delhi that the mutineers did not go out to fight for the last nine or ten days, on account of having so bad powder, poor Jack Pandys are quite confused and confounded. The officers consult very often about military affairs, but one contradicts the other on account of their private feelings, as each of them thinks himself wiser than the other. They have not been able to make gun-caps yet, but are trying to obtain its elements. The horses of the Cavalry are getting thin day by day, as the sowars run them in the streets, night and day, just to enjoy themselves, passengers are often hurt by them on their way, their hoofs are cracked on account of running fast against the metalled roads. The Bareilly General is frequently insulted by the other troops, who say they have never been aided by his Brigade since their arrival at Delhi. There is no weapons remaining in the magazine. A well-known Budmash of Meerut named Akbar Khan is made the head darogha of the magazine; this man had many times been imprisoned on charges of theft by the English magistrates. On the 24th July, the mutineers got an awful licking, which scattered them all on the different roads, running towards the city, some of their sowars and foot-men got in Kudsia Bagh, a large garden on the north of Cashmere gate, situated at the bank of the Jumna; as they did not think themselves safe there, consequently they jumped into the river, quite out of breath, more than half of whom sunk to the bottom, and the rest with many difficulties swam to the other end. The streets and bazars abominably stink, they are never cleaned and never swept. The sepoys fight together for the bazar women and wound each other.

The Nabob of Jhujjur was requested to assist his Majesty with a sum of five lakhs of rupees, who after a long consideration answered that it is out of his power to accommodate his Majesty with the money. The mutineers are greatly displeased with the Delhi Government, as they feel very uneasy and unhappy under its bad management. The Bareilly General and his troops being disheartened, intend to proceed to their old station, where the General thinks that every one will obey him. The Neemuch Brigade finding the Delhi army in a miserable condition, are thinking to go to Lucknow, which they consider the safest place to live in. The budmashes of Delhi, who were often punished by the English magistrates, and the jail was filled with them, have at present got their release, commit all sorts of rascalities in the city, and enjoy the days of their independence.

Disarming of the Native Troops at Meean Meer.

Meean Meer is the large military cantonment situated five or six miles from Lahore. On the 13th of May, the European, or reliable, troops consisted of H. M.'s 81st, about 850 strong, and two troops of horse artillery, H. E. I. C. S., also European. The doubtful were composed of the 16th Grenadier N. I., the 26th Light Infantry and the 49th.

On the 12th May, the shadow of coming events had not cast its gloom over society: a ball and supper was to be given on that evening. While the ordinary preparations for this festivity were in progress, extraordinary measures for a very different spectacle for the morning were being matured.

Intelligence of the Meerut outbreak reached Lahore on the 11th; on the morning of the 12th of May a hurried telegram told the deeds at Delhi. The Chief Commissioner was in the north at Rawul Pindee. His mantle was on the shoulders of Robert Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner, who at a glance saw that the imminency admitted of no delay. He accordingly summoned forthwith a conference of the leading officers of the civil station at Anarkullee, viz. Mr. Donald McLeod, Financial Commissioner; Mr. A. A. Roberts, Commissioner; Major Ommanney, Chief Engineer; Col. Macpherson, Military Secretary; Capt. Lawrence, and Capt. Hutchinson.

The proposition of the Judicial Commissioner, that Brigadier Stuart Corbett, commanding at Meean Meer, should be moved to deprive the native corps of their ammunition, was unanimously acquiesced in.

Accordingly, accompanied by Colonel Macpherson, Mr. Montgomery proceeded to Meean Meer, and suggested the plan to Brigadier Corbett, who agreed. Subsequently, in the afternoon, further disaster was telegraphed from Delhi, and the Brigadier resolved on the grand and original move of depriving the sepoy of his arms altogether.

The ball was permitted to proceed; but it soon languished: strange rumours got about the room concerning the morning parade of all troops, which had been announced for daybreak.

Scarcely before the dancers had departed, three companies of H. M.'s 81st fell in and marched off to the fort at Lahore under Colonel Smith. Ten men per company had been also ordered to sleep in their barrack-rooms with "their clothes on." At four o'clock in the morning, the remainder of the regiment fell in, and were ordered "to loosen their ammunition;" a proceeding which aroused the curiosity of the honest soldiers to the highest pitch. Knowing looks began to be exchanged

and queries to the purport of "What's in the wind?" were freely passed, but not responded to, as none could divine.

Leaving the barrack guards doubled, six companies, twenty-four files each, started for the parade ground, and were formed up in contiguous columns.

As the enormous mass of Indian soldiery swept past the small but deeply interested band of spectators from Anarkullee, one absorbing thought occupied all bosoms—"Are their muskets already loaded?" The suspense though short was painful.

The Brigadier having directed to be read out, at the head of each regiment, the Governor-General's order on the disbanding of the 34th N. I. at Barrackpore, he himself, a Colonel of the 16th Grenadiers, commenced by addressing the senior regiment: he complimented all, seriatim, on the distinguished reputation they had borne hitherto, and intimated dimly the step which it was his painful duty now to adopt. Quick as thought the word passed. The native regiments changed front to the rear, by the wheel of sub-divisions round the centre, while at the same time the artillery (quietly loading as they moved, unobserved by the sepoys), and her Majesty's 81st, about three hundred altogether, formed line facing the native regiments. A ringing rattle at the same time announced that the Queen's corps had also loaded. Nothing could be more soldierly than their tramp—more menacing than their front.

Hesitation was useless. The sepoys confronted immediate death: in which, by the way, the officers would have been sacrificed. Some say their demeanour varied, and that the 16th Grenadiers made a clutch at their arms, when they appreciated their utter discomfiture. Be this as it may, the regiments, shorn of their arms, marched back; the bands playing and colors flying. A company of her Majesty's 81st fell out, in ordinary course, and with the cool complacency of the European who summed up the whole crisis with the question to his commanding officer—"I suppose, sir, it's them niggers again," they, in an orderly and business-like way, packed the weapons of the dishonoured soldiery in carts, and escorted them to barracks.

Outbreak at Ferozepore.

On the 12th May, an account of the occurrences at Meerut reached Ferozepore. The troops in that station consisted of Her Majesty's 61st Foot, the 45th and 57th Native Infantry, the 10th Light Cavalry (native) and about 150 European artillery; they were commanded by Brigadier Innes. He had arrived only the day before, and had had but little opportunity of testing the temper of the native troops. The value

of Ferozepore must be estimated not only from its having been, up to the period of the Sutlej campaign, the frontier station in the North-west, and of its consequent importance with reference to the Punjab, but from its possessing an entrenched magazine of the largest class, and containing military stores almost equal in amount to those in the arsenal at Fort William. Ferozepore is only seventy-three miles from Delhi, and it may be easily imagined that the rebels, already possessed of the Delhi arsenal and aware alike of the contiguity and importance of that at Ferozepore, would spare no efforts to make themselves masters of it also. Had they been capable of acting in concert with their brethren at Meerut they might have succeeded; but, the sound of that explosion was sufficient to put the commanding officers all over India on the alert.

On the 12th, the report of it reached Ferozepore. On the following day, the Brigadier ordered out the troops to judge of their disposition. Trained amongst natives himself, he might have been supposed to be a competent authority on such a point. He looked at them, and believed their bearing, especially that of the 57th, to be "haughty:" the 10th Cavalry he considered loyal. The commanding officers of all three regiments pronounced the state of their corps to be satisfactory.

At noon on the same day information of the occurrences at Delhi reached the station. At that time the entrenched magazine, the most important position in Ferozepore, was held by a company of the 57th Native Infantry. Immediately arrangements were made for relieving them by a company of Her Majesty's 61st, and one of the European artillery. This was not done completely, for the company of the 57th was allowed to remain in the magazine. At the same time the 10th Cavalry, in whom every confidence was placed, were stationed under the walls of the new arsenal, and the 61st under Colonel Innes were held in readiness to move on one point. These arrangements having been completed, the 45th and 57th were ordered to parade at 5 P. M. with the view of being marched out of cantonments. The Brigadier went at that hour to the parade ground, formed up in quarter distance columns, and addressed them. They were then ordered to move off in opposite directions. They obeyed unhesitatingly. The road by which the 45th were ordered to march took them close to the entrenched magazine.

Arriving there they halted and refused to advance a step. They then loaded their muskets, and heedless of the entreaties of their officers, ran to the north-west bastion of the magazine, and stood there apparently hesitating what to do next. At

this moment scaling ladders were thrown out to them by the sepoys who had been allowed to remain inside. They immediately commenced climbing over the parapet, and three hundred of their number having succeeded in finding their way inside, made an attack on the company of the 61st, who were hurried down to receive them. They were repulsed with the loss of about half a dozen of their number, but not dispairing of success, made a detour and attempted to take our men in the rear, but were again unsuccessful. At this moment two more companies of the 61st arrived, and the mutineers fled in all directions—many of them being killed. The company of the 59th, which had not apparently joined actively in the *émeute* was disarmed and turned out of the magazine. So far arrangements of the Brigadier had been apparently defective; he had suffered the entrenchments to be isolated to the great peril of the arsenal, and he had no troops at hand to keep the mutineers in check. Still he had been successful in repelling their attack.

It must be remembered, that in Ferozepore there were the 61st regiment, and about 150 artillerymen, supplied with all the munitions of war to combat against two native infantry regiments. They could have beaten a dozen of them, deprived as these were of their European officers. There was also a regiment of Cavalry which was supposed to be, and which proved loyal. The movement of two companies of the 61st with the horse battery of artillery, would have completely dispersed the 45th, and in all probability have determined the 57th from following their example.

The men of that regiment, on being repulsed from the entrenchment, retreated towards the ice-pits, carrying their dead with them. These they left in the Mahomedan burial ground, and returning in small bodies to the cantonment, set fire to and burned the church, Roman Catholic chapel, two vacant hospitals, the 61st mess-house and several bungalows. In doing this, strange to record, they were not even molested even at the chapel, where one of them was shot. They even made several fresh attempts upon the entrenchment, but failed on every occasion. Hithereto panic had reigned throughout Ferozepore: one part of the 61st remained in the barracks, the other part in the entrenchments: not a single man was made to act against the mutineers. To such an extent was the defensive principle carried, that hearing that the mutineers intended seizing their own regimental magazine on the following morning, instead of choosing that moment of attacking and dispersing them, the Brigadier actually preferred as it were abandoning his position, by causing the magazines

of the 45th and 57th to be blown up. The great body of the former regiment, having done all the mischief they could, then set off for Delhi. On this intelligence reaching the Brigadier, he began to act with vigour, for he despatched three troops of cavalry and two guns in pursuit of them, whilst he caused at the same time the 57th to be disarmed. Both these measures were fairly successful. The 45th, the moment the initiative was taken against them were panic-stricken, and fled in confusion; they lost a number of men, and several of those who escaped threw away their arms to accelerate their flight. The greater part of the 57th were disarmed quietly, after only preferring to follow the fortunes of the 45th. The 10th cavalry throughout the affair behaved with the most perfect loyalty and emulated the conduct of the Europeans.

Some accounts state that shades of guilt were attempted to be drawn between the 57th and 45th N. I. All that is certain is that the disbandment of the former regiment came too late. The regiment had anticipated their fate. The following order was read out to some half dozen remnants:—

"Sepoys of the '*Lord Moira-ke-pultun*,' (57th N. I.) listen to the order of the Commander-in-Chief *Sahib Bahadoor*: he has ordered you to be disbanded; the reasons are these:—Before a Court of Inquiry it has been proved that you would not receive the new Enfield rifles; your replies to the Court were evasive. Now, these rifles differ very little from muskets which you have hitherto been using, and your fore-fathers, for the last century before you. This refusal to receive the new weapon on the alleged plea that you would lose your caste, is but an artifice to conceal your real intentions, which are nothing else than to revolt against the Government, which feeds you now, and pensions you when you become superannuated. On the 13th May, when the *Murreeroo-ke-pultun* (45th N. I.) mutinied, and attempted to seize the entrenched magazine, a company of your regiment was on duty there, and, instead of firing on the mutineers, they loaded their muskets to destroy the European soldiers, whom the Brigadier commanding had then sent to protect the magazine. Subsequently some 300 sepoys deserted, and the guard of your regiment on duty in the district, excited the people there to join with them in making a religious war against the British. Such has been the conduct of the *Lord Moira-ke-pultun*. Now, hear your punishment—your colours shall be furled—your number effaced out of the army list, and yourselves deported under proper escort to your homes."

Before the final desertion, even of men selected for their previous good character, the Judicial Commissioner, on his own responsibility, had urged that the remainder should be marched to gaol, and shot to a man, in case of the slightest opposition.

And yet so contradictory and anomalous were appearances, that the demeanour of the 45th N. I., perhaps greater adepts in duplicity, inspired the greater confidence.

The 57th were never allowed to be in a position in which they could, on the day and night of the 13th, be called upon to act either with or against the 45th N. I. Hence when the 45th openly mutinied, expecting aid from the 57th, the latter did all that was required—they remained quiet. The outbreak of the 45th was as sudden and as little expected as the outbreak at Meerut; but timely precaution saved the station from the tragedies of Meerut. No murders darkened the homes of Ferozepore; though the havoc and riot for a time was scarcely inferior to that of the last-mentioned station.

Had there not been some twenty thousand barrels of gunpowder to care for in the arsenal, the churches and the houses would not, perhaps, have been sacrificed. The safety of the former was not dearly purchased by the ignominious discomfiture of the mutinous corps. Had the two corps been in a position at any moment to unite, the 10th Light Cavalry would, as events have proved, have been unable to resist temptation; and the thatched barracks would have had to be defended, and the magazine left. The fort, so called, could be entered at all points: a spark would have ignited the magazine, and blown all living into eternity. It was no fault of the mutineers that this did not occur. Three hundred of the 57th N. I. deserted in the hour of trial, and the rest remained with their officers, who could not but distrust them.

On the 28th of May, the remainder of the 45th were turned ingloriously out of cantonments, and escorted to the boundaries of the district. They probably combated with no diminished acrimony against us at Delhi from having been allowed to reach it alive without money and without food.

The Officer Commanding at Ferozepore to the Adjutant-General of the Army.

Ferozepore, May 16, 1857.

From being so fully employed, I have not had time to address you, and report the events that have taken place at this post.

I assumed command on the 11th. On the 12th I heard of

the events at Meerut, and paraded the troops on the morning of the 13th, that I might judge for myself of the apparent disposition of the native soldiery. It appeared to me to be haughty. I addressed the 45th and 57th before dismissing them, and sent the native officers of each corps to the mess-houses.

At this time, Lieutenant-Colonels Liptrap and Darvall reported the state of their corps to be satisfactory, and I believed the 45th to be so.

At noon (13th) I received information of the massacre at Delhi. I immediately determined on the occupation of the entrenchment by a detachment of Her Majesty's 61st and European artillery company, and to move the native troops out of cantonments. I made arrangements for their march accordingly, and moved the European artillery, with twelve guns, in progress to the entrenchments, so as to overawe or destroy the two native corps.

A detachment of the 61st, under Major Redmond, moved into the entrenchment, and the 61st under Colonel Jones was held in readiness to move on any point.

The 10th cavalry, whom I believed loyal, and who have since proved so, I encamped in the neighbourhood of the new arsenal, and entrusted to them the magazine and its contents.

All these arrangements were made to take place simultaneously, by 5 o'clock, and the native troops were not aware of any of these arrangements, more than that they had to march.

I proceeded to the parade-ground of the 45th, assembled them in quarter-distance columns, addressed them, and was glad to see them move off without hesitation. The 57th followed their example, and I believed that everything was satisfactory.

The 45th, on passing the Sudder Bazar and neighbourhood of the entrenchment, broke into open mutiny, and made a rush at the entrenchment, with scaling-ladders, which must have been previously prepared. They were gallantly beat off by the detachment of Her Majesty's 61st, under Major Redmond, who was wounded, and, on making a second attempt, were beaten off by Captain Deacon. Colonel Liptrap and his officers used their utmost endeavours to control their men, and did succeed in leading a party of about 150 men to the place where I desired them to encamp; the remainder broke off through the bazars and cantonments.

As I had every reason to believe that the 57th would follow the example of the 45th, I, with Colonel Jones, determined to

maintain the barrack and entrenchment, and called in the 10th light cavalry to our support.

Colonel Rainey was entrusted with the command of the 61st.

I am glad to be able to report that the 57th did move, and remained staunch with Colonel Darvall.

The 45th, moving in bodies through the cantonments, burned the Church, Roman Catholic Chapel, 61st mess-house, and sixteen other houses. During the night they made several attempts on the entrenchment, and were beaten off, with the assistance of reinforcements from Her Majesty's 61st. When I found that we could maintain the barracks and entrenchments, I sent parties of cavalry to clear the cantonments. During this period I had several communications with Colonels Liptrap and Darvall regarding the state their men were in.

On hearing from Colonel Liptrap that the 45th intended to seize their magazine on the morning of the 14th, I determined to blow up the magazines both of the 45th and 57th. Moving, found it impossible to procure carriage for the ammunition. This was done by a detachment of artillery and cavalry under Major Harvey and Lieutenant Franks.

The blowing up of the magazine so enraged the 45th that they immediately seized their colours and marched off towards Furreed Kote. On Colonel Liptrap reporting this, I desired him to march in with those that stood faithful, and lay down their arms to the 61st; 133 of all ranks did so. Three troops of the 10th light cavalry, under Majors Beatson and Harvey and two guns, I sent in pursuit of the mutineers.

Major Marsden, Deputy Commissioner, having volunteered his services, and from his knowledge of the country, I entrusted to him the command of the whole. He followed them for about twelve miles. They dispersed in all directions, throwing away their arms and colours into wells and other places. A few were made prisoners, and the country-people have since brought in several.

The above occurrences took place on the 14th. In the early part of the day, I acquainted Colonel Darvall that I would receive such men of his regiment as would come in and lay down their arms. The light company, under Captain Salmon, and owing to his exertions, almost to a man did so. On laying down their arms, I permitted them to return to their lines. It was immediately reported that stragglers from the 45th had entered their lines and threatened them, on which a company of the 61st cleared their lines. Unfortunately, the 57th seeing European troops in their lines, believed that their light company were being made prisoners, which caused a panic in the 57th, and prevented their coming in to lay down their

arms, which Colonel Darvall reported they intended to have done. On regaining confidence, several parties came in under their officers, and in the evening Colonel Darvall brought in of all ranks, with his colours, and I required them to lay down their arms, which they did without hesitation, but with a haughty air.

I am unable to furnish present states, but I believe that of the 57th about 520 men are present, and about half that number of the 45th.

It is gratifying to state that the 10th light cavalry have remained staunch, and have done good service. The greatest credit is due to Major M'Donell and his officers for keeping his regiment together, for his corps must have the same ideas as the other portions of the native army.

On the 15th, I had great anxiety on account of the reported approach of the disarmed 8th light cavalry, 16th, 26th and 49th, native infantry from Lahore, who determined to move on this place and arm themselves.

The civil authorities have aided me by breaking the bridge and seizing the ferries. If they do come in any numbers, the position is strong enough to hold our own, and should they make any attempt, I will use my utmost endeavours to destroy them.

Every preparation has been made to do so. I cannot conclude this part of the report without stating the gallant and enduring conduct of the 61st artillery, and 10th cavalry, who have been under arms day and night, and the excessive heat is very trying to the Europeans, who cheerfully stand sentry on the scorched walls of this entrenchment. The 10th cavalry are constantly in the saddle.

On hearing of the outbreak at Delhi, on the 13th, I required Major Marsden to summon aid from the neighbouring Seikh States and General Van Cortlandt (late of the Lahore Durbar Service, and now on civil employ) to entertain as many Pathans and Seikhs as he considered faithful. These men I propose to employ on the banks of the river and surrounding country.

I hope the Commander-in-chief will support me in taking on myself this responsibility; I did so as I had but a handful of Europeans, and an extensive arsenal to defend.

Parties of horse have come in from the neighbouring states, and as soon as any of the new levies do so, I propose arming them from the magazine, and placing them under the control of General Van Cortlandt. Both Major Marsden and General Van Cortlandt have afforded me every aid.

In conclusion, I must state for his Excellency's information

that the chief danger of the position is the enormous powder magazine and the thatched barracks, which incendiaries might fire, although I have taken every precaution to prevent such a distressing event.

P. S.—Had I not on the 13th required the families of officers and Europeans to leave the cantonment and take refuge in a portion of the barracks given up to them by Colonel Jones, they might have shared the fate of those at Meerut and Delhi.

The only accidents that have taken place are, Major Redmond severely wounded in the leg, but doing well, and one private of the 61st killed on picket.

On the 13th Her Majesty's 61st took possession of, and have since guarded, the extensive magazine at this place. A portion of the ammunition which was in the new arsenal in front of the 10th light cavalry, I intrusted to the custody of that corps; their services being required elsewhere, I have removed the whole to the old entrenchment, which, however, adds to the peril of our position; I have directed that as much as possible should be buried.

Disarming at Mooltan.

There was no imposing European force present; there was possibly not sixty available European soldiers. The brigade, of which Chamberlain had to assume the command over the heads of senior officers, consisted of an European company of artillery under Lieut. Smallpage; a troop of native horse artillery, under Lieut. DeBude; the 6th N. I., under Captain Denniss; the 69th N. I., under Colonel Hicks; the 1st irregular cavalry, under Captain Hickey; the 1st Punjab irregular cavalry, under Captain Hughes; and Punjab infantry, under Captain Greene.

Various sources of information combined in proving that the lives of the European residents were not safer here than elsewhere, so long as the native infantry regiments remained armed. The defences of the fort were not in good repair; and circumstances of the highest suspicion had been elicited.

Sir John Lawrence directed that Major Crawford Chamberlain should take command, and perform that most delicate operation of disarming. The arrangements were perfect, and the highest credit is due to Major Crawford Chamberlain and his co-adjutor, Captain Tronson, of the Katar Mookee Police. Let the critical importance of Mooltan be remembered, containing munitions of war to the amount of fifteen lakhs of

rupees, commanding the river communication with Bombay, from whence alone reinforcements could arrive to replace the vast exodus of troops from the Punjab, and its position of the last importance, as a check on the Bahawulpoor Chieftains, will be evident. No European aid, even if to be spared, could possibly come 206 miles all the way from Lahore. The Scinde Government was crippled for want of steamers in consequence of the Persian war. The Bombay troops were at Sukkur, 500 miles away.

Here, then, when the first shock of the mutiny was felt, and its extent and character at once comprehended by those in command, eleven-twelfths of the garrison of Mooltan were of Hindoostanee origin! In fact, one European company of artillery was at first sight the whole counterpoise to two full regiments, N. I., the 62nd and the 69th, the 1st irregular cavalry and the 4th troop, 3rd brigade of horse artillery. Here, as elsewhere, the cartridge question had been freely canvassed. The Post office was thronged in an unusual manner every morning by inquisitive sepoys, soon after the disbanding of the 34th N. I. at Barrackpore, which shows a keen anticipation of impending events. Goldmohurs, which can be easily carried in purses of fine cord, were at a premium among them, and family remittances began to be diverted from the usual Government channel to private money-dealers.

These manifestations did not escape the watchful eyes of Major Hamilton, the Commissioner, and Major Crawford Chamberlain. The confidence of the latter in his fine regiment, the 1st irregulars, was confirmed by information received from a native officer of rank, that the infantry were trying to tamper with his men. The 69th N. I. were most suspected, the 62nd were less so. As to the native troop of artillery (in which favourite service, even before Delhi, few could be drawn from their allegiance), there was every hope of their proving staunch. Captain Spencer, however, did not allow the golden moments of sepoy hesitation to glide by profitless, but set to work, improved the defences of the fort, mounted several pieces of ordnance, organized a battery of two field pieces, and quietly stored provisions for six months' consumption, which had been collected with the utmost despatch by Majors Voyle and Hamilton.

The ferries were now more carefully guarded, and the native correspondence more strictly scrutinized. The contents of one letter led to the execution of the addressee. Suspicious parties were arrested, and the officers in command of the frontier posts of Derah Ghazee Khan and Asnee warned to be in readiness.

Captain Hughes, commanding at the latter, seeing the imminent posture of affairs, on his own responsibility at once set out for Mooltan.

By the 9th of June there arrived the 1st regiment Punjab cavalry, and a wing of the 2nd regiment. The disaffection of the 69th, at least, was increasing in intensity, and admitted not the shadow of a doubt. The hour for the disarming was ripe, and on the 10th of June the orders came from the Chief Commissioner, who as above narrated, exercising his usual sagacious discrimination of character, had selected Chamberlain for the delicate and critical operation. The night was occupied in anxious and secret consultation as to the plan. At morning dawn, the Colonel of the 69th was apprised of the momentous step to be taken, and was directed to parade all the troops in garrison. The admirable operations which ensued, and which called forth the eulogium of Government, cannot be better described than by an eye-witness.

The parade being organized, "The Punjab cavalry and infantry marched to cantonments by two separate roads. The cavalry on the road to the right, debouching on to the grand parade, so as to cut off fugitives should the troops about to be disarmed have dispersed before the whole force had assembled; whilst the infantry moved direct on to the parade from the city, and remained concealed until it made its appearance from the rear of the irregular cavalry lines. The troops arrived at their destination most opportunely, and took up their position at the proper moment.

"The horse artillery were masked by a position of the 1st Punjab cavalry, and supported by the European company of artillery, the Punjab infantry being on the left flank. The 62nd regiment N. I., in quarter-distance columns, originally occupied the ground to the left of the 1st irregular cavalry, but were advanced to the front, the Punjab cavalry taking their place. At the same time, the 69th regiment native infantry, also in quarter-distance columns, were marched from their own parade to the grand parade, and halted in contiguous close columns, with the 62nd in front of the masked battery. The whole of these movements were executed without the slightest confusion or hesitation."

So much for the military details, which seem to defy criticism. After perusal of a general order to the native infantry, Chamberlain rode forward and demanded immediate surrender of their arms, under penalty of consequences. As these words were pronounced by preconcerted signal, the 1st Punjab cavalry, by a flank movement to the left, unmasked

the horse artillery, and six field pieces, loaded with grape, their port-fires lighted, were seen. Each piece, though manned by natives, was supported by eight sturdy Europeans with loaded fuzils. The 62nd piled arms at once. The 69th wavered; the guns menaced; they yielded. The day was won. The disarming of detached bodies, search of the bells-of-arms, and other supplementary acts followed in ordinary course.

The same success attended Captain Tronson, who, with a party of mounted police and some Kuttar Mookhi Police, disarmed a strong party of the 69th at the treasury.

The self-reliance of the English officer and soldier was never exhibited on a more critical or more bloodless occasion. Though satisfactory, it is nothing to the point, that it was discovered afterwards that the native artillery had without orders laid their pieces with unerring precision full upon the devoted regiments. With such a preponderance of uncertain materials as he had to work with, and such a mere handful of Europeans, this operation managed with consummate tact and resolution by Chamberlain and his gallant co-adjutors, stands unique among similar events in the crisis. The inhabitants, who had left the city, at once took heart and returned; their buried treasures were exhumed, and their ordinary occupation recommenced; deputations of the principal inhabitants waited on the Commissioner to express their gratification at the renewal of security and peace.

Hote Murdan and neighbouring Stations.

It appears that the first symptoms of disaffection in the valley were exhibited by the 55th N. I. at the bridge guard at Attock; and a portion of the regiment, together with two troops of the 10th irregular cavalry, were sent over to Murdan to replace the guide corps, which had already marched to Delhi. The reasons for this move are sufficiently clear by the light of recent events. They were utterly in the dark as to the real object; so much so, that when crossing the bridge-of-boats at Nowshera, they gave vent to their delight in loud cries. Whether this was mere affectation or not, it is impossible to say, but the next morning the regiment taunted the Colonel with having brought them to the fort, as a prisoner. Colonel Spottiswoode,* whose belief in the loyalty of his corps

* Colonel Spottiswoode committed suicide when the regiment mutinied.

was dearer than life itself, assured them to the contrary, and promised to forward to General Anson any petition they might draw up. The petition was drawn up, and by far the most prominent of all the grievances was the breaking up in practice, though not in name, of the invalid establishment. The recent abolition of the European establishment gave colour to the supposition that the native one would meet the same fate.

Meanwhile, the bridge guard under a subadar came into Nowshera in a mutinous state, having refused to obey the orders of Lieut. Lind, and even threatened to shoot him. It is worthy of record that this very subadar, by name Soodeen Doobey, was a cousin of the subadar-major of the 3rd light cavalry, at Meerut, the first appointed generalissimo of the rebel army of Delhi. The cousin had doubtless been selected as prime mover and leader of the hoped-for insurrection in the Peshawur valley. His fate was worthy of his deserts. After heading the mutiny of his corps, he fled to the great valley, and so wretched an existence did he drag on, that he was fain to give himself up to Major Becher, Deputy-Commissioner of Huzara, with abject supplications for mercy. He was blown away from a gun forthwith.

Major Verner, with a portion of the 10th irregular cavalry, went out to meet the bridge-guard, and after disarming, brought them into cantonments. He found the depôt of the 55th "skirmishing" all over the place and firing. They had broken into the magazine, and had their havresacks full of ammunition. He ordered his men to charge, instead of which they adopted a retrograde movement. Matters remained thus until the next day, when the remainder of the 55th went off to Murdan, and joined the rest of the regiment there. A sullen disrespectful manner had been detected among the sepoys previously, and reported. The 22nd of May was the day fixed upon for the general rise. In preparation for which, they had sent their wives and children out of the lines.

A suspicious circumstance also had occurred in the 64th N. I., a regiment that had before shown an insubordinate spirit in reference to pay; and the officer commanding the artillery put a picket over his guns, which lay contiguous to it. This regiment, the worst dispositioned of all, on the requisition of Colonel Nicholson (then Deputy-Commissioner), was deported (ostensibly) to reinforce the frontier posts of Peshawur. They were marched out, divided into detachments, and stationed under the guns of the three forts held by the Khelat-i-Ghilzies at Michnee, Abozaie, and Shubkudr. Twenty-five lakhs of

rupees were in the treasury, and Nicholson quietly, on the 18th of May, removed them to the fort. This sum, originally destined as a subsidy for Dost Mohammed, had most opportunely arrived; otherwise, in the financial paralysis which succeeded, it would have been impossible to pay the commissariat expenses.

On the 20th, a letter was intercepted from the 51st Peshawur (since entirely destroyed), inviting the 64th to come in. The 24th and 27th had had a midnight meeting. Nicholson, bravest of the brave, "bold, resolute, determined," then strenuously urged General Cotton to disarm. The 27th was Nicholson's own corps. The General was not at first convinced of the expediency, until Col. Edwardes arrived at Peshawur from Calcutta, and added his voice to the counsel. Once decided upon, the disarming was carried out with masterly address.

The force was divided into two brigades, each comprising one European regiment, one battery of artillery, and half the troops to be disarmed. The want of English cavalry was so much felt, that Major Barr's troop of horse artillery had to be employed as dragoons. At four o'clock in the morning, orders were sent to commanding officers of the native regiments to be disarmed, to hold a parade each on his ground, and while ordinary parade was being held, the Europeans and artillery of each brigade marched down. The order was given, "pile arms," and they were at once taken possession of and carried off by the Europeans. Colonel Nicholson had opportunely called in the chiefs of the valley, and as the disarming was being carried on, clouds of Affghan horsemen darkened the horison. So also the peach-gardens around swarmed with armed men, Peshawurrees and hill-tribes, all eager to take either side as the issue might be. The environs of the station, from the cantonment to the city, were literally black with the raffish multitude, on the alert for pillage and murder on the first untoward sign.

They were disappointed; though the cause of the disappointment manifestly increased their respect for the British Government. The measure at once relieved a large proportion of the Europeans, who could now without danger be detached to meet the mutinous 55th and the 64th N. I., supposed to be in mutiny. To leave disaffected regiments armed behind at Peshawur was out of the question. On intelligence, therefore, of the state of the 55th N. I., Colonel Chute, of the 70th, marched thither on the day after the disarming. On arrival, perceiving an armed party forming

outside, as if intending to attack, he formed into position; when the adjutant of the 55th N. I. rode up and informed him that it consisted of the loyal remnants of the regiment, accompanied by their officers, about one hundred and twenty in all. The peril of the officers had been imminent. In the night a conclave had been held, and a very small majority had decided in favour of not murdering their officers, who were totally in the power of the sepoys. The remainder of the corps had broken tumultuously and fled towards Soundkhour.

Colonel Nicholson, accompanied by a troop of horse artillery, the 18th irregular cavalry, one hundred Punjab infantry, and forty of his personal escort, dashed to the pursuit, slaughtered one hundred and twenty mutineers, captured one hundred and fifty, with the colours, and upwards of two hundred stand of arms. The zemindars behaved wonderfully, and brought in fugitives with their money all safe, and with their heads on their shoulders also, to the embarrassment of the authorities. The sustaining spirit of the chase, Nicholson, was in the saddle twenty hours, having gone over some seventy miles. The mutineers fought desperately when at bay, so that the numbers killed represent the upshot of so many hand-to-hand combats. The terror of his name spread throughout the valley, and gave additional emphasis to the moral effect of the disarming policy.

After the pursuit of the 55th N. I., Colonel Chute's column moved up to Fort Abozaie, in the hills surrounding which some of the 55th N. I. had found temporary asylum. Here, almost simultaneously with a similar operation conducted by Captain Bingham at the forts of Shubkudr and Michnee successively, Colonel Chute dispossessed the party of the 64th N. I. of their arms. Nothing could have been easier than for the 64th N. I. to have murdered their officers, and to have given up Fort Michnee to the hill-tribes; and considerable discomposure in Peshawur politics would have been the result of such a catastrophe.

The Mooltanee horse now began to pour in. It has been observed that the 10th irregular cavalry behaved disgracefully. Their punishment was adapted to the character of their proceedings. Half the regiment were ordered to Peshawur; the other half remained at Nowshera. The trap was of so masterly a device that escape was impossible. Five hundred fiery and true Mooltanee horse had left Peshawur for Delhi; while a detachment of H. M.'s 27th were coming back to Peshawur from Rawul Pindee. Each had its cue. They met, and at early dawn fell on the wing of the 10th regiment, and despoiled

them of everything, horse, accoutrements, ammunition, weapons, all but the clothes on their backs! They were then marched down to the Kabul river, eight miles from Peshawur, put into boats, and started off to Attock, where they met their disconsolate brethren. Four rupees a piece were administered, and under escort of the fearless Mooltanees, who required no "orders" what to do in case of attempt to escape, they were deported.

Peshawur.

The following is a history of the proceedings of the British force in the Peshawur valley during the Indian rebellion of 1857:—

On the 1st of May, 1857, the Peshawur force quartered at Peshawur, Nosherah, Hoti Murdan, and the frontier forts at the foot of the surrounding hills comprised nearly 14,000 men of all arms, as follows:—

Branch.	Europeans.	Sikhs, Punjabees, &c.	Poorbeah Hindoostanees.
Artillery	550	Mountain train battery.	442
Cavalry.....	None.	Guide Corps, and a few	2,258
Infantry.....	2,543	in each regiment of Native	7,854
		Infantry.	
Total..	3,093		10,554

Remarks.—Of the artillery twenty-four light field guns were partially manned, and driven by Hindoostanees, and the eight mountain train guns entirely so.

Thus the native troops more than trebly out-numbered the Europeans, having the whole of the cavalry, three-fourths of the infantry, and two-fifths of the artillery.

About the middle of May the news of the revolt of the native troops reached Peshawur, and the electric telegraph continued to convey worse and worse tidings almost hourly. What could be more trying than the position of the military and civil authorities at this critical juncture?—the enormous numerical inferiority of the European troops, a large city teeming with hordes of fanatical Mahommedans, sworn enemies of our race and creed, a crowded Suddar bazar with its ruthless mob, and, worst of all, a host of robber tribes swarming on the surrounding hills thirsting for blood and plunder, who would assuredly join the stronger party. And what was to prevent the immense force of natives from rising suddenly and overpowering the Europeans? It was, indeed, a time of the greatest anxiety. The worst must be prepared for;

every contingency must be taken into consideration. The results prove that our leaders understood their position, and that their prudence, foresight, and good conduct were, under the blessing of God Almighty, the means of our maintaining this important post, and thereby saving the honour of the British name in Affghanistan.

Not an hour was to be lost; accordingly the fort of Attock, which commands the passage of the Indus, was garrisoned by a wing of Her Majesty's 27th foot, provisioned for a seige, and its weak points strengthened. The guides, a native local corps, the only reliable one in the valley, was sent to join the force moving on Delhi, where it arrived in twenty-two marches, a distance of nearly 600 miles, one of the quickest marches on record in Indian annals. The 64th native infantry, suspected of having received seditious letters, were marched from cantonments and sent in detachments across the Cabul river to the frontier forts at the foot of the hills. Native correspondence was seized and examined. The communication with Attock was partially secured by sending the 55th native infantry and part of the 10th irregular cavalry from Nosherah, on the high road to Attock, across the Cabul river, to Hoti Murdan, now vacant by the departure of the guides. The treasure, more than twenty-seven lacs of rupees (270,000*l.*), heretofore lodged in the old Residency, a building considered unsafe to inhabit, was sent into the fort, and temptation to plunder it thus lessened in a great degree; and lastly, the Residency, being a central spot, was made the head-quarters of the division and of the brigade, in order to facilitate the transaction of business, the general himself and the whole of the divisional and brigade staff residing there.

These arrangements had been no sooner made than the 55th native infantry, on the 20th of May, mutinied, and seized the fort of Hoti Murdan, keeping their officers, without restraining them, under strict surveillance. The intelligence of this reached Peshawur on the night of the 21st of May. It was now evident that the native troops were ripe for revolt; the spirit of rebellion which was raging in the North-western Provinces had reached Peshawur, and must be met and subdued at once. In fact, it was a struggle for our existence and upon the issue of the struggle here depended the fate of the whole of the Punjab. The effect of 8,000 or 10,000 troops in revolt marching through the Punjab may be faintly imagined. They could not be pursued without cavalry, and of this arm we had not one reliable corps above Umballah! Thus the rebel army, joined by the rest of the native troops at

every station, would have arrived at Delhi some 30,000 strong. In such a case could any European force remaining have held out till troops arrived from home? But to return to Peshawur. The revolt of the 55th native infantry must be quelled at once, to prevent the contagion from spreading. Now we must "do or die" was the word.

The man for the crisis was present; the one among a thousand! With about 8,000 armed Poorbeahs in cantonments, it was impossible to detach a single European to quell the mutiny at Hoti Murdan. It was determined to disarm the greater portion of the native force. Whether as a stroke of policy or for other reasons I know not, but the two irregular cavalry regiments (7th and 18th) and the 21st regiment native infantry were allowed to retain their arms. On the morning of the 22d of May, before day-break, commanding officers were summoned and a council was held. Officers were then told of the determination of the authorities to disarm the native soldiery. Strong and touching must have been the appeals of commanding officers for their regiments. It was, indeed, almost impossible for men who had served for years with their corps and were proud of them, who had watched their conduct in quarters and in the field, who shoulder to shoulder with their men had fought and won many a bloody fight—it was very difficult for these officers to realize the necessity of disarming their regiments, and great firmness was necessary to carry out the measure determined on. It is needless to add how heartily every one now coincides in and applauds the decision and its execution.

It has been established beyond a doubt that a plot was laid for a simultaneous rising upon a certain day for the massacre of every European in Peshawur.

At 7 A. M. on that very morning, after the council, without any sound of bugle or drum, the regiments to be disarmed turned out under their own officers on parade, and without a murmur laid down their arms by word of command. In the meantime the rest of the corps remained under arms in their own quarters, ready for action. But all passed off quietly, and the arms were lodged in the magazine inside the fort.

That evening the force to subdue the 55th native infantry started for Hoti Murdan. On the morning of the 24th the mutineers left the fort and retreated in skirmishing order. A few of them, chiefly Sikhs, remained with their officers in the fort. The fugitives were dispersed, many killed, and more taken prisoners. About 400 escaped to the hills, where they were not at all well received, and all were made Mussulmans.

Most of these tried to escape through Hazarah into Hindoostan, but nearly all of them perished in the attempt.

Next, the dangerous proximity of the hostile tribes had to be provided against. Our available force for keeping them in check was much reduced by the disarming measure; moreover, the doubtful regiment which had been sent to the frontier was suspected of intriguing with the hill men and with the other regiments in cantonments. Overtures were made by the civil authorities, and these very men whom we had held in check by our native army, now disarmed, were invited to take our service. They hesitated. A moment of fearful suspense and anxiety to the authorities ensued. The fate of Peshawur and of its European inhabitants seemed to hang upon a thread. But God, who rules the wills of all men, inclined these lawless tribes to our side, and they flocked in numbers to our standard. Their hatred was disarmed by our money, and our sepoys overawed by their presence. Colonel Edwardes, C. B., Commissioner, whose career of fame had commenced on the frontier and at the siege of Mooltan, now called on the chiefs of the country round about Mooltan and up towards Deragat, the scene of his former exploits, to send up to Peshawur levies of horse and foot, and thus show their allegiance. They willingly obeyed the call, and came to Peshawur in numbers. While doing the work of rendering harmless the sepoys, their presence preserved the peace, and subsequently numbers of them have been sent to Delhi and elsewhere, to the number of 1,200.

To reinforce other posts, as well as the army before Delhi, a force of 1,600 men has been sent out of the Peshawur valley. This includes about 450 Europeans to garrison Attock: 250 European artillerymen, with twelve light field guns, besides the Guides. To replace such heavy draughts upon our artillery a new battery was raised, manned and driven entirely by Europeans taken from the reserve companies of the foot artillery. Thus six fresh guns out of the magazine have been efficiently manned. A large number (250) of the European Infantry have been taught artillery gun drill. A corps of 200 European cavalry (Peshawur light horse) has been organized, and is fit for service. Thus the drain upon the artillery was compensated by the infantry, a small European volunteer corps (cavalry) from the same branch, and the deficiency thus created was filled up by the introduction of a reliable native force.

In the meantime nearly 3,000 Hindostanee sepoys have been disposed of, either by execution, by imprisonment, or

by summary discharge. The native population of cantonments has been completely disarmed. The prisoners (convicts) have been employed upon the Government works for the defence of Attock; and the confiscated property of mutineers and deserters has formed a fund able to maintain the prisoners and pay the stipulated rewards for their capture. The fort has been strengthened and provisioned, and its garrison, though small, is sure. The safety of cantonments has been secured by defensible posts of Europeans being established in different parts, each furnished with a detail of artillery, further, the disarmed corps have been marched out of their lines (barracks) into camp, so as to be under strict surveillance, and no corps, European or native, is ever without the presence of a European officer, and all officers remain with their respective corps throughout the night. The vacant lines (huts) of the disarmed corps have been levelled with the ground, and a season of rain will efface all traces of their existence. The city is overawed by the guns of the fort in position against it. Two successful expeditions have been made against the frontier tribes of Eusofzye. Our loss in each case was most trifling, while the effects have been most decisive, the large village of Naringee being destroyed, and the frontier rebel chief killed.

A Land Train has been formed, by which European troops can be conveyed long distances with little or no fatigue. Also sick men can be sent to Rawul Pindee, a distance of more than 100 miles, in four nights, and healthy men, if necessary, brought to replace them. In estimating the importance of the advantage derived from the Land Transport Train, it must be considered that in this climate a march of twelve miles renders the European soldier unfit for further exertion from fatigue. This train has already been of much use.

The artillery-park has been defended by an earth-work rendering the guns safe from a sudden rush of the rebels, by which they might have been taken and spiked when kept on the open parade ground. Besides the full reinforcements sent to Delhi and elsewhere, with their large complement of officers, eleven officers have been detached from the corps present, and sent out of the valley to aid in raising new corps elsewhere. On officers being called for to serve before Delhi, Brigadier-General Botton ordered nineteen officers to start without delay and proceed directly to join the army at Delhi; thirteen of these were taken from the Peshawur valley.

The Bengal tiger, caged in the Peshawur valley, may be called harmless, although half the brute's fangs and claws remain. About 3,000 Hindostanee soldiers have been allowed

to retain their arms, but they are counterbalanced by 2,000 reliable native troops brought on the strength of our force since the month of May.

The following tabular statement shows the state of the Peshawur force at the beginning of the month of September, 1857, and tells a very different tale from the statement of the force on the 1st of May, 1857 :—

Branch.	Europeans.	Sikhs, Punjabees, &c.	Armed Poorbeahs.	Disarmed Poorbeahs.
Artillery	374	100	None.	201
Cavalry	183	300	1,187	362
Infantry.....	1,847	2,180	2,124	2,548
Total	2,404	2,550	3,311	3,111
	4,964 Reliables.		6,422 None reliables.	

Remarks—One troop of horse artillery and two light field batteries entirely managed by Europeans.

Further Proceedings in the Punjab.

All conventional formalism was banished by Mr. Montgomery. His instructions sped swiftly throughout the country, and before the sepoys had time to recover from the blows at Meean Meer and Ferozepore, and ten days after at Peshawur, all outlying treasure had been brought under proper custody and temptation thereby removed. All letters had been waylaid; the Hindoostanee element in the executive and detective force gradually fell into disuse; the cupidity of the villagers was excited by rich rewards for the capture of mutinous sepoys, dead or alive; the great forts of Lahore and Govindghur had been abundantly stored; measures in all directions had been adopted against surprise, and the gaol guards were added to. Meanwhile the ordinary courts suspended not their functions, but the civil and criminal business was carried on with as much apparent calmness as if the most common-place occurrences of tranquil government existence were taking place, and the flames of rebellion were not lapping up province after province in Hindoostan.

Emissaries of every garb and hue had been despatched by the indefatigable machinators to undermine the Sikhs and upset the tottering loyalty of the native infantry corps in the Punjab—the latter but too successfully. A vast accession of

Byragee faqueers, it was remarked, had cropped out. Political arrests became rapid. The haunts of old Sikh fanatics were looked up, and their inmates cared for. Curiously-bedizened men affected to walk about Suddur stations with an unusual partiality for swords and matchlocks. They were all arrested, their arms seized, and securities taken from them if their answers were satisfactory; otherwise they were imprisoned *sine die*, *i. e.*, pending the upshot of events.

Offers of aid and service poured in immediately on the Government; but it was not politic to appear as if we threw ourselves upon the people; so with expressions of thanks and promises to indent upon their active allegiance should necessity arise, the sirdars and chiefs were deceived as to the magnitude of the crisis, and the extent of their own power. Impassible as the countenance of Louis Napoleon, was the aspect worn by the local Government. Such calmness was the more necessary as the alarm among the European residents deepened in intensity.

Thus no half-measures were adopted. Moreover, the principle that he who is not for us is against us was strictly followed. There was no pause. Treason and sedition were dogged into the very privacy of the harem, and up to the sacred sanctuaries of mosques and shrines. Learned moulvies were seized in the midst of a crowd of fanatic worshippers, and men of distinction and note were "wanted" at dead of night. Like sleugh-hounds, the district police, on the first scent of treason, and egged on by the certainty of reward, fastened on the track, and left it not until the astonished intriguer was grounded in his lair. As with the detectives of Vidocq, there were spies in the market-place, at the festival, in the places of worship, in the gaols, in the hospitals, in the regimental bazars, among the casual knot of gossippers on the bridge, among the bathers at the tanks, among the village circle round the well, under the big tree, among the pettifogging hangers-on of the courts, among the stone-breakers of the high-ways, among the dusty travellers at the serais. No man's tongue was his own property. Asiatic chicane was paralysed before the newly-aroused volition of the Anglo-Saxon.

The determination and unflagging activity of the authorities incited the Sikhs to emulation. At the Mustee Gate of Lahore one day, a man said to be a Hindoostanee, entered, wearing a sword; he was challenged, and, replying vaguely, was stopped. He cut down the sentry, and made off, he was pursued, fired at, and dropped on the banks of the Ravee: the ball had divided an artery. He died and made no sign, and was never recog-

nised. Swift his doom. But what was the errand of this desperate wretch? That must lie hidden until the secrets of all hearts are open.

Gradually, as the rivers rose, all ferries were closely watched and breast-works erected at the ghâts, by order of Sir John Lawrence.

Intelligence was received express from Lahore, at seven o'clock in the evening of the 14th May, at Umritsur, that the disarmed regiments of Meean Meer were meditating flight, possibly towards Ferozepore; but it was thought more likely that they would attempt to swarm into Govindghur, once the asylum of the far-famed Koh-i-noor; as at that time it contained but a weak company of artillery, under Captain H. B. Macleod, the majority of the garrison being composed of no less than 216 armed Poorbeah soldiery.

Within one hour from the receipt of the intelligence, the battery of artillery from the cantonment, under Captain Waddy, was moved for safety into the fort—horses and all,—the manœuvre being as steadily and swiftly performed as if on ordinary inspection parade; a portion of the 59th N. I. (since disarmed) were picquetted out in various directions, as if they were the most staunch and trusty followers, to stop the entry of the mutineers; and a picquet of sowars and Sikhs, under the Deputy-Commissioner, were located just opposite the fort gates, in order to charge in upon a preconcerted signal. It was an anxious and sleepless night for all; but it passed off quietly, as the alarm was a false one, and the opportunity was lost never to return.

An agreeable instance of the sort of reception which the Poorbeah sepoy was likely to meet with at the hands of the sturdy Punjabee Jats was shown on that day. Mr. Macnaghten, assistant-commissioner, volunteered to go out half-way to Lahore and raise a human barrier of villagers across the road to intercept the rebels. The enthusiasm displayed by the country people sufficiently proved that they were "non-conductors" of rebellion. One valiant rustic, armed only with a spade, brought in a tall man, who he swore was a Hindoostanee, and requested orders as to his disposal, with the implement in his hand. Providence had blessed the Punjab with a golden harvest, such as had not been known for many long years, and the country was too happy and prosperous to join in any *emeute*, out of pure friendship to their hereditary enemies. Dewan Narain Singh and Sirdar Khan Singh, of Ataree, were eager to aid, their conduct contrasted with that of a Sirdar Nahr Singh, who was asleep, "and could not be disturbed," when sent for by the assistant commissioner,

and who became suddenly afflicted with a "boil" of an alarming nature on a distressing segment of his person!

About midnight, Mr. Macnaghten, hearing a great tramp, as of the coming rebels, mustered all his villagers, drew carts across the road (some villagers suggesting that the oxen and bullocks should remain, as the Hindoos wouldn't cut through them), and awaited the attack. The noise was that of forty "ekkas," containing about eighty gallant soldiers, under Lieut. Chichester, of H. M.'s 81st, who, seeing the barrier dimly through the darkness, drew his revolver. The *denouement* of the anticipated drama was gratifying on both sides. Next morning the rustic soldiery returned to their homes.

As yet this fine population, composing the Manjha, the nursery of the Khalsa soldiery, have not only escaped contagion, but have contributed their glorious old artillerymen who did such execution at Ferozshuhur and Moodkee, in a cause which was honourable because national.*

Seditious correspondence in the Punjaub.

To undermine the Sikh loyalty, a buniah wrote from Jugadaree that the price of wheat was unprecedently low, and all were in excellent spirits, until it was found that Government

* The solicitude of the Judicial Commissioner for the safety and welfare of Govindghur and Umritsur may be gathered from the accompanying appalling letter, dated the 12th of May. It was received the very morning of the arrival of the news of the outbreak. It was the first intimation which arrived, and was written the day before the disarming at Lahore

"*Lahore, May* 12, 1857.

"My Dear Cooper,—You may not have heard, as you have no electric telegraph station, that the troops at Meerut and Delhi have risen, and the Europeans are defending their lives as well as they can—as yet it is not known with what results But the city of Delhi is in a very excited state, and the communication between Delhi and Meerut is cut off. It is expected that the troops at Umballah, who have shown great disaffection, will rise, and we must expect the rebellion to spread. The native troops here are not well affected, and we may have to fight for our lives. My object is to write and put you on your guard. Communicate with the commanding officer. Care for Govindghur, and it may be necessary to remove the sepoys from there. It would be the place of general resort should unhappily such a necessity arise. I would advise every precaution being adopted beforehand, so as to be ready in case of a row. You shall have the best information of all that is going on, and the more quietly we move the better. Do not alarm the sepoys by any previous acts, but keep the strictest watch on them, and the feelings of the city should be ascertained by every source at your command. Open communication with Jullundur, and find out what is going on there. My advice, then, is to be fully alive, and awake, and prepared for the worst, without creating any alarm by any open act. If the troops should rise, you have the fort to go to, and can defend yourselves. Let me or Roberts hear constantly as to the feeling of all troops, people, &c.. &c.

"Believe me, yours truly,

"Fred. Cooper, Esq. Robert Montgomery."

had mixed *pulverished bones with the flour.* A Sikh sepoy, moreover, in an intercepted note, confided his views of the politics of the day to a friend, saying that personally he was indifferent under the circumstances, but there was a great uproar; the Feringhees, he feared, could not last long: they were being beaten over and over again before Delhi. But he didn't know what monarchy would supplant them exactly. At Jhelum, the Deputy-Commissioner opened a letter containing a plot for the massacre of the whole of a British family at Julundur. At Peshawur, a naick of the 64th N. I. was hanged for receiving a letter (obviously a reply to a query as to the disposal of the Europeans.) "*They were to be all massacred, without respect to age, sex, or person.*" An intercepted letter, however, from an old subahdar of the 21st N. I. (still armed), also obviously in reply, urged the sepoys to standq'y their salt, as, though the mutineers might have their way for three months, after that the British would be supreme again. And this fine corps possessed the proud but melancholy distinction of being the only regiment of the line wholly armed.

Allegoric and symbolic commerce also commenced. "Pearls," that is white faces, were quoted low in the market; and "red wheat," Hindoostan, looking up. A letter from Monghyr, of the 26th of May, contained the following passage literally translated:—"The state of affairs is this:—Dost Mahomed Khan, Ghazee, has marched from Cabul and come to see Sir John Lawrence. He declares that the Emperor of Russia and the Shah of Herat have met, with the intention of invading Hindoostan. Dost Mahomed Khan has come to Sir John Lawrence for this reason, that the army of the empire is very numerous, though the number is not yet known. But if any one could count the number of the soldiers having seen an ant hill, what could be more numerous?"

Another intercepted letter early in the crisis intimated to a brother in the native artillery that the Government army was assembling at Kurnaul, and requested a reply as to the exact date of the recipients' mutiny and march for co-operation with the rebels. An old subahdar of artillery also had been so prepossessed with the notion of the frailty of the tenure of the Government, that though nearly blind and deaf, and unfit for active service, he was ready to do anything to secure an appointment under the new "*Raj.*" There was no lack of *gobemouches* throughout the army.

Agitation of the Question of Insurrection.

Soon after the outbreak, a Hindoostanee walked into the

Government school at Umritsur, and mentioned casually, in conversation to the moulvies, that the king of Delhi had intimated, in writing, to Mr. Montgomery, at Lahore, that he was indebted to him for his excellent arrangements hitherto on his behalf for the affairs of India; but that he could now dispense with his services, as he himself was prepared to undertake the necessary arrangements for the future government of India; and that he now accorded his royal permission to that gentleman to retire, *viâ* Bombay. A Mussulman city watchman tried the mettle of the local authorities by wounding a cow in the streets. He was at once publicly flogged with the utmost severity, and imprisoned for a year, with labour and irons. Nothing of the kind has occurred since. Native Christians had been threatened in the streets: Paulus, a convert, was informed that "his ears would shortly be pulled."

The shops of the Elahee and Nubbee Bukshes, as familiar in India as Moses and Son in England, who had battened and thrived upon the Europeans' addiction to the "secondary wants,"—beer, brandy, pickles, hams, wines, cigars, &., not produceable in India—became the arenas of political discussion. The Delhi, Bareilly, and Shajehanpore massacres were freely canvassed, and the necessity of imitation became a matter of common-place talk. The admixture of cows'-bones was accepted as a fact, and the Sikhs were instigated to make it a *casus belli*. But the Reverend "Daood," David, an ordained (Sikh) clergyman, would never leave his post in the city from first to last, and always gave out that hereafter for tens there would be thousands of converts. A man, Noor Mahomed Khan, had absolutely ridden from Delhi, since the massacre, to inaugurate the "Crusade." He was lately Serishtadar of the Canals, and in his bundle were seen suits of fakeers' clothes and disguises for future emergencies! He was all but speechless on being arrested, and his physiognomy a picture of what imagination gives to the butchers of Delhi. All these well-wishers have died a hundred deaths since; for from that day until this they have been in solitary confinement, waiting, perhaps, to hear the joyful sound of a riot in the gaol, such as in Hindoostan greeted the ears of almost every prisoner.

PROCLAMATION OF THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF THE PUNJAB.

Dated 1st June, 1857.

SEPOYS,—You will have heard that many sepoys and sowars of the Bengal army have proved faithless to their salt at Meerut, at Delhi, and at Ferozepore. Many at the latter

place have been already punished. An army has assembled, and is now close to Delhi, prepared to punish the mutineers and insurgents who have collected there.

Sepoys, I warn and advise you to prove faithful to your salt, faithful to the Government who have given your forefathers and you service for the last hundred years. Faithful to that Government who, both in cantonments and in the field, has been careful of your welfare and interests; and who, in your old age, has given you the means of living comfortably in your homes. Those who have studied history know well that no army has ever been more kindly treated than that of India.

Those regiments which now remain faithfully will receive the rewards due to their constancy. Those soldiers who fall away now will lose their service for ever. It will be too late to lament hereafter, when the time has passed by;—now is the opportunity of proving your loyalty and good faith. The British Government will never want for native soldiers. In a month it might raise 50,000 soldiers in the Punjab alone. If the "Poorbea" sepoy neglects the present day, it will never return. There is ample force in the Punjab to crush all mutineers. The chiefs and people are loyal and obedient, and the latter only long to take your place in the army. All will unite to crush you. Moreover, the sepoy can have no conception of the power of England. *Already from every quarter English soldiers are pouring into India.*

You know well enough that the British Government have never interfered with your religion. Those who tell you the contrary say it for their own base purposes. The Hindoo temple and the Mahomedan mosque have both been respected by the English Government. It was but the other day that the Jumma Mosque at Lahore, which had cost lakhs of rupees, and which the Sikhs had converted into a magazine, was restored to the Mahomedans.

Sepoys,—My advice is that you obey your officers. Seize all those among yourselves who endeavour to mislead you. Let not a few bad men be the cause of your disgrace. If you have the will, you can easily do this; and Government will consider it a test of your fidelity. Prove by your conduct that the loyalty of the sepoy of Hindoostan has not degenerated from that of his ancestors.

General Van Cortlandt and the Punjab Irregulars.

General Van Cortlandt, of Mooltan and Bunnoo celebrity, had been wisely selected by the Chief Commissioner to raise

and organize irregulars. Under his influence the work proceeded apace, and he was soon in a position to enter upon his work, and to take formal command. The services rendered by this well-known and veteran officer, in conjunction with those of Captain Pearse, Messrs. Oliver and Macdonald, do not properly find scope in the present work, which professes only to notice the events of the Punjab. But a short summary of them may not be uninteresting:—

On the principle *ne quid detrimenti capiat* the Punjab Government undertook immediately the re-organization of the North-Western Provinces of Sirsa, Hansi and Hissar, although a month previous they had been as little under their control as Oude itself. A force was arranged and despatched, the only Europeans being the officers! The success was gradual, but complete; a sufficient proof of the impression existing on the general mind of the invincibility of the British Government, and the security and the stability of its institutions. The almost instantaneous occupation of these provinces in such dangerous proximity to the focus of rebellion, was fraught with value to our cause. The blow was struck before delay had sapped our prestige.

The troops of Brigadier-General Van Cortlandt were all irregulars. About 300 Dogras were at first the nucleus of his force, belonging to Rajah Jowahir Singh; whose troops, in the midst of the city of Lahore, were thus adroitly made use of. Since then the Dogras (a short built, sturdy race) have amounted to about one thousand men in rank and file. Two hundred disciplined "Kutar Mookhies" of Tronson's Mooltan Regiment were added, also about one hundred of the police sowars belonging to the same gallant officer. They accompanied Captain Pearse from Googaira. Add to this a couple of guns and a regiment of raw levies raised by himself, some few Peshawuree sowars, and a small detachment of Patiala horse and foot, and the reader has the sum of the whole force, which was the first to throw down the gauntlet in the cause of law and order. Some aid also arrived from the Bikaneer Rajah; but, as the composition of it seemed "of questionable material," the services of this contingent were courteously dispensed with.

Nerved by the stimulating hope of being the instruments of wreaking just vengeance on the authors of the massacres, the officers were prepared to view mournful relics of harrowing fates, and they felt at least a mournful solace to their bitter feelings in performing the last rites to such few remnants of human English remains as wild dogs and decomposition had permitted to remain above ground to bleach in the scorching

sun. The bodies of Captain Hilliard and Mr. Fell, which, after their base murder, had been flung into a well, were taken reverently out and interred with honour within the sacred precincts. Other dreadful evidences of massacre were discovered.

When force was necessary, or when conciliation and pacification were expedient, Van Cortlandt employed both, and invariably with effect. Almost immediately on his arrival he gained a decisive victory over the rebel Bhuttees, with the slightest possible loss, on the 19th of June, when he routed the enemy from a strong position. They numbered some two thousand, of whom two hundred fell on the field of action.

Sirsa, depopulated, half sacked and half burnt, the tombs of the Christians and the little cemetery half despoiled, owes its regeneration to the strong courage and fortitude of Mr. Oliver; who had never left his post, and never lost his self-possession, though within sight and earshot of death and the sounds of death. His perfect reliance in the immediate succour he so effectually received was rewarded, and he was soon engaged in restoring that confidence which overpowering numbers only for a time had been enabled to shake, and in establishing the power of the British Government on a surer and firmer basis than before.

The Simla Panic.

The most exaggerated and cruel reports had been spread abroad in connection with the so-called mutiny of the Goorkhas at Jutog, of their having sacked Simla and slaughtered the inhabitants. The facts of the case however, appear to be as follows:—The Goorkhas were ordered to the plains, but on all former occasions when called for service, a company was always left to protect the families, and to guard the lines and some public officers, at Simla. On this occasion every man was ordered down, and a party of chuprassies were sent to Jutog and to the other guards, who relieved the Goorkhas.

This proceeding very naturally irritated the men, who are peculiarly sensitive, and who are extremely jealous of their wives. Remonstrances were made, and the men refused to march on such terms; they declared that they had always served us well, that our enemies had been their enemies, and why should we no longer have confidence in them. Rumour at once informed the residents that the regiment was in open mutiny, no time was given to ask questions, but with most unjudged precipitation, an armed

meeting of residents was assembled at ten o'clock at night. In the meantime the police having charge of the magazine, a chest of arms was clandestinely removed from Jutog, and brought to Simla, powder also was carried off secretly, pickets were posted, and an advanced picket was placed at Boileaugunge with videttes extended up to Jutog; some foolish persons rode into Jutog armed to the teeth.

The regiment naturally wished to know what all this was about, and became highly incensed at the proceedings of the residents. A flag of truce was sent to them from Simla implying that war had been declared. The ladies of Simla frightened out of their lives, were commanded into the Bank, and the residents, including a number of drunken Europeans, kept a sort of watch; the premises of the bank having been barricaded, the two post guns placed in position, and everything done to tempt the Goorkhas to fight. The Goorkhas simply asked that their usual guards should be restored to them; that the spare muskets secretly removed from their magazine should be restored; that the two months' pay that was always kept in the Kote should be put back again; adding that to hurt the Sahibs never entered into their heads, but that the Sahibs had done everything to insult and irritate men, who had always served the Government well.

The residents agreed to the terms, and the regiment from that moment were as peaceable and as orderly as ever.

In the meantime, on the mere rumour that the regiment was in mutiny, a panic seized many persons, who without waiting to hear if the rumour was correct, betook themselves to instant flight; right down the khuds by broken bye-paths, these valiant heroes escaped, leaving women and children to their fate. Many who had signed their names calling for an armed assembly, were the first to make a clean bolt of it; helter skelter, away they went, and of course others who heard of this rapid exodus took to flight likewise; without bonnets ladies were to be seen escaping on foot, and many poor sickly ones who would have been horrified at the idea of walking a mile, actually walked fifteen to thirty, nay, in some cases forty miles; old men decrepit and shaky, trudged off valiantly, and the road from Simla to Dugshai beggars description. Under a burning sun, with no protection, families were to be seen pouring along half dead from terror and fatigue; they still pressed on, and weak and helpless women who would have scouted the idea of not sleeping on a comfortable bed, were to be seen bivouacking on the open ground, the bare earth for a pillow. For twenty-four hours and more women and children tasted no food. "On to Dugshai," was the cry, "the Goorkhas have slaughtered those who were

mad enough to remain at Simla, and they are fast in pursuit to massacre us." To Dugshai and to Kussowlie, this stream of fugitives poured in, objects of pity and compassion.

During the alarm the guard at Kussowlie looted the treasury of some 1,300 rupees, but the regiment were so indignant at this, that they resolved to turn them out of their regiment; the men fled, but were caught by the Goorkhas, and handed over to the Civil authorities, and the money re-paid. Such was the feeling of the regiment. Those few who remained at Simla continued to urge upon the fugitives to return, and the example having been set by some ladies, numbers soon began wending their way back. Some noble and disinterested acts were performed by some of those, whose fear did not overcome their gallantry. There were to be seen men who rode backwards and forwards from Simla to Dugshai for the sole purpose of affording assistance to the unprotected.

Panic in the Lawrence Asylum at Sunawur.

The following interesting statement was communicated to Mr. Cooper, C. S., by the excellent governor of the Lawrence Asylum, who was in a most responsible and anxious position in the hills:—

Early in May we were alarmed and horrified by the news of the atrocities perpetrated at Meerut and Delhi. The natives said, 'It is because of the annexation of Oude, and the Poorbeas will all rise, and then what will become of the Europeans?' They seemed shocked at the horrible atrocities committed, but not taken by surprise by the mutiny. Soon after, news reached us that the Nusseree Battalion at Simlah were in a state of mutiny. The natives said, 'they are good men, and do not wish to rebel; but if the Company's *raj* is over, what are they to do? If they fight for their salt, and it turns out that the mutineers are victorious, what will become of them? Every man must take care of himself.' There can now be no doubt that it was this feeling which caused the otherwise inexplicable conduct of the little Goorkhas at Simlah; besides which they had a number of Poorbeas among them, through whom they were continually incited to mutiny. Some of the hill Ranas were in the same state of uncertainty, and apparently waited to see which side the Rajah of Pattialah took. This chief took two days to consider before he decided to cast his lot in with the Government. There can be no doubt, but that if this chief

had proved recusant, all would have been lost in the hill stations.

On Saturday the news was brought in, that the Goorkha-guard over the Kussowlie treasury had looted the treasure and made off. One of our chuprassies, who was bringing up a box of clothing to the institution, met a body of twenty-eight Goorkhas at the village below the Asylum on the Simlah road about one mile distant. They had with them the treasure, and were collecting coolies to carry it on to Simlah. They abused and beat him, and threw down the box, asking for rupees; but on finding no sound was emitted by the concussion, and being assured that there was nothing in the box but clothing, he was allowed to pass. That night at the Asylum all the women and children were collected in the girls' house as being most capable of defence. The male inhabitants of Sunawur and the elder boys were mustered, and spent the night in alternate watches. It was an anxious night, for intelligence was received that 200 Goorkhas were *en route* to Kussowlie to assist the Treasury guard, who had sent off messengers for them. Early on Sunday morning, 17th May, I rode off to Dugshai to arrange for a retreat to that station in case matters became serious. Whilst there conferring with the commanding officer, an officer rode in from Subathoo with the intelligence (which proved groundless) that the massacre at Simlah had commenced, and that the cannon could be heard from Subathoo.

Orders came for the force at Dugshai and Subathoo, and the inmates of the Asylum, to concentrate in Kussowlie. The officer commanding at Dugshai determined to hold his own; but on the evening of Sunday, the 17th, we retreated to Kussowlie, where the party was accommodated in a couple of empty barracks. We remained there ten days; till the Goorkhas, who in the meantime had decided on the side of loyalty, marched down to Kalka, when we returned, with no other damage than some loss of health from having been cooped up in ill-ventilated rooms. The whole period was one of intense anxiety—anxiety which though somewhat relieved by the departure of the Goorkhas, has been kept up by the constantly arriving intelligence of one sad disaster and horrible catastrophe after another, until the recapture of Delhi has given us fresh assurance and comfort.

As far as our experience here goes, the native servants have behaved admirably. With one or two exceptions we have very few Mussulmans here, about eight or nine only, and these table servants and bhisties. In my own family I found our table servants more attentive and orderly than usual,

although, in common with ourselves, sufferers for the want of money consequent on the plunder of treasuries. The bunniahs, too, and native contractors, never lost their confidence in the power of Government, but always said—'Sahib, it is but for a little while, and all these rebels will bite the dust,' (literally eat dirt), 'for the Company is almighty."

Our position was also one of considerable difficulty on the score of supplies. All communication ceased, and the usual supplies of cash with it. The markets were closed to credit, and there was little ready money; and but for the prompt assistance of the local Government, which cashed in anticipation our drafts on the Supreme Government, we could not have existed much longer, as the contractors had at length parted with their jewels and ornaments to procure supplies. Our losses by the mutiny are severe indeed—10,000 rupees per annum by the lamented death of Sir H. M. Lawrence alone, and about 5,000 per annum more by the other mournful casualties.

The feeling of intense anxiety has now given way to gratitude for God's great mercy to us. With 380 helpless little ones about us, what could we have done if attacked at Sunawur? and to what place would rebels, bent on the destruction of the European population, have been so likely to direct their attention in the hope of cutting off at one fell swoop so many? The whole European population of these four stations must have been (at the time of the outbreak, and after the greater portion of the troops had marched from thence), less than 250. Only about 100 men were left at Kussowlie, about fifty or sixty at Dugshai, and less at Subathoo! What could such a force have effected, if the hill chiefs had concentrated their forces behind us?

The Asylum has been kept in a state of siege up to the present time. A little force of police has been organized, with a native superintendent at their head (a Poorbeah, but a faithful man;) and the Europeans capable of bearing arms formed a volunteer corps, and took alternate rounds four times nightly. This has now been discontinued. I must not omit to mention that we were all obliged to evacuate the station, and to leave our houses with our property behind us. The males and many other natives voluntarily formed a corps for the protection of the property, and so faithfully guarded it day and night that nothing was missing when we returned.

Some Poorbeah coolies wished to loot, but were told by the leader of this little band, that if they attempted any such thing they would have to kill them, the guard, first.

Before and during these troubles, faqueers were every

where seen about the neighbourhood; and I have since learnt that they were emissaries from Oude and Delhi, empowered to offer seven rupees per man to any willing to enter the service of the respective pretenders to sovereignty. About 100 coolies employed at the Asylum went off to Oude in consequence, and small drafts of Poorbeahs have been continually leaving the hills during the whole period for Oude and Delhi. The hill men around us have proved perfectly quiet; the inhabitants for the large village, from which Sunawur takes its name, offered to despatch to our assistance fifteen or twenty men when required, and this is a Brahmin village.

At the time of the Murree outbreak (a little before that event I think) there were some unpleasant reports respecting an intended outbreak of the Mahomedans, in which the household servants were implicated. Whatever might have been the truth of the report as to the intention, nothing came of it in action. They knew we were all prepared to fight to the last, and all on the *qui vive*, and perhaps thought that 'the better part of valour is discretion.

The Fort of Kangra secured.

The Fort of Kangra and Nûrpûr were garrisoned by the right and left wings of the 4th Regt. N. I., and Dhurmsala was protected by the 2nd Punjab police battalion. On the night of the 14th instant, orders were privately given to the 2nd Punjab police battalion, numbering some 250 men (the rest of the battalion being out on command) to march down to Kangra (ten miles from Dhurmsala) with all the speed possible and as quietly as possible. In the dead of the night this was done without any one here knowing anything about it, and much to the astonishment of us all, the next morning, when we awoke, the 2nd P. P. Battalion had privately got into the fort, and the citadel is now manned by them much to the astonishment of the left wing 4th N. I., who are now kept out of it. The 4th N. I. were not in a state of revolt, but it was thought that if this battalion were thrown in, it would act as a check for a time until other arrangements could be made, and I think it well; the move is a good one; but after all it is but a chance. The people about Kangra, and this place, as well as through the whole district, are perfectly kept in the dark, and cannot find out what has caused this move on our part. The 4th regiment are also at a loss to conjecture the cause of the move and the 2nd P. P. battalion men are just as much in the dark. Thank God all the guns and ammunition are in the hands of the officers, and the Fort well pro-

visioned. But the muskets are in the hands of the 4th N. I. The treasure is still at Dhurmsala.

P. S.—The treasure was sent into the Fort on the 20th instant.

Mutiny at Allygurh.

Allygurh commands the road from Agra to Meerut; and thus, in hostile hands, it would necessarily add to the difficulties attending the temporary loss of Delhi; seeing that the road both to Simla and to Lahore would thus be interrupted. The town is so surrounded by marshes and shallow pools, as to be almost unassailable in the rainy season. The fort consists of a regular polygon, with a broad and very deep ditch outside; it was of simple construction at the time of its capture by Lord Lake in 1803, but has since been much strengthened and improved. The military cantonment, the civil establishments, and the bazar, are situated towards Coel, a little southward of the fort. At the beginning of the troubles in May, Allygurh was under the care of Mr. Watson, as magistrate and collector. There were in the place at the time, the head-quarters and three or four companies of the 9th regiment B. N. I.: the remainder of the regiment being in detachments at Mynpooree, Etawah, and Bolundshuhur, towns further to the south-east. The troops at Allygurh behaved well and steadily during the first half of the month; but gradually a change supervened. A spy was one day caught endeavouring to excite the men. Lieutenant Cockburn, in a private letter, thus narrates the manner—quite melo-dramatic in its way—in which this villain was foiled: 'An influential Brahmin of this neighbourhood having been seen lurking about the lines for the past day or two, a native non-commissioned officer concealed a number of sepoys, and induced the Brahmin to accompany him to where the men lay hidden; under pretence of its being a secluded spot where they might safely concert matters. The Brahmin then made overtures to the soldier, and told him that if he would pursuade the men of the regiment to mutiny, he would furnish two thousand men to assist in murdering the Europeans and plundering the treasury. At a preconcerted signal, the sepoys jumped up and secured the ruffian.' This villian, caught in the very act, had been condemned to suffer death that morning. Accordingly he was brought out, the sepoys were drawn up, and his sentence was read to him in their presence. He had in fact been convicted by a court-martial composed of native officers. He was then led to the gallows, the rope was adjusted,

the drop taken away. In a few minutes he had ceased to breathe. All this time the sepoys were looking on in silent approbation. But just as they were about to be moved off the ground, a small detachment of their own corps, which had been absent on command, marched in. They too beheld the dangling corpse, and they too seemed to think that the miscreant had received his deserts. At this critical moment, one of their number more bigotted than the rest stepped forth from their ranks, and pointing to the gallows exclaimed, "Behold a martyr to our religion." By that simple exclamation he touched a chord which had till then lain dormant. Instantly these men, who had passed the sentence and assisted at the execution, overcome by a sudden frenzy, broke out into open mutiny. They did not, it is true, assault their officers, they simply dismissed them: but they plundered the treasury, opened the jail doors, and then went off bodily to Delhi. Cockburn at first intended to dash at them with his troopers; but the approaching darkness, and other considerations—possibly a doubt concerning the troopers themselves—led to a change of plan. 'One holy duty remained to be performed—to save the ladies and children. This we accomplished; and whilst they were being put into carriages, we shewed a front to the mutineers, and hindered their advance. An occasional bullet whistled by our heads, but it was too dark for taking aim. One man was shot through the wrist, and five are missing. We then heard that the inhabitants were rising, so we determined on retreating. The ladies were sent on direct to Agra, and we went on to Hattrass. We had not gone far, when the bright light behind us told too plainly that the cantonment was in flames.' The civilians and the officers of the 9th lost all except their horses and the clothes on their backs. Allygurh remained for a considerable time in the hands of the insurgents: almost cutting off communication between the south-east and the north-west.

While the refugees remained in safety at Hattrass, the troopers scoured the country to put down marauders and murderers—for it was a saturnalia of lawlessness. On the 21st, many of the ruffians were captured, and speedily hanged. On the 22nd, two headmen of neighbouring villages joined the marauders in an attack on some English refugees, but were frustrated. On the 23rd, Cockburn and his troop galloped off from Hattrass to Sarsnee, and rescued eighteen refugees from Allygurh. 'Poor people! They have sad tales to tell. One indigo planter, Mr. ——, has had one son murdered; another son, his wife, and himself, are wounded. His house and all he possessed have been destroyed. The very clothes

were torn from their backs; and even the poor women, naked and bleeding, insulted and abused, had to walk many miles. At length they received shelter from a kind-hearted native banker in the village where I found them; but even there the house in which they were sheltered was twice attacked.' The good Samaritan—for there were some good and kind amid all the villainies that surrounded them—gave two or three sheets to the poor sufferers, to cover their nakedness, and to enable them to proceed to Hattrass.

Lieutenant Cockburn.

Lieutenant Cockburn commands a detachment of irregular Gwalior cavalry. On the 13th May at an hour's notice, he with a body of 233 horsemen marched out of Gwalior en route for Agra. At Agra he received instructions to march to Allyghur, which he did, accomplishing the whole distance of 176 miles in seven marches. He arrived just in time and was enabled to escort all the Europeans at that station to Hattrass, effectively protecting them from the soldiers of the 9th N. I, who had mutinied. At Hattrass, 100 of his own men rebelled. The rebels formed and rode round the camp, they entreated those who remained faithful to join them, they represented that otherwise they would remain poor men for life, they adjured them by their religion, but still the men stood firm. Finding that promises were of no avail they had recourse to menaces and went off to stir up the villagers. With a party now reduced to 123 men, and in a hostile country, Lieutenant Cockburn and his troopers still managed to do good service. For, hearing that a party of 500 men had collected near Hattrass and were plundering all that was valuable, and murdering every one upon whom they could lay their hands, he determined to attack them. Accordingly he procured a curtained bullock cart, such as coloured women travel in up the country, and having let down the curtains, he persuaded four of his troopers with loaded carbines to enter and personate the ladies. The cart he sent on in front, and he himself with about forty troopers followed at a distance, screening his party under the shade of some trees. No sooner did the plunderers see the cart, than they rushed forward to plunder the fair damsels they imagined to be concealed inside. But they were wofully mistaken, for the foremost of them so soon as he had neared the cart was shot dead, and Lieutenant Cockburn's party in the rear hearing the signal were upon the

marauders in an instant. They broke and fled in all directions, forty-eight were killed, three wounded and ten were taken prisoners, whilst others, in the extremity of their fear threw themselves down wells.

From the Volunteer's Camp, Allyghur.

May 30.—Yesterday morning we made our triumphant entry into Allyghur and took possession without the slightest opposition. Our arrangements against a surprise were the most perfect and complete. The Dâk chowkies and police thannahs we found all in ruins, and deserted of course. Broken trains, waggons and vans, with their contents, mischievously destroyed, and strewed about the road and fields—burnt and toppling houses—and crumbling ruins at almost every step, shewing the lengths to which the rebellious and turbulent insurgents went in their recent lawless course.

We were, shortly after our arrival, reinforced by a party of some twenty men well armed (some Christians, other Mahomedans, and one European, Sergeant Major Johnson, (an old pensioner,) belonging lately to the band of the 9th N. I.

To-day the Magistrate starts by the first dâk for Agra, but it will be sometime before regular communication can be established, as the chowkies require re-construction.

Our presence has wonderfully re-assured the natives. Yesterday not a traveller was to be seen. This morning people were again on the move quite as usual. The different detachments of cavalry, which were sent here to do duty, had before our arrival marched on to Secundra Rao, about twenty miles out of the station. Six of our party went back for them, but they absolutely refused to budge from ther position. It was then ascertained, that intelligence had been received, that the 10th N. I. at Futtehghur had mutinied, and were advancing hitherward (Secundra Rao,) on their way to Delhi. These rascals, therefore, preferred joining this body of insurgents to adhering to their allegiance. Yesterday we had active work of it as far as bullying and frightening the life out of the craven inhabitants of an adjacent village, called Bamboola. We recovered from this single village, plundered property to a large and valuable amount. Any one finding Government treasure will receive ten per cent. on it—a good prospect of enriching ourselves if the sepoys have been green enough to leave all their spoils behind. Everything is tranquil here just now.

Mutiny at Mynpoorie.

The Magistrate of Mynpoorie to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of the North-Western-Provinces.

May 25, 1857.

In the absence of the Commissioner of the Division, I have the honor to report, for the information of his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, the details of the mutiny of the three companies of the 9th regiment native infantry, at this station, referred to in my demi-official letters to the Lieutenant-Governor of the 23rd instant.

Late on the night of the 22nd, Munsoor Ali, Tehseeldar of Bhowgaon, came in to me and informed me that he had heard positively of the mutiny at the head-quarters, of the 9th native infantry, at Allyghur, and warned me to beware of the conduct of the companies at this station.

I immediately proceeded to Mr. Cocks' house to consult with him, and we first decided on removing the ladies of the station in a shigram which the Tehseeldar of Bhowgaon had brought with him.

Arrangements being made for their departure, I may here mention, that fourteen females, consisting of ladies, sergeants' and writers' wives with their children (an unlimited number) left the station under the charge of Mr J. N. Power, the Assistant-Magistrate, who accompanied them a stage towards Agra, from whence they were escorted by Sheikh Ameenooddeen, a trusty sowar of my own, as far as Shekobad, from which place I have been glad to hear they have arrived safe in Agra.

Mr. Cocks and I then proceeded to the house of Lieutenant Crawford, commanding the station, and this officer agreed directly to take the detachment out of the station and march them to Bhowgaon.

After leaving a small guard at the treasury and quarter-guard, which I visited with him, Lieutenant Crawford then left the station, and I then returned to my house, where I found Dr. Watson, the Rev. Mr. Kellner, and Mr. Cocks assembled.

This was about 4 or 5 in the morning, and I had not retired to rest more than ten minutes before Lieutenant Crawford galloped back to my house and informed me that his men had broken out into open mutiny, and after refusing to obey him had fired at him with their muskets.

Lieutenant Crawford stated he had then found it useless to attempt commanding his men, and that he had thought it best to hurry back to Mynpoory to warn the station, and that he believed Lieutenant De Kantzow was killed.

Mr. Cocks and the Rev. Mr. Kellner immediately decided on leaving, and the former tried to induce me to leave also; as I informed him that I did not desire to leave my post, he honored me by terming my conduct "romantic," and immediately departed in company with the Rev. Mr. Kellner.

I then left my house, which I had no means of defending, and which I was informed the sepoys meant to attack, and proceeded to the large bridge over the Eesun, on the grand trunk road.

My brother determined on accompanying me, and to share my fate, and I shall not be accused of favouritism, I hope, when I state that his coolness and determination were of the greatest aid and comfort to me throughout this trying occasion.

On proceeding to the bridge, I was joined by Dr. Watson, and shortly afterwards by Rao Bohanee Sing, the first cousin of the Rajah of Mynpoory, with a small force of horse and foot; Serjeants Mitchell, Scott and Montgomery, of the Road and Canal Departments; and Mr. McGlone, clerk in the Mynpoory magistrate's office, also joined me at the bridge.

I was, at this time, most doubtful of the fate of Mr. De Kantzow, for I had not coincided in Lieutenant Crawford's opinion, that he had been killed, Lieutenant Crawford not having seen him fall, and on this account I was unwilling to leave the position I had taken, though strongly urged to do so.

The sepoys returned at this time to the station, having utterly thrown off all control, dragging (as I afterwards learnt) Lieutenant De Kantzow with them.

They passed the dâk bungalow, and fired a volley into the house of Serjeant Montgomery (which was close by), the inmates of which had fortunately left, and they then searched the whole house over, with the view of finding money: they also fired at Dr. Watson's house, who had, as I have mentioned, joined me, and they then proceeded to the rear-guard, the magazine of which they broke open, plundering it completely of its contents.

Lieutenant De Kantzow informed me that the rebels took the whole of the ammunition away, and being unable to carry it themselves, they procured two Government camels for that purpose from the lines; each man must have supplied himself with some 300 rounds or more, and an immense quantity of other Government stores was taken by them besides.

Lieutenant De Kantzow informs me that his life stood in the greatest danger at the rear-guard at this time. The men fired at random, and muskets were levelled at him, but dashed aside by some better-disposed of the infuriated

brutes, who remembered, perhaps, even in that moment of madness, the kind and generous disposition of their brave young officer.

Lieutenant De Kantzow stood up before his men; he showed the utmost coolness and presence of mind; he urged them to reflect on the lawlessness of their acts, and evinced the utmost indifference of his own life in his zeal to make the sepoys return to their duty.

The men turned from the rear-guard to the cutchery, dragging Lieutenant De Kantzow with them. They were met at the Treasury by my jail-guard, who were prepared to oppose them and fire on them, but Mr. De Kantzow prevented them from firing, and his order has certainly prevented an immense loss of life.

A fearful scene here occurred; the sepoys tried to force open the iron gates of the treasury, and were opposed by the jail-guard and some of the jail officials; the latter rallied round Mr. De Kantzow, and did their best to assist him; but they, though behaving excellently, were only a handful of twenty or thirty (if so many), and poorly armed, against the infuriated sepoys, who were well and completely armed and in full force.

It is impossible to describe, accurately, the continuation of the scene of the disturbance at the treasury; left by his superior officer, unaided by the presence of any European, jostled with cruel and insulting violence, buffeted by the hands of men who had received innumerable kindnesses from him, and who had obeyed him but a few hours before with crawling servility; Lieutenant De Kantzow stood for three dreary hours against the rebels at the imminent peril of life.

It was not till long after Lieutenant De Kantzow had thus been situated at the treasury that I learnt of his being there. I was anxious with all my heart to help him, but was deterred from going by the urgent advice of Rao Bhowanee Sing, who informed me that it was impossible to face the sepoys with the small force at my disposal, and I received at this time a brief note from Lieutenant De Kantzow himself by a trusty emissary I sent to him, desiring me not to come to the treasury, as the sepoys were getting quieted, and that my presence would only make matters worse, as the beasts were yelling for my life.

At this time, the most signal service was done by Rao Bhowanee Sing, who went alone to the rebels, volunteering to use his own influence and persuasion to make them retire.

It is unnecessary to lengthen the account; Rao Bhowanee Sing succeeded ably in his efforts, drew off, and

then accompanied the rebels to the lines, where, after a space of time, they broke open and looted the bells of arms, the quarter-guard, carrying off, it is supposed, 6,000 rupees in money, and all the arms, &c., they found of use to them.

I had retired, with the Europeans with me, to the Rajah of Mynpoory's fort on the departure of Rao Bhowanee Sing, according to his advice, and shortly after the sepoys left the treasury, Lieutenant De Kantzow joined me, and I again took possession of the cutchery.

I found, on my return, the whole of the Malkhana looted, the sepoys having helped themselves to swords, iron-bound sticks, &c., which had accumulated during ages past. The staples of the stout iron-doors of the treasury had alone given way, but the doors themselves stood firm.

My motives in taking up a position at the bridge were, first, that I might keep the high road open; second to keep the sepoys from proceeding to the city, and the budmashes of the city from joining the sepoys.

The effect of the victory (if I may use such a term) over the sepoys, trifling though it may appear, has been of incalculable benefit. It has restored confidence in the city, and district, aud among the panic-stricken inhabitants, and I hope the safety of the treasure, amounting to three lacs, will prove an advantage in these troubled times to Government.

It is wholly impossible for me duly to praise Lieutenant De Kantzow's meritorious conduct; but I express my earnest hope that it will meet with the approval and award of his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor.*

Rao Bhowanee Sing's conduct has been deserving in the extreme; I believe he has saved the station and our lives by his coolness and tact, and has supported the ancient character of his race for loyalty to the British Government.

During the insurrection of the sepoys, I was joined by Dumber Sing, Resseldar, of the 2nd irregulars, a fine old Rajpoot, who did me right good service; and by Pylad Sing, Duffadar, of the 8th irregulars. These men guarded the jail which the sepoys threatened to break into. Their conduct I beg to bring to the special notice of his Honor the Lieute-

* Viscount Canning, in a letter written on the 7th of June, to Lieutenant De Kantzow, said: 'I have read the account of your conduct with an admiration and respect I cannot adequately describe. Young in years, and at the outset of your career, you have given to your brother-soldiers a noble example of courage, patience, good judgment, and temper, from which many may profit. I beg you to believe that it will never be forgotten by me. I write this at once, that there may be no delay in making known to you that your conduct has not been overlooked. You will, of course, receive a more formal acknowledgment, through the military department of the government, of your admirable service.'

nant-Governor. These officers have since raised for me a most excellent body of horse, composed chiefly of irregulars, which I have placed under the care of the Resseldar.

I append a list of the jail officials, and others who have behaved well to Lieutenant De Kantzow, and to whom I have distributed rewards.

The mutinous conduct of the 9th native infantry, I consider more infamous than that of any other corps. Their misconduct has been deliberate, and wholly unprovoked, and they have been broken up into four separate bodies, and had the example of no other corps to lead them astray; a few of the men behaved well to Lieutenant De Kantzow, whose letter regarding them I herewith append.

Previous to the mutiny, they committed several acts of insubordination, which have only now become known. Rajenath Sing, a sepoy of the 20th, and evidently one of the mutineers at Meerut, returned to his village at Jewntee. I sent some police and a naick to seize him; and ten men of the 9th native infantry were ordered out to assist in his apprehension. The sepoys deliberately assisted in the escape of Rajenath Sing, reporting that he had left Jewntee before their arrival. Ramdeen Sing of the 9th, fired off his musket, loaded with ball, while on guard at the cutchery. He was sent to Allyghur under a guard, the guard released him on the way, and filed off his irons. After the departure of Captain Tonnochy, by orders of the Lieutenant-Governor, a guard of the 9th was placed over his house, and my brother consented to sleep there for the protection of the ladies. On Mr. Cocks and myself preparing the ladies for their departure, and desiring my brother to accompany them, one of the sepoys proposed to shoot my brother, but another advised his comrade against doing so, remarking with some consideration that my brother was merely the Chotta Sahib, and it would be better to slaughter the Burra Sahib, meaning myself.

The presence of Dr. Watson with us is a great advantage and comfort, and he is ready to assist us in any way; and I cannot speak too highly of the indefatigable exertions of Sergeants Montgomery, Mitchell, Scott, and Mr. McGlone. They have helped by their skill to fortify the office, and we can easily stand a seige in it.

Narrative by Baboo Hulass Roy, Head-teacher in the School of the American Mission, Mynpoorie.

Scarcely a week had passed since the receipt of the alarming news of the Meerut mutiny, when, on the 21st May

1857, about midnight, the tehsildar of Bhoeegaon came in to Mr. Power, then magistrate of the district, and informed him of his having heard positively of the mutiny of the head-quarters of the 9th regiment N. I., at Allyghur, and warned him to beware of the conduct of the three companies of the regiment which guarded the station at the time, and which he had a firm conviction would follow the example of their Allyghur comrades, and join their standard in a day or two. On this, the district authorities and officers commanding the detachment, having met together, came to the conclusion, that the ladies and children should at once be despatched to Agra, and that the detachment should be removed from the station under the pretence of its presence being urgently required at Bhoeegaon, to punish some dacoits there.

The women and children were sent away instantly to Agra as proposed, under the escort of Mr. W. Power and some Nizamut sowars (horsemen), and after this the whole of the soldiers were ordered out. They marched off eastward from the station, under the command of Captain Crawford and Lieutenant De Kantzow. A party of nujeebs (jail police) was then placed over the treasury, and all the gentlemen in the station assembled together at Mr. Power's bungalow.

Shortly after their departure, Captain Crawford galloped back, and stated that his men had broken out into open mutiny on the way, and killed their lieutenant. In the meantime, Mr. Cocks and the Rev. Mr. Kellner (the chaplain) left the station for Agra. Shortly after this, the sepoys fell back on the station, having Mr. De Kantzow with them. On this, Mr. Power quitted his house, and, together with all the other gentlemen, took up a position on the bridge across the river Eesun, on the Agra road. The sepoys burnt down the dawk bungalow, broke open the ammunition store-house, and emptied it of all its contents, and attacked the treasury and jail. The presence of the present Rajah and late Rao Bhawany Singh, the courage and eloquence of Lieutenant De Kantzow, and the persuasions of the jail guard, caused them to depart from the station, and to leave the lieutenant perfectly uninjured.

While on his way to Agra, the Rev. Mr. Kellner stopped at the mission premises, woke me up from sleep, and communicated to me the dreadful news of what had happened. I immediately called up the Rev. Mr. Ullmann, who recommended me to leave the compound and to take my family to some village and conceal them there, and then rode off with Mr. Kellner, taking his own family with him. I learned shortly after, that they all reached Agra safely.

Myself and two other native Christians, Dummer Singh

and Zabardast, removed our wives and children to an adjoining village, named Deopoorah. We also removed there such of our valuables as in that moment of confusion and perplexity we could collect. Here we remained during the whole of the disturbed period; and Mahundar Singh, a Thakoor by caste, was at all times very kind and cordial to us, and was generally speaking our guardian.

At the dawn of day, I went to the fort of the ex-rajah, and begged Koor Goorga Singh, his naib, with whom I was acquainted, to shelter me in his gurhee (fort), and to procure for me a conveyance to fetch my family thither. The request was readily granted, and I immediately brought my own family, and also the families of the other two Christians, together with some property belonging to me and to Mr. Ullmann, into the fort.

Hitherto I was not aware of the further movements of the mutineers, beyond the intelligence received from Mr. Kellner in the night. The native reports were confused, so that I could not form an exact idea of what was going on in the cantonments two miles off, eastward from the fort.

Shortly after entering the fort, Mr. Power and several gentlemen of the station arrived, and in less than an hour we were delighted to learn that the insurgents had left, and were gone towards Delhi. The Europeans instantly left the fort, occupied the kutcherry, and made every effort to restore peace to the station. They apprehended and punished the budmashes (villains), who had taken advantage of the anarchy to commit depredations, and enlisted men, both mounted and on foot, for the defence of the station. The treasure was deposited in the fort under the guard of the nujeebs. In short, everything soon began to look somewhat quiet again. My companions and myself ventured to remove to our old dwelling in the mission compound, where we continued to live until the 29th June, although in constant alarm; for matters were getting worse and worse in the district every day.

Before this period, several circumstances of a serious nature had occurred in our neighbourhood. The return of the late rajah from the hills created terrible excitement among the Chouhans, and was the signal for an attempt to break open the jail in which some of their relations and fellow caste-men were incarcerated; but the arrival of a detachment of irregular cavalry from Gwalior, under Major Raikes, and the efficient management of the local authorities, prevented the attempt from succeeding. The news of the disasters in Rohilcund, the Oude territory, Cawnpore, and other places; the idea which many of the natives conceived of the paucity of Euro-

pean soldiers in India; and the fact of regiments of sepoys passing through Bhoeegaon, only eight miles off, excited multitudes of the ignorant and unthinking people to madness, so that, throwing off all restraint, they rose in arms against each other, and slaughtered and plundered in various directions. Once a skirmish took place at Bhoeegaon, between a body of troopers and Lieutenant De Kantzow's party. On another occasion, a detachment of light cavalry passing through the district broke out into mutiny, killing two of their officers. A third officer escaped and joined the garrison at Mynpoorie. This happened at Kerowlee, twelve miles from the station.

A few days previous to the 29th June, the mutinous regiment of Seetapore, in Oude, attacked Furruckabad. The five companies of sepoys then occupying the station, and which had not, up to this time, exhibited any outward sign of disaffection, embraced the opportunity to rebel, seized the treasure, and bolted. The fall of Furruckabad (Futtehghur) proved fatal to the future welfare of the Mynpoorie district. Communication with other stations was now cut off in every direction, except Agra. Four or five days only had elapsed since the fall of Furruckabad, when the alarming news arrived, that the Jhansi brigade of mutineers, with three guns, having sacked the neighbouring station of Etawah, was pursuing its way to Mynpoorie. The effect of the evil tidings was soon manifest. The new levies managed to run away, and the Gwalior Irregulars expressed their unwillingness to oppose the mutineers, under the plea of the smallness of their numbers.

The district authorities, about twenty or twenty-five persons, then decided on leaving the station, and, accordingly, early on the morning of the 29th June, the treasure having been first made over to the ex-rajah and the present rajah, all the gentlemen set out for Agra, escorted by Major Raikes' detachment, and, as I learned afterwards, arrived there safe and sound.

Not knowing what to do nor where to go, and being unable to proceed to Agra, as the way was beset with budmashes, who would have killed us had they caught us, my Christian companions and I were in much distress. At last we took refuge in the house of Mahundur Singh, zemindar of the village adjoining the mission premises, and here, in the greatest perplexity and fear, we passed that day and night.

On the following day, at ten o'clock in the morning the mutineers entered the town, and on their way towards the cantonments, passed the mission school, which fell into their hands. They broke open the doors, removed all its contents, consisting of chairs, tables, benches, and valuable books, and

then set it on fire. They next destroyed the mission house, first emptying it of its contents, and then setting fire to it. All the household stuff of the Rev. Mr. Ullmann, and the whole of the mission property, including an extensive library. were reduced to ashes.

While engaged in this work of destruction, some person informed the sepoys of the presence of Christians in the village. Immediately several troopers galloped in our direction, to make inquiries about us. On this the two other Christians and myself disguised ourselves, and nearly naked, fled away into the fields. The mutineers then plundered the village, and left for the encamping ground. We returned secretly to the village, and removed our families into the jungle, where we lay concealed for a day and two nights without food.

The rebels plundered the Government servants, burnt all the public and private bungalows, and killed three East Indians, who refused to leave the station with the authorities on the preceding day. On the 2nd July, the sepoys marched out of Mynpoorie towards Dehli. I then returned with my family, who were in a starving condition, into the town, and put up in the ruins of a dwelling-house. Here we passed a fortnight in great hardship and distress. I received some assistance from several of my old scholars, which was all that I had to depend on for our subsistence. I had been robbed of all my property, and had nothing left from which to obtain food and other necessaries. In addition to these troubles, reports were circulated among the natives of mutineers coming up from all quarters, and of the total annihilation of the British Government in India. The former rajah also shewed symptoms of rebellion, and began to govern the district for himself. My anxiety of mind, therefore, can scarcely be imagined. Every moment appeared to be the last for me to live.

Four or five days after my return to the town, the two Christians, to whom I have alluded above, who had gone I knew not whither, came to me and stated that they had tried to proceed to Agra, but on reaching Ghirour, twenty miles on the road, they were obliged to return on account of the dangers of the way. They expressed their intention of crossing the Ganges, and living with a thakoor, the father of Dummer Singh. I supplied them with part of a small sum which I had fortunately succeeded in obtaining from one of my kind friends, and with this they set out for their proposed destination.

Afterwards the zemindar, of whom I have already spoken, having ascertained where I was, took me back to his village, where I lived, though in a state of much uneasiness, until the

recapture of the place in the beginning of November. During the interregnum, the present ex-rajah managed the affairs of the district. He established thanahs and tahsilees (for the police and revenue), and enlisted both cavalry and infantry from among his own clan, and from the sepoy mutineers. On one occasion he fitted out an expedition against the Nawab of Futtehghur, to recover possession of the Thanah Bewur; which ended in a ridiculous manner. A second was undertaken against the Aheers of Bharoul, in the Mynpoorie district, because they would not acknowledge his superiority, and pay him due honor. This ended in a little blood being shed; but it did not humble the Aheers as had been expected.

I should state that from the commencement of the mutiny I had been in constant communication by a kossid, with the Rev. Mr. Ullmann in Agra. In August this gentleman kindly sent me by his syce a gold mohur in a small box of yellow-coloured salve. This, together with small sums furnished me by the zeminder, Mahundur Singh, formed the means of my livelihood during the disturbances. I would also add that almost all the boys of the school, and the teachers likewise, remained faithful both to us and to the British Government throughout these trying times.

In the month of November the moveable column of Colonel Greathed entered the station. The rajah fled, and his fort was given up to the troops to be plundered. It was afterwards partially blown up. On this occasion the whole of my property and money, which had been deposited in the fort on the day of the mutiny, and which I had not been able to remove for fear of the rebels, was carried off by the soldiers. I visited Mr. Cocks, the civil officer accompanying the force, and informed him of the circumstance, and also represented to him the sufferings I had endured. After halting for two days, the whole of the column left the station for Cawnpore, and Mr. Cocks returned to Agra, leaving Rao Bhawany Singh, who was subsequently made the Rajah of Mynpoorie, as nazim, to undertake the administration of the district.

As the road to Agra was now safe, I went there with a part of Mr. Ullmann's tent, which had been preserved by the zemindars, leaving my wife and daughter in the village under the care of the zeminders. On arriving I sent them some money and cooking utensils. Before I could come back to Mynpoorie, the ex-rajah returned with a band of mutineers; and the nazim, finding himself too weak to oppose him, retired to Agra, after having been in possession of the district for a fortnight. The ex-rajah occupied the fort. Leaving Sukrowlee Ranee, and some professional dacoits from Etawah—his companions during

his few days' exile—at the station, he went to Furruckabad on a visit to the nawab. He presently returned with a *khillat* (a dress of honor), a gun, some recruits, and the title of Mynpoorie Sooba.

I was now quite ignorant of the fate of my family, and consequently was in much anxiety and distress. I remained in Agra until the end of December, when the British retook the station, after the exchange of a few shots with the ex-rajah. The town and suburbs were given up for plunder to the troops.

A few days after this I accompanied a commissariat convoy despatched from Agra to Mynpoorie. On arriving I found my family alive, but they had been robbed by the Sikhs of everything I had sent to them from Agra. Since that time the station has remained quiet, and has gradually been resuming its former aspect. I have succeeded in re-opening the school, and have re-admitted a number of the former scholars, but the scarcity of books and other materials will for some time prevent it from reaching its former state of prosperity.

Etawah.

To the Commissioner.

Sir,—I had the honor yesterday to report demi-officially the precautions that I had (though quietly) adopted at this station, with a view to preventing any depredations that it was possible (though of course improbable,) might be attempted here by any of the straggling mutineers from Meerut or Delhi.

These precautions have proved not altogether useless. Last night about mid-night, I received an express from Agra, acquainting me with the entire success of the measures hitherto adopted for the repression of this sudden, and even to the parties actually concerned in it, unexpected outbreak: and assuring me of the Government's perfect confidence in the fidelity of the 9th N. I.,—fidelity of which we were soon to have practical demonstration.

About one hour later my new kotwal, Mahomed Alee Jan, received information whilst patrolling the Agra road with three sowars of the 8th irregular cavalry, of the approach of men, armed with pistols and swords. On coming up with and challenging them! their replies were unsatisfactory! and he told them they must be brought before the magistrate; on this they cocked their pistols, and threatened to shoot him if he came near them; he however talked quietly to them, and induced them to come to me, and I, as their story seemed improbable, sent them away to Captain Corfield, the officer

commanding the station, directing the kotwal to strengthen his patrol 'en rout,' in order to guard against any attempt at escape.

Scarcely twenty minutes had elapsed before I was roused by a smart firing, as I thought at the treasury; all arrangements for a surprise had been made before hand, and within three minutes I was at the treasury armed and dressed. There I found the soldiers all on the 'qui vive,' muskets loaded cheery! and manifestly ready to fight any one or every one. They thought the firing was at the lines; I ran home and drove my wife in my carriage already harnessed over to Captain Ross' which is 'en route,' to the lines, and where there is a guard of regular troops; took up Captain Ross and dashed off to the lines; on our way we were joined by Messrs. Volk and Daniel on horseback, armed: I suppose ten minutes from the firing of the first shot had not elapsed before we were all at the quarter guard where the medical officer almost immediately joined us.

There I learnt that as directed the kotwal had gone from my house to Captain Ross where he was joined by three other sowars; Captain Ross who happened to be awake, got up and questioned the men. They repeated as before that they belonged to the 2nd cavalry, had gone with remounts from Cawnpore, and were then returning from Agra, they had however no uniform, were armed to the teeth, had no single paper of any kind with them, and no money. Captain Corfield then came up, and on questioning them, considered their story so very suspicious that he directed them to accompany him to the lines; this they did, though somewhat unwillingly; when near to the quarter guard, he Lieutenant Allan, the kotwal and Meer Hossein Alli, the duffadar of the irregulars, dismounted and ordered them to give up their arms; this one did, but on Captain Corfield's handing their weapons to the duffadar, their owner snatched them away violently, one man then shot Captain Corfield, who fell instantly, (pistol wound in the right shoulder, believed not severe, ball not extracted) another man dashed at Lieut. Allan, who had a double barrelled gun in his hand, the lock of which arrested the pistol bullet, a third fired point blank at that officer's chest, knocked him down, and kneeling on his chest would have murdered him in a minute; when the kotwal, Mahomed Alee Jan, at whom three of the others fired simultaneously, killed him, dividing his back bone, with a home tulwar-blow; by this time the sepoys in the lines, (only fourteen or fifteen) rushed up, (they had not before been able to fire as the parties were all mixed up together,)

and poured in a volley, two were shot, one killed as above by the kotwal, and two more cut down by the sowars, and two escaped at the time, but of these one was subsequently captured by the police.

Of the men cut down by the sowars, one man is still alive, and has confessed: he states that his name is Sher Andaz Khan, that he is a Pathan of Garra Kote, of Zillah Futtehpore, that he is a lance naik of the first troop, third cavalry, and was engaged in the late disturbance at Meerut; that his six companions are also all Pathans of the same place and fellow mutineers, their names being as follows, viz:—

Yaseen Khan, 2nd troop, killed.
Bakhand Khan, 5th troop, killed.
Nubbeedad Khan, 1st troop, killed.
Kareem Khan, 2nd troop, killed.
Dooman Khan, 2nd troop, escaped.
Anwur Khan, 4th troop, in Jail.

At first he stated, that his party came here, hoping to induce the 9th to mutiny, but he afterwards declared, that in reality they were only trying to sneak home unobserved, and this I believe to be the true state of affairs. Search is being made, for the escaped trooper, which it is hoped may prove successful.

"It is not for me to praise the coolness and gallantry displayed on this (really at the moment) trying occasion, by Lieuts. Corfield and Allen, but it is absolutely necessary that I should bring to the notice of Government the excellent behaviour of the troops under their command, reduced by escort duties, sickness and leave, to about ninety-six men, divided over four or five guards, as well as of the small detachment of the eighth irregular cavalry attached to the thuggee department here, and kindly placed at my disposal by Capt. Ross. I solicit permission to express to them all publicly on the parade the approbation of the Government of their steadiness, in this particular instance, and of the great readiness evinced by each separate detached guard to stick to its post, and do its duty, come what might.

The kotwal, Mahomed Alee Jan, whose good conduct in arresting Diboa and other proclaimed offienders, has been previously reported, behaved with conspicuous bravery and great tact. I would under the circumstances recommend that an extra honorary personal allowance of rupees twenty a month be granted to him: this will raise his salary to rupees one hundred a month, and will of course only be continued until he is promoted, which as he is in every respect an able, and I believe honest man, would probably be before long.

Information was given by the burkundazes of a road guard post, and a Bolahir of the village at which it is situated: one of the burkundazes ran past the men taking a detour without their seeing him: and made for the kotwalee: the other two followed the party slowly at a distance, and never lost sight of them until the kotwal came up. I have given rewards of 20, 15 and 10 rupees each to these three men, and request sanction to the same.

As these mutineers passed the whole of yesterday at the Mutheepoor Serai, near Jeswuntnugger, and then marched thus armed in a body through Jeswuntuugger in the evening, without attracting any notice from the thanadar of that place, notwithstanding that a most stringent and urgent order for watchfulness, in regard to this very class of people, had been issued only three days before, I have dismissed him summarily: these are times when no paltering can be allowed. I have only to add, that the confessing prisoner says that he and his party never went to Delhi, but striking off passed through Boolundshuhur, and thence viâ Agra, through the skirts of which city they passed to Shekoabad and this place: the station of Mynpoorie has been apprized of this affair.

A. O. Hume.

The Mutiny at Nusseerabad.

The Right Hon. the Governor in Council has the highest satisfaction in publishing, for the information of the army, the annexed report of the conduct of the first regiment of light cavalry (Lancers), made by Captain Hardy on the occasion of a mutiny of the Bengal troops at the station of Nusseerbad on the 28th of May last.

This report has only recently been laid before Government by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, the original despatch having miscarried on the road.

By a later report the Governor in Council has learnt with regret that eleven men of the Lancers basely deserted their comrades and their standards, and joined the mutineers; but the Governor in Council will not suffer the disgrace of these unworthy members of the corps to sully the display of loyalty, discipline, and gallantry which the conduct of this fine regiment has eminently exhibited.

To mark the approbation with which he has received this report, the Right Hon. the Governor in Council will direct the immediate promotion to higher grades of such of the native

officers and men as his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief may be pleased to name as having most distinguished themselves on this occasion, and thereby earned this special reward; and the Governor will take care that liberal compensation is awarded for the loss of property abandoned in the cantonment, and subsequently destroyed; when the Lancers, in obedience to orders, marched out to protect the families of the European officers, leaving their own unguarded in cantonment.

To the Officiating Major of Brigade, Rajpootana Field Force.

Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the Brigadier commanding the Rajpootana field force, the part taken by the 1st Lancers in the late sad proceedings at Nusseerabad. At about half-past 3 P. M. on the 28th instant, the alarm was given that the 15th regiment of Bengal native infantry was in open mutiny, and had seized the guns. In common with the other officers I was almost immediately down in my troop lines. In a few minutes the whole regiment was under arms, mounted, and formed up in open column of troops. The column was put into a gallop, and proceeded to the lines of the artillery, when the guns were immediately opened upon us. The order was given at once to charge and take the guns, troops charging in succession. Being 'left' in 'front,' the 6th troop, under Captain Spottiswoode, led; that officer fell at the head of his troop, after getting into the battery. A succession of charges followed the officers of course leading the way. Not succeeding, as hoped for, in retaking the guns, Colonel Penny ordered the attacks to cease, and the regiment was marched back and formed in rear of our men's lines to protect them, and be ready to act on the mutineers if they came out of their lines into the plain. While there, about 5 o'clock, the whole of the 15th officers joined us, having been fired at by their men. The 30th regiment would not obey their officers, and it was decided to move out of camp with the ladies and children while light remained. Colonel Penny being taken ill it devolved upon me to execute the order for immediate retreat on Ajmeer. Subsequently the direction was changed for this place (Beawur), where we arrived yesterday morning. Half way the regiment halted till daylight for rest, and to let stragglers come up; and here Colonel Penny was brought a corps, having died on the road. A volunteer party of three men and a havildar was sent back to reconnoitre and bring an account of the further proceedings of the mutineers in cantonments;

and a party under a native officer was left on the halting-ground with orders how to act in case of emergency, and to stay till rejoined by the party reconnoitering.

This near detachment reached the regiment at 8 o'clock yesterday evening. The result of the reconnoissance, which duty was performed in the most creditable manner, has already been laid before the Brigadier in person. In addition to Colonel Penny, deceased, apparently from over exertion, and Captain Spottiswoode, shot, as before stated, under the guns, Cornet Newberry, a promising young officer was also shot in the act of charging, and Lieutenant and Adjutant F. Lock and myself are wounded, but doing well. At present I only know for certain of one of our men badly wounded, and three horses shot. Cornet Jenkins had his charger shot under him, and Lieutenant Stephens's charger is badly wounded. The loss of the mutineers I have been unable to ascertain at present. I make out to be missing sixty-six men, exclusive of the guards and sick left behind, but I hope the greater number of these will be speedily accounted for. In concluding this report I would beg the Brigadier's kind offices in recommending the regiment under my command to the generous consideration of Government. Cantoned with two mutinous regiments, the regiment has, as the Brigadier knows, been nightly on duty for a fortnight past, and entirely responsible for the safety of the cantonment. They have been constantly tempted and assailed with abuse, with no other result than telling their officers. They turned out in the promptest way to attack the mutineers, and they marched out of camp when ordered, as they stood, leaving their families and everything they had in the world behind them. They are now without tents, in a hot plain, and without any possibility of being comfortable; but up to this time all has been most cheerfully borne and all duty correctly performed. I am fearful as to the propriety of mentioning the losses of the European officers, but I cannot refrain from bringing to the notice of my superiors the grateful sense I have of the efficient and kind aid that the officers have afforded me at this trying time. Their active services during the mutiny have already been recognized by the Brigadier's approbation.

E. A. HARDY,

Commanding first Lancers.

Camp, near Beawur, May 30.

The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to direct that the G. O. No. 627, of the first of July, with the letter from Captain Hardy thereto subjoined, shall be carefully translated into Hindustani and Mahratta by interpreters of regiments, and read and explained to the whole of the native troops of the Bombay army, at a special parade to be ordered for that purpose.

General Anson.

Meanwhile tidings of the Meerut mutiny and the seizure of Delhi were telegraphed to the hills, and General Anson at once came down to Umballah, which he reached on the 15th, and within three or four days there were under his orders there, besides the 9th lancers, and two troops of horse artillery, the three infantry regiments from the hills. It should, however, be explained that, owing to the original deficiency in numbers, the large depots left in the hill stations, and the necessity of leaving a party at Umballah, these infantry regiments were little better than strong wings. Then it was found necessary to wait for a siege-train. In Delhi there were two first class siege-trains in a complete state of preparation, but these were in the hands of the enemy. The next large magazine was at the small station of Phillour, where there was an old fort, with a native infantry regiment to guard it. This was saved by the timely arrival of a few Europeans, and the backwardness of the sepoys there, the 3rd B. N. I., in joining the mutiny. To Phillour then instant requisition was made for the train. Whilst waiting at Umballah for its arrvial some plan of operations had to be decided on. Advisers were "plenty as blackberries." The following sketch of the difficulties of the position at this juncture is almost amusing as the sequel shows with what energy and determination they were met. "The question arose, what is to be done?" The great majority said, "speedly advance to Delhi," and nip the insurrection in the bud, and some warned that the step was rash. The troops at Umballah were harassed, two regiments of native infantry, whose fidelity was more than doubted, and who were the subject of continual alarm caused embarrassment. The greater part of the advisers thought a siege-train necessary. A light siege-train was ordered from Phillour: the Goorkhas from Simlah were to bring it. But news came that the Goorkhas had mutinied. Then came reports that all Simlah was being massacred by the Goorkhas. The wives of the staff were at Simlah; the staff were in consternation, and the siege-train was forgotten for a time. Sir J. Lawrence,

chief commissioner of the Punjaub, was away at Rawaul Pindee, near the Indus. He remained there, but through the electric telegraph he was ever present, and he was throughout, by his messages and letters, the soul of the energetic party. Communication with all other governors being cut off, he was principally looked to by the military anthorities. He did not cease strongly to urge a rapid advance. The local commissioner and others urged this course. The commissariat officer said he would sacrifice himself, but would not sacrifice the army. What is to be done says one; 'the commissariat officer says he can't and won't move.' The ready answer was—'in all emergencies the commissariat officers invariably knock up. You must trust to the civil authorities; an abundant harvest has just been reaped; you shall not want for food.' 'Well, then, the medical officer protested against going without 1,500 doolies, and they were not to be had; and here we were going against a fortified town. Suppose they shut the gates and we can't get in, what are we to do? And suppose in this frightful heat the army falls sick (and cholera was already in the camp) where are any reserves?' General Anson's answer to all was 'it is all true, the rules of war are against us. We may have no reserve, an insufficient force, few doolies, and an inadequate commissariat; but Delhi must be taken.' So it was settled to advance, but not without the siege-train, and the siege-train was hurried on. The native infantry regiments were harangued and loudly professed their fidelity. Half of one gradually deserted, while some were sent out on detachment duty, and the other regiment re-swore themselves on their colours, and accommpanied the force towards Delhi, where they presently deserted."

The advanced guard of the force collected for the reduction of Delhi under the Commander-in-chief, reached Kurnaul on the 21st, the main body still remaining for some days at Umballah. When the guns were within a short distance of the camp General Anson advanced, and had reached Kurnaul, when he was attacked by cholera and died there on the 27th. The death of General Anson was thus made known by the Governor General:—

"GENERAL ORDER BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

Fort William, 5th June, 1857.

"With deep sorrow the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council discharges the painful duty of announcing to the army of India the death of his Excellency General the Hon'ble George

Anson, Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's and the Honorable Company's Forces in India.

"This sad event took place on the 27th ultimo, at Umballah, after a short illness.

"In General Anson the army of India has lost a Commander than whom none was ever more earnest and indefatigable in labouring to improve the condition, extend the comforts, and increase the efficiency of every branch of the service committed to his charge.

"To the Crown and the Hon'ble East India Company whom he has served so zealously, as well as to the troops who have been his unceasing care, General Anson's untimely end in the midst of arduous duties will, the Governor General in Council feels assured, be a source of the sincerest grief.

"The Governor General in Council directs that, as a mark of respect to the late Commander-in-chief, the flag of the fort shall to-morrow be hoisted half mast high, and that seventeen minute guns, according with the rank which he held, shall be fired from the Fort.

"The same honors are to be paid to the memory of General Anson at each of the principal military stations in India, on receipt of this order.

"The Governor General in Council further directs, that the officers of her Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's army shall wear mourning for fourteen days from the day on which this order is received at their respective stations."

BOOLUNDSHUHUR.

The first news received at Boolundshuhur of the mutiny at Meerut was conveyed by a traveller, a young officer, who was on his way to Meerut. He was attacked and robbed while travelling in a gharee between Haupper and Meerut, and retraced his steps to Boolundshuhur, having heard, that owing to the outbreak at Meerut, it was not safe to proceed. In a few days several travellers, proceeding upwards, arrived at Boolundshuhur, where they were obliged to remain. The party was composed of about twenty Europeans. The outbreak at Meerut, and the retreat of the mutineers from that station with impunity, were the signal for the rise of the disaffected in the Boolundshuhur district. The only force at the disposal of Mr. Sapte, the magistrate and collector, consisted of one company of the 9th regiment N. I., a few irregulars on leave, and such men as he was able to raise on the emergency. These were barely sufficient to protect the station, while the district was necessarily left to the mercy of the Goojurs. One or two small dours were made against them, however, and a few men captured and lodged in jail. Matters went on thus until the 21st May, when the news of the mutiny of the 9th N. I. at

Allyghur reached Boolundshuhur. The ladies were at once sent off to Meerut under the escort of the gentlemen who had been detained, and a few sowars. The authorities remained at their posts, together with Mr. Turnbull, who had been relieved only a few days previously by Mr. Sapte.

It being reported that the attack on the station was to be made at 5 P. M., shortly before that hour, they began to pack the treasure, in the hope of getting the guard of the 9th N. I., to escort it into Meerut; but while in the act of packing it, the station was inundated with Goojurs, who were immediately attacked, and several of their number killed. They succeeded, however, in releasing the prisoners. The guards of the 9th N. I. meanwhile remained over the treasure. After the Goojurs were driven away, the authorities tried to induce the guard to march with it, which they did, but taking the Delhi instead of the Meerut route. At the same time they advised the Europeans to go to Meerut, which they were compelled to do. Having obtained a small body of cavalry under Captain Tyrrwhit, they in a day or two returned to Boolundshuhur, where they found the Goorkhas had arrived the day previous, as also about 200 of the Rampore horse who mutinied two or three days afterwards, and were turned out; every house had been burnt and all property, public and private, plundered. The Goorkhas left on the 30th May to join the camp of the Commander-in-chief; and the next day the Goojurs attacked and sacked Secunderabad, a large town, nine miles off, containing several thousand inhabitants. They knew there was no force to send against them, so plundered in perfect security. On the 10th June, intelligence was received at Boolundshuhur of the arrival of a number of cavalry mutineers at Khoorja, which so excited the men that a number of them went off at once, thus reducing the number with the authorities to about thirty, and even they could not all have been relied on in case of an attack, so that it was determined to fall back on Galoutee, about twelve miles north of Boolundshuhur. The next day they returned to the station, but found it, and the city occupied by the men of Wully Dad Khan, a relation of the King of Delhie.

On proceeding to the city, they were found drawn up in position with three guns. The European party, consisting of Captain Tyrrwhit and Messrs. Sapte, Lyall, Clifford, and Anderson, with about fourteen sowars, charged the enemy, on which they opened fire with grape musketry, knocking over three men and horses, fortunately missing the Europeans, who were obliged to retire to Meerut, leaving the place in the possession of Wully Dad Khan.

Mutiny at Hissar.

On the 12th of May last, the usual dâk from Delhi was not received here, which caused excitement in the station, but the cause was not known. On the 13th, the news of the fall of Delhi into the hands of the mutineers, and the great massacre of European lives, reached Hissar. Mr. Wedderburn, Collector, transferred the treasury from its old place near the Collector's kutchery, and deposited it in the fort, and he himself left his house, which was formerly occupied by Mr. Dumergue, and used to live with his family in the fort with Mr. Taylor. The treasury was guarded by 100 sepoys of the Hurrianah light infantry. Lieutenant and Mrs. Barwell, Adjutant of H. L. I., stopped with Mr. Wedderburn, and eighty more sepoys came from Hansi to join the Hissar sepoys; one hundred sowars of the Nuwab of Dadree, under Shah Noor Khan Ressaldar, being picketed in the fort garden; the newly employed twenty sowars of the irregular regiment were picketed outside near the western gate of the fort. There was a guard at the tehseel as also at the kutchery. These arrangements were going on for the safety of the town, and the quietness of the district, till the 28th of May.

For fifteen days previous to the outbreak neither sepoys nor chuprasees showed any signs of disaffection. These men were inside the fort avowedly for its protection. Meanwhile a rumour gained ground that the assistant patrol at Ladwa, a Shahzada, had incited the men of the customs to revolt. Still no change or incivility was observed. For further security Mr. Wedderburn obtained from the Dadree Nuwab the services of fifty sowars, who afterwards showed themselves traitors. He also tried to raise a corps of irregular horse; about ninety men and horses were entertained, but these were of no use, as they were kept outside the fort, while the sepoys were inside with the gate locked night and day. And besides were placed on the opposite side of the fort to that from which an attack was supposed could be made.

On the morning of the 29th, the gates of the city and fort were closed, as bodies of Khanjurs had been seen concealed in the Bheer. Mr. Wedderburn went to office at 10 A. M. At about 1 P. M., Mr. Taylor and myself, who had been playing at chess, were roused by a servant rushing in, to say that some Delhi sowars were outside the city gate, and that Lieut. Barwell had gone down to see what was wrong. I immediately took up my pistol and went outside the verandah, calling Mrs. Hallet, as I passed her room. When Mr. T. and myself got into the verandah, we saw two

sowars ride up to the sentry, and after giving him some instructions turn round and dash off. Mr. T. and myself then went down to the gate, and I passed through the wicket, I then saw that Mr. Taylor had no arms, and told him to get his gun. He was then inside the wicket, and on turning, a volley was fired at us, one ball striking Mr. T. in the hand, another knocking my hat off. The wicket was immediately slammed to by the sentry. On seeing the wicket closed, I entered the garden outside the fort, and endeavoured to get into the house by the garden postern, but found it locked. The two sowars (Dadree) on sentry at this gate, drew on me and their comrades, who were picketed in the garden rushing to the spot, I gave up all hope of being able to effect my entrance into the house, where I might have rescued my wife. I accordingly made for the city wall and had to shoot one sowar, which checked the others for a few minutes, during which I managed to scramble over the wall and dropped in the canal, over which I waded into a tank overgrown with rushes in which I lay concealed till 8 P. M., when I struck through the bheer for Jheend, which I reached the day after. I will give Mr. Taylor's escape in his own words:—'I ran from the gate through a volley of bullets, and thought I heard you fall close behind me, as we both turned on hearing the first shot from the guard-room. The last I saw of your poor wife was standing at the railing, she screamed as she saw a fellow jump out of the rabbit house at me with a sword. I had just time to get into the house and seize either your's or Barwell's sword and cut the fellow down, and going to the back of the house to get time to tie up the wounds on my left hand, from which there was a stream of blood, the brutes fired at me again from the top of the office steps, but a pillar of the verandah saved me. I was hid for three days in the Bheer near Tulwundee, came to Thaneysur in disguise, reaching the border of Puttiala, the first night came on to Umballah and joined the company of volunteers.'

Lieut. Barwell entered the garden two minutes after me, and tried to get in by the garden gate, he was cut down by the Dadree sowars. The force in Hissar, at the time of the outbreak, was two companies, Hurrianah's, inside the fort, ninety-six sowars of the irregular regiment we were raising, picketed outside the fort, and about eighty Dadree and Jhujjur sowars, fifty of them being picketed in the fort garden. There was a guard at the Tehseel as also at the kutcherry. The treasure (1,70,000) was in the magazine in the fort. I heard most of the particulars of the loot and massacre from the brutes

who came down to bathe about twenty yards from where I was concealed. They stated that sowars were out hunting for those who had escaped, who were to be brought in to be burnt in the houses.

It appears that Serjeant Shields received notice of the outbreak at half past eleven, he tried to get into the fort to give us the intelligence, but could not, as the gates were closed. He then went round to Dr. Waghorn's, and they tried to get a letter in, but it never reached us. They waited till the firing had commenced and then got off with the camels.

On the 24th of May four sowars from Hansi arrived at Hissar, and gave intelligence of the mutiny at the former place. There were then in Hissar two companies of the Hurrianah Battalion inside the fort, ninety-six sowars of the irregular regiment which was then being raised, about eighty Dadree and Jhujjur sowars, and the usual guards at the tehseel and kutcherry. The first visit of the sowars was to the kutcherry which was just being closed. The office assistants had already got into their buggies and were driving home when they were fired upon. They returned and gave the alarm to Mr. Wedderburn, who was awaiting the arrival of his buggy. So soon as the alarm had been raised, Mr. Wedderburn retreated by the Havalat enclosure, and called upon the kutcherry guard to protect him, but they in reply shot him through the head. The sowars then made for the Kotwallee where they killed the Tehseeldar, Mr. D. Thompson, who had locked himself in the buildings, which his murderers were obliged to unroof before they could get at him. The man who shot him is known, and it is probable that he will be apprehended. By about 1 P. M. the rebel sowars arrived at the fort, and intelligence of their arrival was conveyed to Lieut. Barwell in command, who at once closely followed by Mr. Taylor and Mr. Hallett, went down to the gate. As soon as they had passed out of the wicket, it was slammed to by the sentry. Mr. Hallett at once made for his house, and endeavoured to get in by the garden postern, but it was locked. Two sowars on the sentry at the gate drew on him, and as their comrades came running together, Mr. Hallett made for the city wall over which he escaped, and laying concealed in a tank overgrown with rushes until dark, succeeded in effecting his escape to Jheend. Mrs. Hallett was thus unavoidably left to her fate, and was murdered. Mr. Taylor effected his escape to Umballah, and Lieut. Barwell was cut down by the Dadree sowars. During all this time the massacre was going on in other parts of the city. Mrs. Smith, the wife of the second

clerk in the Collector's office, with five children, hid herself about 150 yards from her residence. When the sowars arrived and enquired for them, the molly said that they had taken refuge in the fort, so that the rebels were obliged to content themselves with burning and plundering the house. A short time previously Mrs. Smith had relieved a chowkeedar and saved him from starvation. This man's name was Bolee Bux. After the departure of the sowars he came to the molly and enquired after his mistress and her children. As the fellow seemed grateful for the kindness he had received at her hands, the molly told him where she was lying concealed, and the chowkeedar went off apparently to offer his services. But his object was far otherwise. For, no sooner did he find them, than he slew every one, not even sparing the children. The wretch has not yet been caught, but he is known, and will probably suffer punishment for his ingratitude. The spot where Mrs. Smith was murdered is still stained with blood, and shreds of her gown and of the clothes of her children hang upon the bushes. Their bones as well as the head of Mr. Wedderburn and a part of his jaw, which were the portions of his body, alone found, have been buried by some of General Van Cortlandt's force. Mrs. Jeffries, the wife of the head clerk in the Collector's office was shot by one of the sowars, and then hacked to pieces by the Ramghurs. Mrs. Wedderburn and child with Mrs. Barwell and the sister of Mr. Thompson hid themselves for some time upon the top of a large Kotee, built on the rampart Terreplein. But unfortunately one of the ladies incautiously showed herself. They were at once brought down, murdered, and their bodies thrown outside the rampart; the floor and walls of the room in which they were murdered are still stained with blood. Some of their bones have been found, and interred with those of Mr. Wedderburn. Dr. Waghorn and Sergeant Shields, of the stud department, managed to effect their escape on camels. They had previously attempted to give notice of the insurrection to Lieutenant Barwell in the fort, but had been unable to effect their object. The cool blood-thristy way in which the massacre at Hissar was perpetrated would if it were not for other examples, be almost beyond belief. Those were slaughtered, who could have given no provocation, and who were in many instances the benefactors of their murderers.

In the magazine there was at the time of the outbreak upwards of one lakh and seventy thousand rupees in cash, and there was much valuable Government property belonging to the cattle farm in the station. Some of the property has been recovered by General Van Cortlandt or his officers, but of course the bulk is irretrievably gone.

Mutiny at Neemuch.

The Superintendent at Neemuch to the Agent to the Governor-General at Rajpootana.

Neemuch, June 16, 1857.

I have the honor to submit a report upon the events preceding and subsequent to the late mutiny of the troops stationed at Neemuch,* which has already been demi-officially notified to you.

My daily demi-official communications will have acquainted you with the state of feeling which pervaded the troops after the occurrences at Meerut and Delhi became known; but, until the outbreak of the troops stationed at Nusseerabad, the best hopes were entertained that those here would be restrained from following in the tide of rebellion. Every effort was made to preserve the confidence of the men, and to make that of the officers in them apparent, Colonel Abbott slept every night in a tent in the lines of his regiment, without a guard or sentry; and latterly all officers did the same, even with their families. One wing of the 7th regiment, Gwalior contingent, held the fortified square and treasury, and the other wing was encamped close to, but outside, the walls. Captain Macdonald, commanding the corps, resided entirely in the fort, for the purpose of better observing and controlling his regiment. Although it is not for me to comment on the actions of commanding officers, I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration of the firm and conciliating conduct of all officers in command of corps and detachments throughout this trying period, and especially of the tact and calm judgment exercised by Colonel P. Abbott, 72nd regiment, native infantry, commanding the station, by whose management the outbreak was, without doubt, delayed by many days.

On the morning of the 2nd instant, Colonel Abbott informed me, in his own regimental lines, that from the occurrences of the previous night, and from information he had received, he was of opinion that the outbreak could not be delayed more than a few hours. I left him to secure a few of my most valuable records, and endeavour to ensure a line of retreat for fugitives by the Oodeypore road, by means of a detachment of police sowars. Meanwhile, Colonel Abbott undertook to assemble all the native officers of the force, and endeavour to bring them to a sense of their duty, and to remove the distrust in each other which, there was reason to believe, was one cause of the prevailing excitement. After some discussion, all took oaths on the Koran and Ganges

* 4th Troop, 1st Brigade; Horse Artillery; two troops 1st Light Cavalry; 72nd Regiment Native Infantry; 7th Regiment Gwalior Contingent.

water, that they now trusted each other, and would remain true to their salt. The commanding officer was requested to swear to his confidence in their faithful intentions, and did so, when the meeting broke up, all apparently being satisfied and loyally inclined. All continued quiet up to the evening of the 3rd, when some excitement was again apparently arising, as it was said, from a rumour of the approach of troops to the station.

It is necessary to mention here, that for many preceding days the utmost panic had prevailed in the Sudder Bazar, and great number of persons had removed with their property. The wildest reports were constantly set afloat by designing persons to increase the distrust, and the commonest occurrences were distorted into phantoms of evil intended against the troops.

The move of the Kotah force under Major Burton, for the protection of Jawud, had been determined upon in consultation with Colonel Abbott, commanding the station. The troops of Neemuch had been told of the intended move some days before, and assured that no part of the force was intended to approach Neemuch. Kotah troops were ordered to Jawud, in view to preserving the peace in the district, and protecting the town from marauders. I believe there is no reason whatever to suppose that this movement precipitated the crisis, while subsequent events have proved it to have been a most fortunate and happy one for the interests of Government.

On the night of the 3rd, symptoms of violence were shown by the artillery, and Lieutenant Walker could only restrain them for about two hours, when some of them rushed to the guns, and, loading them, fired two off, evidently as a preconcerted signal. Upon this the cavalry rushed to join them, and, shortly afterwards, the 72nd broke from their lines also. The wing of the 7th regiment, Gwalior contingent, encamped outside the fort, had been marched inside by Captain Macdonald on the report of the signal guns, and every preparation for defence made. To provide for this emergency, I had furnished Captain Macdonald with a written promise on the part of Government of rewards to the following amount in case of a successful defence of the fort and treasury, but to be used only in case of an outbreak:—

To each sepoy	Rs.	100
To each naick	,,	300
To each havildar.	,,	500

Native commissioned officers to be rewarded in proportion, at the discretion of Government, and a special reward of 5,000 rupees to be given to the senior native officer, or to the one

who most distinguished himself in the defence and preserving the loyalty of the regiment. The promise was duly promulgated on the outbreak occurring, but, after holding firm for some time, the gates were ordered, by a subadar named Heera Sing, to be opened, and the officers were told to save themselves, and eventually escorted to a place of comparative safety. Captain Macdonald and his officers remained in the fort to the very last, and only left it on the gates being forcibly opened, and their lives in the greatest danger, with no hope of being of the least use.

I was roused on the report of the two signal guns, and was quickly on horseback. I proceeded to rouse my assistant, Lieutenant Ritchie, and Assistant-Surgeon Cotes, who resided in the next bungalow. While there, Lieutenant Barnes, artillery, galloped up, begging us to aid in bringing away Mrs. Walker and child, whose carriage had been fired at four or five times by mounted troopers. We immediately hastened to assist, and succeeded in getting out of the station upon the Oodeypore road, and by this time fires were appearing in all directions. Having seen the party safe to the village of Daroo, Lieutenant Ritchie and I returned towards cantonments, in the hope of assisting fugitives. We met the officers of the 1st cavalry, but no others; and, after hovering about the burning station till daylight, we set out for Daroo.

Deposition of Kodra Bheel Sepoy, 7th Company, Meerar Bheel Corps, taken at Khirwarrah, 10th June,—states, I was on duty at Col. Lawrence's house in the guard of Rajeea Havildar, and eight sepoys. One day there had been an alarm that the Europeans were coming, when the regiment turned out, and the walls of the fortified square were lined. It was found to be false, and subsequently oaths were exchanged between the sahib log, and the native officers. On the night of the 3rd at about 11 o'clock, two guns were fired by the artillery. The cavalry immediately, as I heard from enquiry the next day, surrounded the station by pickets, and then the infantry turned out. I heard shots at the Brigade Major's house which was presently in flames. The mutineers went in parties and set fire to all the bungalows. At 4 o'clock in the morning, a naick and four sepoys dressed, but without their pantaloons, came to Colonel Lawrence's house. Our guard got ready and loaded and prepared to fire, and told them we would do so if they came nearer. On which the naick of the guard called out 'tum ek deen ya do deen.' We replied 'ek deen.' We had been told by the jemadar of chaprassis, Bhowany Bux, that we should be addressed in this style, and if we replied 'do deen,' we should be killed at once. On our saying 'ek deen'

the naick and four went away. At 7 o'clock four troopers came, and stood opposite to us with drawn swords. We threatened to fire at them, as we had done at the sepoys on which they asked us as before 'tum ek deen ya do deen'? We replied 'ek deen.' They told us that it was no use resisting, we must lay down our arms, take off our clothes and go with them. We refused to lay down our arms, and then two troopers went on one side of us and two on the other. The troops were then passing by in front of the fort. The infantry drew up with the artillery in front. We were taken to the 'Generallee Sobadar Bahadoor' a short, very stout man, with white moustache and dressed in infantry uniform. They had opened the treasury, and were distributing two months' pay to each man. The 'Generalee Sobadar' offered us on the morrow, two months' pay to each if we consented to march with them, otherwise our arms should be taken from us, and we should be killed on the spot. We, of course, helpless, consented to go, and were made to fall in with the rifle company of the 72nd. From the fort we were taken to the lines, where they had been collecting all the plunder from the officers' houses and laden it on buggies and garees. At about two o'clock they all started for Neembaeurrah, having told off advance and rear guards and cavalry flankers, but without any other great order. Infantry in front followed by guns and the cavalry in the rear. They could only get as far as Nowagong that night. Our guard had made arrangements for escape. Just before reaching Nowagong, we went into a Bowlee as if to drink. The cavalry flankers told us to come on, we said, we are coming, but are a little tired. We smoked there and sat quickly till it was dark, and then bolted into the jungle, and came viâ Daroo and Bheendir in six days here. Did you hear if any officers were killed? The sepoys said that several had been killed. I heard a great many shots in different bungalows that were burning. They told me the Brigade Major was killed. Where is Bhowany Bux Chuprassee and the others left by Colonel Lawrence? They, all the servants, and every soul, left with the mutineers. Did you save your things? No: we lost every thing excepting our lotas, which we saved by putting into our haversacks. We saved our arms and ammunition. Did the sepoys tell you where they were going? Yes, they wanted us to come to Delhi with them, where they said the Padshah would give us fourteen rupees a month. They said they were going viâ Chittore in fifteen days to Delhi. Do you know any thing of the ladies and children? I heard that one or two ladies were killed, and that in a house where there were children they were seized by the legs and thrown into the burning flames.

Account by Ensign Davenport (12th Bombay Native Infantry) of the Mutiny at Neemuch.

About a week before the mutiny I volunteered to do duty with the Gwalior Contingent (7th infantry). I was ordered to take up my quarters in the fort, where Macdonald and I remained day and night with the right wing (three companies). The left wing (five companies) was quartered in a vacant hospital some quarter of a mile distant from the fort. On the night of the 3rd Macdonald and I lay down in our clothes, but not to sleep, as we had reason to suspect that all was not right. At half past 11 P. M. we were aroused by the report of a gun, which in a few minutes was followed by another. This was the signal for the row to commence, and many moments had not passed when we saw our houses blazing all round. Lieutenant Gurdon, who was at the hospital with the left wing, under the command of Lieutenant Rose, also at the hospital, was aroused by a subadar telling him that guns had been fired, and the disturbance commenced. Lieutenant Rose and he got the men out of the hospital and marched them to join us in the fort. A shot was fired on the way to the fort, it was said by a sepoy, at Lieutenant Rose. When they had joined us we placed the men along the ramparts, served out ammunition to them, and ordered them to load. They obeyed all our orders with apparent cheerfulness, and one and all swore to defend the place with their lives. I was placed to defend the gate, with a subadar of nearly fifty years' service, two European sergeants, and twenty picked men. We remained in a most anxious state of suspense for nearly four hours, during which time we saw cavalry men riding about, and thrusting lighted torches, placed at the end of long poles, into the thatch of the bungalows, when we heard the 72d Bengal native infantry, the Bengal cavalry and artillery, approaching. Just as they passed the political agent's house, about 200 or 300 yards from the fort, two more guns were fired. This was the signal for the Gwalior men to be up and doing. Immediately on these guns being fired my old hero of fifty years' standing ordered his picked and brave men to lower the gate, which I did my best to prevent, and for my pains received a gentle intimation that if I did not hold my tongue and be quiet, I should be treated to a little cold steel in the shape of a dozen or so of bayonets. I then asked them to let me go and report progress to the major; this they granted. I made my report, after which Macdonald, Rose, Gurdon, and myself went among the men, who were assembled in the court-yard fixing bayonets. Macdonald addressed the men to no purpose. We tried to take away the colours, but this they would not permit. They then

took us outside the gate and told us to go, and on our hesitating said if the Bengal infantry, cavalry, and artillery saw us we should be murdered, and that they could not and would not try to save us. We then went away. Macdonald and myself, having lost our horses, had to walk to Baree beyond Duno, about thirteen miles from Neemuch, where we met several others in the same plight as ourselves. We had not been there long before the villagers in affright, it having been reported that the cavalry was after us, told us to take ourselves elsewhere. We started from Baree about 1 p. m. on June 4; and after three hours' march under a broiling sun reached Chota Sadree. Here we got a little to eat and drink, and were joined by a large number of women and children. After about two hours' stay at this place we were sent away; our party now consisting of about fifteen men, six women, and ten children. We travelled all night, getting to Burra Sadree at 6 a. m. of the 5th of June. We got nothing to eat till 2 o'clock, and after partaking of some kind of stew, got on our legs again, the villagers having served us with notice to quit. We made a place called Doogla before nightfall, and established ourselves in a mud fort only forty yards square, within which we had a menagerie of men, women, children, bullocks, horses and camels, and vermin of every description. On the fourth day of my residence there, I was attacked by cholera. My recovery was almost a miracle. On the 9th, Showers, having procured an escort for us from the Rana of Oudepore, joined us. Our party now broke up, Showers going in pursuit of the mutineers with the greater number of officers. I was too unwell to go with them, so I accompanied the party to Oudepore, which consisted of all the women and children and the following officers:—Walker, Bengal artillery; Lieutenant Rose and Ensign Davenport, Bombay infantry; Lieutenant Gurdon, Bengal infantry; and Drs. Clarke, Cotes, and Gane. On our arrival at Oudepore, on the 12th of June, the Rana gave up one of his water palaces to us, and we lived there till the 22d, receiving every kindness and attention from his Majesty. On the 22nd the women and children, Lieutenant Walker, Drs. Clarke and Cotes started for Mount Aboo; Lieutenant Gurdon, Ensign Davenport, and Dr. Gane went the same day with Dr. Annesly with an escort furnished by the Rana, and arrived at Kairwarrah in safety on the 24th of June.

Dr. Murray's Narrative.

The night of the 3rd was one of the loveliest I have ever seen. About eleven o'clock I had my bed brought outside as usual, where the sentry was pacing up and down, and lay down in my

clothes. I had not been half an hour on my bed when two guns were fired, at intervals of a few seconds, by Walker's battery : this was evidently a preconcerted signal, for immediately after several shots were fired in the direction of the cavalry lines, and bungalow after bungalow was set on fire. I assembled my night-guard at once, and wanted them to accompany me to Captain Laurie's house, where I expected to find some ladies, whom I intended to escort towards the fort or fortified square. The 'naick' (or corporal) said there was no use in going, that we should be killed by the cavalry, and strongly advised me to retire. I was going over myself when I saw the 'naick' of Captain M'Donald's guard running towards me ; he was in a great state of excitement, and taking hold of me by the arm, begged me not to go that way ; the 'mem log' (ladies), he said, had all fled, and the place was now filled by the mutineers. I saw some natives running about wildly, and presently several shots were fired not far from where I was standing. 'Chullo, sahib, golee chulte ('come along, sir, the balls are flying about), said the naick, who now entreated me to leave the place, or I should be killed. I desired my 'syce' (or groom) to saddle my horse and bring him over to the fort. The naick said, for God's sake, saheb, don't go to the fort—fly at once into the country.' I asked him what he meant, he answered, 'All the fighting will take place in the fort.' 'All right,' I said, 'I am going to fight too.' Upon this he insisted on going with me, and called out to two sepoys of the guard to follow.

I arrived at the fort just as the left wing, under Lieutenant Rose, was entering ; the right wing, under Captain M'Donald, had already lined the ramparts and bastions. The whole regiment being now inside, the gate was ordered to be shut, the drawbridge taken up, and a strong party, under Lieutenant Gurdon and Davenport, was planted to guard the entrance. I went on the ramparts, where I found Captain M'Donald encouraging the men, and telling them that the artillery could do them no harm, as they had no shells. Lieutenant Rose was also on the ramparts, doing his best to encourage the men. I was sorry to learn from him that he had been fired at by a sepoy of the regiment. I looked upon this as a bad sign, for the fact of their not attempting to seize the mutineer who fired at Lieutenant Rose shook my faith in them very much.

Shortly after we were all in the fort, and while the work of destruction was being carried on outside by the mutineers of the troop of horse artillery, wing of 1st light cavalry, and 72nd regiment of native infantry—Captain M'Donald got out the colours of the 7th, carried them himself along the rampart, and unfurling them on the right front bastion, called on the men to protect them. This they declared they would do.

From time to time I walked along the ramparts, talking to the sepoys and encouraging them to hold out. Several of the men assured me they would die rather than surrender ; others said, they would hold out against infantry and cavalry, but if artillery attacked them

they should be obliged to give in. It was a magnificent but lamentable sight that presented itself to our view as we stood for nearly three hours on the ramparts, expecting an attack every moment. Upward of forty bungalows and innumerable haystacks were blazing away before us, the flames shooting high up in the air, brightening the whole cantonment and fort, and throwing a lurid glare round the country for miles.

About a quarter to three A. M. four men of the grenadier company came up to me and said, 'doctor saheb, it is no use holding out any longer; we are not now under the orders of the major; we are commanded by Pirthee Singh, subadar of the grenadier company. If you don't believe us,' they continued, 'come and see for yourself.' I went with them to the left rear bastion, where I found a large body of the regiment (at least 150), and Pirthee Singh at their head. One of the sepoys said to him, 'The doctor saheb has come.' He had just then been addressing some of the men, and turning round to me, said 'You had better all leave the fort before it be too late.' Another sepoy, standing close by, said aloud, 'We are now under Pirthee Singh's orders.' I went back to report the circumstance to Captain M'Donald, but meeting Lieutenant Rose (second in command), I reported it to him. He said, he would go at once and tell M'Donald. A few minutes after, the artillery commenced firing again, and hearing a row at the gate, I hastened down, and found that the party under Lieutenants Gurdon and Davenport had mutinied, and were forcing their way through the gate. Captain M'Donald, Lieutenants Rose, Gurdon, Davenport, and myself, with Sergeants Nesbitt and Lane, tried all we could to prevent their leaving, but to no purpose; most of the men had their bayonets fixed, and presently the whole regiment, nearly 700 strong, left the ramparts and bastions, and slowly but steadily forced their way out of the fort. We (the officers) were taken on by the tide, and got separated in the crowd. Two sepoys of the grenadier company who were with me all this time insisted on my going away before the cavalry came down upon us. They said, 'Your lives are safe among your own men, but we cannot answer for the artillery and cavalry.' Seeing it would be madness to remain any longer, I and Dr. Gahe left them.

At dawn, we arrived at Kussaunda. Although we had not walked above five miles, yet the ground being heavy, we were quite tired and half dead with thirst. We knocked up one of the villagers, and asked him for some water. He immediately brought us to a well. I verily believe our guide thought we would never leave off drinking. I gave him a rupee and asked him to show us the head man of the village. This he did at once. We found him in a small fort, surrounded by some half-dozen men. I told him we wished to rest there for an hour or so. He said, 'Most certainly,' and received us with great civility, and had a place cleared for us immediately in his own house. He sent for milk, chupatties, dall, rice, and mangoes, and entreated us to eat. After partaking

of some refreshment, we lay down and had a nap. About 9 A. M. a party of the 1st light cavalry, who were scouring the country, arrived at Kussaunda, and insisted on having the sahebs out, in order that they might 'saf kuro them' (polish them off; kill them). 'Mar dalo Feringhee' was their cry. We were indebted for our lives to the noble conduct of the Rajpoots of the village who swore they would stand by us to the last. They said, 'You have eaten with us and are our guests, and now if you were our greatest enemy, we would defend you.' They put us in a small dilapidated shed on one of the bastions, and when the troopers demanded us, declared we were not there. The Rajpoots said, 'Kussaunda belongs to the rana of Odeypore. We are his subjects, and if you molest us, he will send 10,000 soldiers after you.' They went away in a great rage, threatening to return with the guns in the evening, and blow us to pieces.

About one o'clock we were agreeably surprised by seeing an artillery sergeant (Sergeant Supple, an active and gallant soldier) walk into our little fort; we thought at first he was being pursued by the cavalry, but he informed us that he was in search of the brigade-major. He told us also that Captain Lloyd, Captain M'Donald, and several officers of the 7th Gwalior contingent were at the village of Daroo, only three miles off. He said he would gallop off and bring us assistance.

Hour after hour passed away, and no assistance arriving from Daroo, we began to think that our friends there were in as great a fix as ourselves, and such we afterwards discovered was really the case.

In consultation with our Rajpoot friends, it was decided that we should go on to Chota Sadree, a distance of about sixteen miles, that same night. They were afraid that the cavalry would be as good as their word, and return with the guns. Accordingly, we left Kussaunda shortly after sunset, escorted by several Rajpoots, and arrived at Chota Sadree about ten o'clock. Our route lay through dense jungle, and, being on foot, we were a good deal knocked up by the time we arrived there; and, to our disappointment, we were told that all the Europeans had left an hour before for Burra Sadree, sixteen miles further on. Our reception was cold in the extreme; they did not want us to remain there a moment, and would scarcely give us even a drink of water. I sent two men to inform the kumashdar that we wanted to see him; but they came back saying he would not see us. There were lots of horses and camels picketed about, a couple of which we wanted to hire, but they refused to let us have them; they said they would sell them to us, but not hire them. Buying was of course out of the question. Our escort from Kussaunda left us, and in their place we got two Bheel guides; so, after remaining about twenty minutes in Chota Sadree, we pushed on for the next stage. In about an hour and a half we reached a small village in the heart of the jungle, called 'Bheeliya Kegaon.' Here we received very great kindness—the

Bheels seemed to vie with each other in their hospitality. We remained with the worthy Bheels about an hour, and having procured a couple of ponies, started for Burra Sadree, which place we reached about nine o'clock next day, and were delighted to meet all our friends of the 7th Gwalior contingent, 1st cavalry, and artillery. The whole party started from Burra Sadree about two P. M., and arrived at Doongla about seven P. M. Here we remained two days, when we were joined by Captain Showers, political agent of Meywar, who hastened from Odeypore with a strong force of the Rana's choicest troops, and determined on giving chase to the mutineers at once.

Numerous were the hairbreadth escapes at Neemuch, and it was providential that many lives were not lost. One European woman (the wife of an artillery sergeant) and three children were unfortunately butchered at the commencement of the mutiny. The sergeant was on duty over the guns at the time. Happily there were no other lives lost. The Mahomedans throughout were most cruel, ferocious, and bloodthirsty; those of the artillery and cavalry were the worst of the lot. Excited with bhang or hemp, they galloped about like fiends, intent only on blood-shed and murder. A Mahommedan subadar of the 72nd N. I. persuaded the colonel and officers of the regiment, with their families, to take shelter in his house; they were no sooner in than he fastened the door upon them outside, and sent for the guns. Fortunately a Hindoo sepoy, who remained 'true to his salt,' broke open the door, and warned the officers of their danger in time to enable them to escape. The quartermaster-sergeant's wife of the 7th Gwalior contingent was attacked by some Mahommedans, and would have been killed, but for some Hindoo sepoys, who came to the rescue. She afterwards joined her husband, and proceeded with the rest of the party to Odeypore. The conduct of the Odeypore durbar at this crisis was beyond all praise.

Only one bungalow was spared, nor did the place remain long in the possession of the mutineers, the majority of whom, indeed, at once made off for Delhi. The cavalry regiment of the Malwah contingent having been despatched to follow up the Neemuch mutineers, suddenly refused to go any further, and, having murdered their European officers, Lieutenants Brodie and Hunt, returned to their head quarters at Mehidpore, but failed to induce the artillery and infantry to join them. The Bhurtpore levies, under Captain Nixon, superintendent of the Jawud district, behaved in a similar manner after proceeding two or three marches. The commanding officer and his associate, Captain Gore Munbee, of the Bombay engineers, had no alternative, but to ride for their lives, and, after many hairbreadth escapes, reached Bhurtpore in safety.

Murder of Sergeant Major Supple's family.

Many and widely differing accounts have been given of Mrs. Supple's death; that most commonly believed being, that

she and her three children were burnt in boxes. No person (not being an eye-witness) had a better opportunity of forming an opinion as to the manner in which she was butchered, than myself.

She appears to have shut herself in her house, a pukka one; the fiends were, therefore, unable to turn her out, the marks of gun-shots on the walls and through the doors clearly demonstrated the manner of her death. The accounts published in a Bombay paper of her bravely defending herself with firearms (she had none) and of her being forsaken in a dastardly manner by her husband, are equally without foundation. He, Sergeant Major Supple Horse Artillery, is a noble fellow. He escorted an officer of the troop out of the battery to a place of safety, and afterwards, on a borrowed horse, returned to the station; he could not approach the house; had he done so, there would have been no use, for his poor wife and children were now beyond all human aid. If the brave man in grief had been seen as I have seen him, by the writer of the article in the paper to which I have alluded, the story would have been differently told. 'I have nothing now to live for, sir;' said the Sergeant to me despondingly; 'Oh yes! you have Sergeant,—revenge!' 'By G—d, sir! I have,' and with 'revenge' before him he appeared quite a different man. Those whom he comes across may expect small pity. The 'burnt in boxes' story may have thus originated:—the burying of the bodies was of necessity entrusted to a native official. He gave his orders I presume, and reported that every thing had been correctly done, but it appears that the bodies of the three children, with the unfortunate mother lying on charpoys, were merely burnt, broken furniture and possibly 'boxes' being used.

These hands afterwards collected the poor remains and ashes and consigned them to the earth.

Hansi.

At the time of the Delhi massacre, there were two corps stationed at Hansi. One of these, the 4th irregular cavalry, marched to join the avenging army about the middle of June, and on the same night some stacks of grass in Lt. Barwell's compound were fired; but fortunately put out by the officers. Some days later an alarm was raised in the town, that plunderers were approaching. Capt. Stafford, the only officer present with the Hurrianah light infantry battalion at the time, went out with a company, but saw no one. Two days afterwards there was a party of about forty or fifty sowars seen

coming along the Bhewnee road, who gave out that they were sent by the Dadree Rajah for the protection of Hansi. They were not allowed to go into cantonments. The next day 200 more men of the Dadree Rajah's arrived at Rohtuck, a civil station midway between Hansi and Delhi, plundered the treasury and the town, and destroyed several villages. It had been their intention to have come on to Hansi, Hissar and Sirsa, but hearing that a European force with a couple of guns had been sent to intercept them, they marched back to Delhi.

On the morning of the 29th June the mutiny commenced. All the ladies left at once for Hissar.

The peons of the Customs, and of the Canal, and the scum of the town had been dressing themselves in green clothes, with the intention, as they said, of proceeding to Delhi to be martyrs. A large crowd of these would-be martyrs assembled near the water mills. The Hurrianah light infantry battalion now broke out into open mutiny, burnt the patrol's bungalow and subsequently the whole station. The European residents had a narrow escape, as they were pursued a long distance.

Occurrences at Bareilly prior to the Mutiny of the Troops.

The troops commenced to show an excited feeling in April, asking about the new cartridges, whether it were true that they were greased with cow's and pig's fat, but this excitement was not very great. Such as it was, however, it was sufficient to induce Brigadier Sibbald to write to Major Pearson that he thought Major P. should not go on temporary leave to Nynee Tal, but giving him the option of going or staying. Col. Troup had also obtained leave, but considered it his duty to remain at Bareilly, especially as Brigadier Sibbald was about to proceed to Almorah on duty. Major P. went to Nynee Tal, directing me to call him at once if the 18th regiment shewed signs of disaffection which the men had not outwardly done up to that time. There was, however, an uneasy feeling in the corps from the time that the new rifle musket drill had begun to be taught—the men asking what was the use of giving them a new musket when they had conquered the whole of Hindoostan with that at present in use. Most of them also believed, or affected to believe that Government had some design of taking away their caste by craft, supplying *attah* in which ground bones were mixed at a low rate, as well as other ridiculous stories carefully spread abroad by evil-disposed

persons in the city, and at the different civil offices, especially the treasury, where was a large guard of sepoys. They also believed that the men who had been selected for instruction in the use of the rifle musket, were to be made use of to take away the caste of their comrades, and as I afterwards learnt, had determined not to eat with them; and at a subsequent period ten or twelve men bound themselves by an oath to murder these men on their return to the corps. About this time also the small *attah* cakes were being sent about the villages, and this became known to the sepoys and confirmed them in their belief of the intention of Government to take away their caste, and then make them Christians. About the time that the occurrences at Meerut became known, there was also a firm persuasion in the minds of the sepoys that Europeans were to be sent to coerce them to use the new cartridges, and they stationed men on the different roads to give intimation of the arrival of the dreaded European troops. Having been directed by Major Pearson to commence the instruction of the new musket drills, I did so; first teaching the drill instructors, and then one company, the motions of the new drill; a squadron of recruits was also taught it. I noticed that the men were very suspicious of the cartridges used for the purpose, but none refused to touch them, probably because each man was taught separately. When the grenadier company had been taught the motions, I took them down to the butts that they might put in practice the motions they had been taught. I had been for a long time teaching them the bayonet exercise, and the men having asked to be allowed to learn it without wearing their pouches, they had been permitted to do so; when learning the motions of the new musket rifle exercise they still continued to appear on parade without their pouches; and in the morning when the grenadiers went to the butts, they were marched down from the parade as they were, one round per man having been ordered down as the teaching each single man occupied a long time; unfortunately on that morning the guns were removed from their old position to the new one they were to occupy, and the sepoys noticing that the grenadiers were sent down without ammunition, at the same time as the guns were moved down to the neighbourhood of the butts, took it into their heads that the object was to coerce the grenadiers—so that not a single man went out of the lines—until the grenadiers had returned, except a large number who went to the artillery lines and upbraided the gunners with aiding in taking away their comrade's caste—and were pacified only when it was pointed out that the guns went alone without any gunners, and could not fire themselves. On this day news

arrived of the disaffection of a portion of the 29th at Moradabad, and of the disturbed state of the district round about that station—with an urgent call for troops especially cavalry. The Commissioner likewise stated that the Bareilly district was not in a sound state—so Colonel Troup, who was then in command at Bareilly, directed the irregular cavalry should be increased to 1,000 strong, and wrote to the different civil authorities, requesting them to desire all sowars in their districts to place themselves under their orders, or to come and join the 8th irregulars at Bareilly. He also recommended that the ladies and children should be sent to Nynee Tal, and made arrangements for sending off the Serjeant's families. The officers on leave from Bareilly were also recalled—the men showed numerous symptoms of excitement, keeping a close watch on every act of their officers, and asking why the families were sent away—what reason their officers had to fear them. Pickets were also thrown out, and the treasury guard strengthened, that should the disaffection which had shown itself to the northward and southward of Moradabad spread to Bareilly, the troops at the latter might have an opportunity of distinguishing themselves after the example of their comrades of the 29th, and that they might see that confidence was placed in them—for which purpose also the regimental subalterns were ordered to sleep at their quarter guards. The regiments were also paraded, and addressed by Colonel Troup who assured them that they had nothing to fear so long as they continued to behave themselves, and shewed that they were still the faithful servants they had always been to the Government—giving his word that no new cartridges were coming, and that should any come he would destroy them on the parade in their presence. All these arrangements pacified them a little, but only for the time. I may mention here, to show the state of excitement the men were in, that on the morning they were paraded first, Major Pearson had returned from leave, and I having informed him, that a parade had been ordered, and Col. Troup's wish that he should be present, he came down. Of this Captain Richardson was not aware, so when the corps was ready, he came to receive charge, which I made over to him, and pointing to the direction in which Major Pearson was coming informed him of the Major's return. On my pointing the whole corps turned their heads in the direction I indicated, and kept looking towards it, though I desired them to look to their front. This was on Firday the 15th. Up to this time the guns had been kept in their new position, on Saturday afternoon I learnt on undoubted authority that a number of men of both regiments had determined to seize the guns and bring them back to their

old position and hastened over to Colonel Troup to inform him; he had just learned the same from other sources, and took precautions to prevent this being done—as though it had been his purpose to replace them in their old position—he was anxious to prevent if possible the disaffected men committing any overt act—and next morning the guns were brought back to where they had used to be—between the 18th and 68th, and opposite the artillery lines. The men through their native officers expressed their great satisfaction at this new show of confidence in them, and declared that they never had any intention of seizing the guns or acting otherwise than as faithful soldiers, but the disaffected now began to speak more openly, and daily stated their intention of resisting by force any attempt to coerce them to use the new cartridges; not in the lines, however, as they were aware that the non-commissioned officers had received orders to confine any who spoke so, but in the bazars, and where they congregated to bathe; in the watercourse behind the station, several also bound themselves by an oath to murder the men who had gone to Umballa to learn the new rifle exercise, so that it was deemed prudent to prevent those men coming into the station, by giving them their leave certificates and their pay, and sending them to their homes. On the 17th May an anonymous letter was found suspended on Colonel Troup's gate, stating the general grievances of the native soldiery, it was written in *kaithee*, and evidently by a Hindoo soldier, or at his dictation, and in a disguised hand. A rough translation of this document was forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief and a copy to Col. Birch and the Lieut. Governor, Agra, as well as to Sir H. Lawrence at Lucknow, the spirit of the letter was very mutinous, and the writer was evidently in the secret of the rebels for he spoke of another rule being established from this time forward. Though performing their duties with great exactitude, the soldiery were always in a state of excitement, which was kept up by the false stories promulgated by the evil-disposed of the city and cantonments, who did not hesitate to ask the soldiers whether they did not intend to stand up for their "deen dhurm:" and by the runaway sepoys of the regiments at Meerut, Delhi, and Ferozepore, who passed through in great numbers, and were entertained, *i. e.* fed by the sepoys in the lines, and the rear of the bazar; there were continual reports also of the Mussulmans of the city rising, and these reports were not unfounded, but the rebel chiefs aided in suppressing any rising at the time, knowing that a particular day had been appointed, and that if any rising took place before, the plot would be found out, and measures taken to prevent its being carried out; thus matters

continued, some fresh report of the intention of the soldiers to rise being spread abroad, until the day on which they actually did mutiny. I know not if any further measures were taken than those adopted by Colonel Troup, and indeed do not see that any more were required, except that the brigadier at a parade confirmed what Colonel Troup had said, and the Commissioner assured the native officers that the Government never had any purpose of taking away their caste. In my opinion, no measures however wise, could have prevented what occurred, for the disaffected Mussulmans had moved the two springs which always move the native soldiers, avarice and their caste, and having held out to them the fear of losing the latter, and of increased pay if they would aid in upsetting the British rule, they had the soldiers entirely in their hands, and did with them as they pleased. I cannot at present remember every particular occurrence, but the above is a general review of what took place. On several occasions I was warned to be careful not to walk about alone after dark, and other officers received the same warning, as some of the sepoys had been heard to speak of murdering their officers. On the Saturday previous to the outbreak, I was told not to put any faith in any of the troops as they were all disaffected. One regiment praised itself and warned their officers of all the others, and the others did the same. I am willing to believe that in all the corps at Bareilly there were many good men, and many who were sensible enough to see that mutiny and rebellion could do them no good, and these strove to their utmost to prevent any overt acts, but they were afraid of those that were disaffected, and by concealing from their officers the mutinous spirit which really existed, and of which they were fully aware, lulled them into a false security, and a belief that their own particular corps was staunch. On Sunday the 31st, the 68th commenced the mutiny. In the morning a meeting of the native officers of that corps and the artillery was held, and carriage was obtained from the bazar, the guard furnished by that corps at the treasury had during the night refused to permit the horses being taken away from the guns there. At eleven o'clock the 68th commenced shouting and firing off muskets, the artillery at first pointed their guns at them, but were soon induced to join the 68th, and numerous cavalry troopers with some sirdars also soon joined them. The 68th guard plundered the treasury, and the rebels seeing the 18th did not join, turned the guns upon them and ordered them to join, if they did not wish to be blown away by the guns. The sudder bazar was then plundered. The houses to the south were burnt at the very first, those to the north in the

evening. A little before sunset Khan Bahadoor came on the parade and promised the soldiers large pay, and appointed officers over, from among, them. The civil lines had been destroyed, and the prisoners in the jail released by this time; the jail-birds and sowars were very diligent in their search after Europeans, and indeed Christians of all kinds; but the infantry corps prevented their doing any harm to those that remained up to Sunday night. Since I have been in concealment, having had numerous conversations with the people of the country, I have learnt that emissaries were abroad in every direction, saying it was the intention of Government to first Christianize the sepoys by fraud, and afterwards to make use of the sepoys to Christianize the country by force. The more ignorant believed these reports fully, but the wiser did not credit the stories, and to their particular friends the Mussulmans were less reserved, and advised them to be prepared with their arms as they would need them soon. The thakoors saw through the design of the reports, that the object was to overthrow the English and establish the Mussulman rule, and now the poor people see it too, and there is one universal expectation, longing, and hope, that the former may be speedily restored, and the Mussulmans not allowed the authority and influence they formerly possessed.

Brigadier Sibbald to the Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces.

Bareilly, May 23, 1857.

SIR,—I beg you will do me the favour to bring to the notice of the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces, that on my return from inspection duty at Almorah, I found all quiet here, but the troops labouring under a great depression of spirits caused by the fear of some heavy punishment they imagine Government was about to inflict upon them. The reason for such a feeling of fear is best known to themselves, for up to the present time, nothing of a turbulent nature has taken place, and although doubtless a very bad and uneasy feeling was for some days very prevalent, no open act of the troops has rendered them liable to the punishment they so much dread.

During my absence, Colonel Troup then in temporary command of this station, did every thing in his power to allay this feeling, and with the happiest result; but I considered it judicious on resuming my command to assure the troops that the promises of pardon made to them by Colonel

Troup, I pledged myself to use my utmost efforts to obtain, provided they continued to act as good and loyal soldiers.

On the morning of the 21st instant, I addressed the troops to this effect on a general parade, and Mr. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, afterwards spoke to the native officers assembled in front of the troops, and, in the name of the Lieutenant Governor, assured them that the intentions of Government towards them were the same as they had ever been, and begged them to dismiss from their minds the causeless dread that pervaded them.

The troops are evidently in a more happy and cheerful state, and as they themselves say, "have commenced a new life." Under existing circumstances permit me to observe that in my opinion a confirmation of these promises of free pardon from the highest authorities will be productive of the best result; were the men under my command, fully convinced that the past would be forgotten, I feel convinced that their loyalty and good conduct may be relied upon.

At the request of the commissioner of Rohilcund, I yesterday dispatched a party of thirty sowars, from the 8th irregular cavalry, to act under the magistrate of Moradabad; and though the large population of the town and the number of prisoners in the Central Jail would render it imprudent greatly to diminish our strength here, I still feel I shall be able in a limited manner to assist the civil power in maintaining the peace of the district.

Cavalry on occasions of sudden outbreaks and disturbances raised in different points are of course more efficient than infantry, as the promptness with which a body of rioters is suppressed, is of the most vital importance. The state of affairs here, of which his honor has been kept informed, rendered it to the last degree imprudent to detach any from the 8th irregulars, even under circumstances of imperative urgency, feeling the utter insufficiency of our present body of cavalry, and the innumerable calls that were made on that body. I trust that the measures adopted by Colonel Troup in the great emergency in which he was placed, may meet with the support and confirmation of Government; the men already raised have allowed me to detach the small party already alluded to, to Moradabad, and every day places me in a position better able to meet the requisitions of the civil power.

In conclusion I hope I may be allowed to express to his honor my entire satisfaction and hearty concurrence with the measures adopted in my absence. With Mr. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, I had the greatest pleasure in

acting; he keeps me well informed, and my confidence in his energy and discretion is unbounded. From the cheerful and obedient spirit now evinced by the troops, I augur the happiest results, and am convinced that should their services be required they will act as good and loyal soldiers.

Colonel Troup's account of the Mutiny at Bareilly.

As the senior officer of the late Bareilly brigade, I find it my painful duty to report to you, for the information of the officer Commanding-in-chief, the fearful and extraordinary occurrences, which took place at that station on the 30th May.

I would premise by stating that from the 6th to the 19th, during the absence of the late Brigadier Sibbald, C. B., on a tour of inspection at Almorah, I was left in charge of the station of Bareilly, up to which latter date every thing has been reported already to army head-quarters. On Brigadier Sibbald's return to Bareilly, and resumption of command, he was pleased to approve and confirm all that had been done during his absence, and had a parade of the troops to assure them of this.

From the 19th until the 29th, things went on without much change. On the latter date, however, I received a note from Mr. Alexander, the commissioner of Rohilcund, stating that it had been reported to him that it was well known that the 68th regiment, native infantry, intended mutinying at 2 P. M. on that day. I hardly received this note from Mr. Alexander, when the havildar major of the regiment came to me in breathless haste, and reported that he had been sent by the sobadar major to inform me, that whilst bathing at the river in the morning, the men of both regiments, the 18th and 68th, had sworn to rise at 2 P. M. and murder their European officers.

Although not in command of the station at this time, living near the 18th and 8th irregular cavalry, I warned them of what I had heard, and wrote to Captain Gibbs, the adjutant of the 68th, to request that he would warn the officers to be on their guard. At the same time I recommended Captain Brownlow, the major of brigade, who was at the time living with me, to go at once and report to, and if necessary to bring down, the late Brigadier Sibbald, to the 8th irregular cavalry lines—they having been warned as to the point of assembling on an alarm being given.

On this occasion the 8th irregular cavalry, under Captain Mackenzie, were in their saddles; and as far as I could see and

from what Captain Mackenzie himself told me, the men appeared in good heart and quite prepared for any emergency.

Whether from the promptitude with which the cavalry turned out or not I cannot say, but the day passed over quietly.

Although I had heard vague reports that the 8th irregular cavalry would not stand by us on the artillery and infantry revolting, I must confess that up to Friday evening, the 29th, I did not believe it; but on Saturday night, the 30th, I had no doubts on the subject, for my informant who had it from the men themselves, told me that they had sworn not to act against the artillery and infantry, but that they would not harm or raise their hand against any European.

During the whole of Friday night, the 29th, and the whole of Saturday, the 30th, the men of the artillery and infantry were in a state of great excitement caused, it is supposed, by the stories circulated by fugitives from the 45th regiment, who during these two days had been passing in great numbers through the station, and which was much increased by the exaggerated accounts brought back by the men, who had returned from temporary leave on the 30th. Be this as it may, from all that I both heard and saw on Saturday night, the 30th, I had no doubt in my own mind, but that what I had heard of the 8th irregular cavalry was quite true, and that the artillery and infantry would most certainly revolt either that night or the following morning.

On Sunday morning the 31st, I was up at an early hour, and found every thing quiet and still as usual. Some short time previous to my getting up, an attempt had been made to set fire to Captain Brownlow's house, but without success. During this morning I sent several times to the lines for the havildar major and a sepoy of the 68th regiment, in both of whom I had up to this time great confidence, but they made all sorts of excuses and did not come. I then sent my sirdar bearer to the lines to see if he could find out what was going on. On his return he stated that he was quite certain that something most unusual was about to take place, for that although all was quiet, the men were all present in their lines and seemed to be under some great excitement; that on his way home he had heard some of the sepoys of the 18th, say, that it was of no use going to bathe that morning, as they would all be wanted in the lines at 11 A. M. On hearing this I at once made up my mind that all that I had heard would most certainly happen, and wrote off without delay to Captain Gibbs, the adjutant of the regiment, to warn the officers to be on the look out, for that I felt quite certain that the men were about to mutiny. The orderly,

however, who was entrusted with the conveyance of my note, never delivered it.

A very short time after this, Mr. Guthrie, the magistrate of Bareilly, called and stated to me that the guard over the treasury, furnished from the 68th regiment, had on that morning, Sunday the 31st May, abused a Government chuprassie sent by him with a letter to the dâk, which they tore up and threw in his face. This at once convinced me that the insurrection had begun, for up to this time no act of violence, neglect of duty, disobedience of orders, or any other impropriety of any kind had been perpetrated by the men. I again wrote to Captain Gibbs, telling him what I had heard from Mr. Guthrie, the collector; but it would appear from what he has since told me, that neither of my notes ever reached him, so that the first intimation he himself and the other officers heard of the fearful tragedy about to be enacted was their men firing upon them whilst in their bungalows.

During Sunday morning, the 31st, Major Pearson, commanding the 18th, called upon me and assured me that his men were all right, and that he had every confidence in them, at the very moment that I knew almost for a certainty, that within two hours his regiment would be in open mutiny. It, however, did not at all surprise me, for the previous day I had been equally assured by Captain Kirby, commanding the artillery, that he had no reason to doubt his men, although at the very time of his so assuring me I was aware that his pay havildar had addressed a letter to the 18th and 68th regiments, urging them by the most sacred oaths to rise and murder their European officers, stating that such had been done at all the other stations, and that if they would not do so, the Hindoos were to consider that they had eaten beef, and the Mussulmans pork.

About 7 o'clock or perhaps between 7 and 8 o'clock on Sunday morning, the 31st, the late Brigadier Sibbald, C. B., wrote to his Brigade Major, Captain Brownlow, who was living with me, to the following effect: "How is it to-day? I hear all does not look well, what does Troup say?" Captain Brownlow and all the other officers were in full possession of my opinions, which were patent to the whole community of Bareilly.

About 10 o'clock Captain Brownlow and myself proceeded to breakfast, and being quite convinced, that the conclusions I had drawn were correct, and that he was under a miserable delusion, during breakfast I continued to urge them upon him, when at last about half past 10 or perhaps 20 minutes to 11 o'clock, the fatal hour named for the murder of every European in the

place, he said he would go over to Lieutenant Gowan, the Adjutant of the 18th regiment, who lived within a short distance of my house, and find out from him what was going on. Lieutenant Gowan was one of the best officers I have ever seen, and was intimately acquainted with all that was passing in his regiment, and quite agreed with me in all my views.

Captain Brownlow on leaving, promised to return, but never did so, and in waiting for him I did not quit my house until within five minutes of 11 o'clock, and only then left it on being urged to do so by my servants. I had hardly got out of my house when a gun was fired by the artillery which was followed by the report of musketry, which with the yells of the men was heard in every direction. I ran on foot towards the irregular cavalry lines, and in passing through Captain Mackenzie's compound on my way to them, I found that Captain Brownlow was safe in Captain Mackenzie's house. I forget now what he said or what reason he gave for not returning to me as he had promised, or whether he had seen Lieutenant Gowan or not; nor am I aware what or if any means were adopted by him for communicating with his Brigadier; he said that he had written me a note, which note I received after I had reached Captain Mackenzie's compound.

On my arrival at the 8th irregular cavalry lines, I found Mr. Alexander, the commissioner, and several other gentlemen, civil and military, assembled there, and after waiting for a considerable time during which the work of murder and destruction was being carried on by the mutineers, the cavalry appeared to take a most unusually long time in getting ready, considering that some time previous to the revolt, they had been ordered by Captain Mackenzie to do so. All assembled, agreed there was nothing for it but to retire on Nynee Tal, and after considerable delay seeing some of the cavalry formed up, I desired them to follow me, which they appeared to do readily enough, but we had hardly got in motion when Captain Mackenzie halted them; and to make use of his own words said to me, that the men wished to have a crack at the mutineers, to which I replied I do not think it is of any use, but just do as you please. He then took his men back to the mutineers, the result of doing so I fully anticipated, and which is too well told in Captain Mackenzie's report to require any comment from me.

On the cavalry proceeding from Captain Mackenzie towards the mutineers, most of the gentlemen present then agreed to stand by each other, and endeavour to push our way to Nynee Tall; and as we knew our only safety depended upon our putting distance between the insurgents, so as to prevent the

news getting ahead of us, or of their having time to think of us, we moved off at a brisk pace and got a considerable distance on our road before we were joined by Captain Mackenzie and the other officers and the remnant of his regiment.

In justice to Captain Mackenzie and Lieutenant Becher I consider it my duty, however much they like others may have been deceived by their men, to state that in my opinion no two officers could have possibly behaved better towards, or shown a better or more gallant example to, their men than they did; I was in daily, I may say, hourly, personal communication with them; and I have great pleasure in stating that from the very first to the last they were devoted and most unremitting in the performance of the many harassing duties required of them; and I do most respectfully and at the same time most earnestly beg to strongly recommend them to the favourable consideration of the Commander-in-Chief, as two most deserving and valuable officers. In venturing to do this I beg to observe, that I have not formed my opinion of them hastily; so far from it, I have known Captain Mackenzie, I may say intimately, for the last nine years, and I feel quite certain that in stating what I have of both him and of Lieutenant Becher, I am only giving expression to the feelings of all those who like myself have escaped from Bareilly on the 31st ultimo.

I trust His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will approve of what I have done in promoting the native commissioned, and non-commissioned officers and men of the 8th irregular cavalry, and that he will be good enough to procure for those mentioned the order of British India, which I have promised them. Their conduct is not only considered by myself, but by all who have escaped to be beyond praise; but more particularly that of Ressaldar Mohamed Nazeem Khan, the acting Woordie Major of the regiment, who has not only sacrificed all his property, but has left three helpless and very young children to their fate, to follow our fortunes.

Another Account.

As soon as the Meerut and Delhi affairs became known, the sepoys of the 18th and 68th showed unmistakeable signs of being quite ready to join the mutineers.

They were, however, spoken too firmly but kindly by Troup, and were induced to stand fast for some time. It was apparent, however, that a good feeling did not pervade them, as anything which was done a little out of the common called forth remonstrances and explanation. In fact the sepoys commanded their officers. Owing to this suspicious tendency the

civil authorities were equally precluded with the military, from taking any precautionary measures either to save the Government treasury or private property. I allow that I looked on matters with as good an eye as I could, and I was in hopes that we should have weathered the storm. It appears that in a village close to the lines lives one Jaimall Sing, a Rajpoot of considerable influence, and a great blackguard. We knew that he was using his utmost endeavours to induce the sepoys to rise, and we sent for and pitched into him—other influences must have been at work. Among the Ressaldars of the 8th irregular cavalry, was one by name Mahommed Shaffee, a resident of Moradabad, who was away on leave when the affair began. He, it appears, used his influence in inflaming the minds of the sowars, and in infusing a religious feeling into the matter. The district remained quite quiet. No crimes were committed beyond the power of the ordinary police to quell or elucidate. The native gentlemen all expressed their willingness to exert themselves to their utmost in behalf of peace and order, and at their head was one Khan Bahadoor Khan, the chief Nawab of the city, and the most respected as being the nearest descendant of Hafiz Rahmut. He was a pensioner of Government, not only on account of his descent from Hafiz Rahmut, but also as a retired principal sudder ameen. About two or three days before the 31st, two sepoys were reported to have gone at night to Khan Bahadoor, and after that his manner changed. As far as we can ascertain the plot was ripened by Jaimall Singh, making peace between Khan Bahadoor and the sepoys, and to blind us, Khan Bahadoor brought up Jaimall to us as repentant. On the morning of Sunday, the 31st of May, I had written a long letter to —— and was writing another to —— when an old and faithful Mahomedan came and said that a chuprassee, whom we had shortly before seen with some public letters to be delivered to the district dâk moonshee, had something to say. He told us that on taking the letters to the cutcherry, he found the sepoys all armed, and surrounding the treasury. They took the letters from him and tore them up. We immediately knew that the hour was come, and that we must prepare to be off. Our horses were saddled, our pistols girded on, and we awaited the outbreak. Of what was going on in the lines, we of course knew nothing. From the officers we afterwards learnt that 11 A. M. was the hour fixed for the rising. Parties were told off to murder each of the officers, and more premeditation was evinced than in the Meerut massacre. When the

clocks dinned 11 A. M. out came the sepoys of the 68th, seized the guns, turned them on one of the officer's houses, and fired grape into it. Officers who were obliged to ride across the parade to get to the irregular cavalry lines, which was the appointed rendezvous, were fired on by sepoys out in skirmishing order, and also had discharges of round and grape shot sent at them as they passed the guns. Alexander, who had come over to us on receiving intimation from us that all was up, was driving towards the house of the commandant of irregular cavalry, when the play opened, and he returned to our house, when we immediately mounted, and followed by the Mahomedan informant, rode to the irregular cavalry lines. The men did not turn out as quick as they should have done, and after waiting some short time, the Europeans assembled headed by Troup, and moved off in the direction of Nynee Tal. The cavalry at first followed, but under pretence of punishing the sepoys for firing their lines, the greater portion galloped back. Their commandant on going to ascertain the cause, found them drawn up near the sepoys, with a gun and a *green* flag, under Mahommed Shaffee. This delay had caused the party of the Europeans to be divided, some having stopped with the cavalry, the remainder having gone on. I was amongst those who moved on at once, and after crossing the fields to avoid the city, we came on the Nynee Tal road, and rode on quietly —the wind blowing as hot as a furnace. * * * *

The sepoys after we left, looted and burnt our bungalows. The jailor and his guard released the prisoners, and they proclaimed Khan Bahadoor Khan king. The first order the brute issued was that any one harboring an European should suffer death. He is said to have surrounded the house of the Rampore Nawab's vakeel, and to have had it thoroughly searched in hopes of finding Alexander. Hay and Robertson had taken refuge,—the former with an old and respectable hakeem in the city, the latter with one of his moonsiffs. They were both dragged out and murdered. This is of course learnt from native reports, but I fear it is too true. God grant it may not be so. Thirty-two have escaped, while upwards of fifty, including women and children, remain. Of the 18th only two officers have escaped, no less than six are wanting. Of the 68th one, Ensign Tucker, was shot. The Sergeant Major of the regiment escaped. The brigadier was also shot. Of the remainder we know nothing * * * * *

I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of those of the irregular cavalry who remained. Almost all being officers, their loss has been very great. They left their wives and families to stand by the officers of the Government they served. All

of us who were with the party will be eternally disgraced if these men are not properly rewarded. The country should be made to pay for this, and the proprietary title in the villages which have taken a prominent part in attacking Europeans should be conferred on those true and faithful servants of Government.

P. S.—This letter was sent from Mussoorie under date June 17th, *via* Lahore and Bombay. All well at Mussoorie and Landour on that date.

The outbreak at Bareilly, after repeated "*sacred promises*" on the part of the sepoys to the officers not to injure them (that they were the sepoys' *ma bap*, *&c.*) was announced on Sunday, the 31st May, by a signal gun at 11 o'clock A. M., when firing commenced in the 68th lines. Balls began whizzing through the bungalows; the artillery began pouring grape and canister right and left. At this time the 18th and irregulars did not join: 68th officers had no alternative but to run the gauntlet without a moment's consideration on horse back through the fire; the other regiments soon joined in the mutiny, and one general scene of carnage and conflagration ensued; all those who had means at hand, and who valued their lives cut on foot or on horseback; those who bent their way to Nynee Tal were the most fortunate. Brigadier Sibbald was shot near the Camel shed. Lieutenant Tucker was mounted and starting, when Sergeant Jennings asked for his assistance, there was no time even to saddle a horse, the pony he had having been shot. Tucker said, "You hold my horse's tail or the stirrup and run along;" they had not got far, when a ball entered the back of poor Tucker's head and came out of the forehead, he fell dead; the sergeant being covered with blood; he thereupon mounted the dead man's horse, and it is miraculous how he escaped through the heavy fire, for one ball shattered the pummel of his saddle, and another went through the upper part of the horse's neck which threw him down and caused the loss of his cap. During this time the greatest confusion existed; women and children were screaming and running wild; officers hunting for bearers, syces, &c. but none to be found, being too busy pillaging their master's bungalows, for every one for himself was the order of the day, and many had to saddle their own nags, and others to ride bare back. This party had to face the parching wind all day, and you may imagine what haste they made, when both men and horses jaded and exhausted arrived at Huldwanee the following morning, being sixty miles. I may add that some twenty

odd sowars of the 8th, faithful to their commanding officer, came along for his protection and have continued to the present moment with him. The news of the fall of Bareilly had spread over the country, and the inhabitants consisting of Puthans, Goojurs, Bunjarahs, Kunjurs, &c., resumed their inherent practice of robbing, burning and killing the defenceless and weak. So that any subsequent fugitives had but a poor chance of escape from such marauders, as will be seen from the narrative of Sergeant Walden, who, in company with Sergeant Staples, both brave and powerful men, the latter *a little Hercules,* ordered their horses to be saddled, and they got them saddled certainly, but the wretches had made away with the bridles, and whilst hunting for substitutes for bridles, balls began to fly rather too close to be pleasant, and their old friends of the artillery told them if they did not make their exit, they should turn the guns upon them; they decided on Shank's mare and made haste (having armed themselves with pistols and swords), to get up to Nynee Tal where their wives and children were—a brisk walk that day removed them beyond danger of the mutinous sepoys. The whole of the cantonments were in a blaze and illumined the country for miles round; a number of villages and hay stacks were fired during the early part of the night, which with the noise and consternation in and about Bareilly contrasted with their solitary position, without a bit to eat or a drop of water to quench their thirst, for there were no Samaritans they dare ask for such favors from—being a mild moonlight night, they pushed on hoping to hear tidings of the other fugitives and to get water at least to drink; they did meet wells, but not having the means of drawing water out, only enhanced their craving. So they persevered in their journey for the village of Buharee, where they hoped to be out of all danger and to get not only protection, but nourishment from the Government policemen; they accordingly arrived the next morning and revived their drooping spirits by a drink from a muddy stream near the said village. The two Europeans were no sooner espied by some urchins tending cattle in the fields, than they announced the tidings with the greatest joy, and in a moment the whole of the villagers surrounded them, demanded their arms or stand the consequences; the two consulted together, and as the majority of the mob was armed to the teeth, they agreed to resign their pistols on condition of being guaranteed a safe escort to the next Thannah, which was readily accorded. But full of deceit as the wretches are, they held a further parley and demanded the swords also, and the hopes the poor fellows had of seeing

those most dear to them were at once blighted. Walden resigned his sword on the above repeated condition, but Staples threw his scabbard *only* to the leading man, and, like a lion, rushed among them sword in hand, cut up half a dozen of them. During this conflict unfortunate Walden met with brutal treatment, beat by bludgeons and wounded by a spear in the breast, he sank to the ground, for dead; the brave Staples had also in the meantime met with his death by a fatal blow from an iron *lathee* in the temple, but the wretches were disappointed, for nought but their caps and pugrees aye and boots, were of use to them; they next dragged the bodies to the stream whence the soldiers had quenched their thirst, and Walden, not being a swimmer, dreaded the idea of being obliged to show symptoms of life rather than drown, but luckily they were left at the brink, and to make sure life was extinct, they finished by giving each a blow on the mouth with a lathee and then left in triumph. The reader need not be surprised to hear that the leaders in this as in all other similar cases were our own police. I shall leave you to judge of the feelings of Sergeant Walden when he came to his senses some hours after, scarcely able to crawl, dying with thirst and from loss of blood (for he found he had a deep sword cut across the thigh, in addition to his other wounds, the pain from which was now excruciating) and the exposure to a burning sun; he in this state made his way over to his comrade whom he found cold and stiff; then made for the stream which afforded great relief, and enabled him at night-fall to get along through the jungle; for it were better he thought to face the wolf and tiger than the inhabitants of the villages. Notwithstanding his strong mind and determination he was repeatedly taken up, searched, stripped, scoffed at by old and young, ordered away, when away about a stone's throw, ordered back and again laughed at and pelted with stones by the wretches of boys; refused a drink of water, and could not succeed by any amount of humiliation in gaining their compassion. Those who have suffered travelling on the burning sands, without *head covering* in June, without a drop of water, or any substitute, for twenty-four or twenty-eight hours, will condole with Sergeant Walden, who from loss of blood was quite exhausted and often laid himself down to die; at one time an elephant of Mr. Berkeley was returning to Huldwanee, he entreated the Mahout to give him a lift, but even this dastardly wretch refused; a report having in the meantime reached Nynee Tal of some person lying wounded on the road, an elephant was despatched and brought Walden to Huldwanee, where some little refreshment with the prospect of being nursed by his

wife revived him; he was brought up Hill on a charpoy, and, through the kind attention of Dr. Bowhill, is in a fair way of doing well, and barring the loss of teeth, we hope to see him able to be revenged yet for such cruel treatment.

Statement by the Moonsiff of the suburbs of Bareilly.

I was sitting in my house getting myself shaved, when Mr. Robertson came to me, and, in a state of much excitement, told me that the native infantry regiments were in open mutiny, that Major General Sibbald and several other officers were murdered, that the sepoys were setting fire to the officer's bungalows and destroying the public buildings, that they had liberated the prisoners, and that they were ransacking the treasury. That he had heard that the native infantry regiments would march out of the sudder station so soon as they had taken all the treasure. That as the irregular cavalry was loyal, he thought that peace and order would be soon restored through their assistance. In the meantime he asked to be allowed to remain in my house, I complied with his wishes, remarking at the same time that I was not aware of the mutiny, and candidly informed him that I had not sufficient men in my service to protect him, but that he was welcome to remain in my house as long as he liked. I had scarcely done speaking to this gentleman when the two latter officers also came to me, and feeling curious to ascertain the nature of their errand, I asked Deputy Collector Orr what he wanted. I was told in reply that he had ordered his buggy to return certain visits; that his kidmutgar came and told him that the sepoys were in open mutiny, and had murdered some of their officers; that they were taking the guns to knock down the jail and liberate the prisoners, that they would pass by the house, and for him to leave the house immediately; that he forthwith got into his buggy and drove off to the Major General's bungalow; that on his way he was informed that the Major General was killed; that he went then to the house of the commissioner, and found that he had fled; that he then went off to the residence of the collector, and found he had also fled with the Joint Magistrate to Nynee Tal for refuge; that he next resolved to see Mr. Robertson, the Judge of Bareilly; that on his way he met Dr. Hay whom he took up into the buggy—and both proceeded to the residence of Mr. Robertson, finding that the mutineers had preceded him he turned his buggy and put the horse in a gallop; that the horse being frightened by the report of fire arms, became ungovernable and knocked against a tree, and

was much hurt, and that his buggy broke down; he heard that Mr. Robertson was in my house, and so he wanted to see him. Shortly after this interview with the Judge, Mr. Robertson desired me to send for the kotwul of the city. I thought it an imprudent request, because it would lead to the discovery of their place of concealment. I remonstrated with him, but he repeated his orders; finding that he would not benefit by my advice, agreeably to his wishes, I went up to my gateway, and seeing a burkundaze of the kotwalee standing there, I told him to call the kotwul; in reply he told me that the kotwul had concealed himself; that Newab Bahadoor Khan had come in person to the kotwalee, and demanded the three gentlemen whom I had concealed in my house; that if I refused to comply with the chief's request, he would put me to death, and knock down my house. I told the burkundaze that I had concealed nobody, and he returned to the kotwalee, on returning to the gentleman I informed them of the message, brought to me by the burkundaze of the kotwalee from the chief. They seemed to be much alarmed and asked me to remove them into some other house; I could not do so, as all the city was up. Messrs. Orr and Hay resolved to go away, but the Judge, Mr. Robertson, made up his mind to remain in my house at all hazards, to the two former gentlemen I folded my hands and begged of them not to expose themselves in the middle of the day in the streets of the city: they succumbed to my entreaty, and made up their minds to stop in my house. As they appeared to be much frightened, I asked them to take refuge in my zenana, among the female members of my family; that they declined to do, stating that the zenana afforded them no greater security; however I concealed the Judge in a small room, giving him a small knife to protect himself in case his place of concealment should be discovered, and locked up the door. Messrs. Hay and Orr I concealed in another room, giving each of them a sword and a pistol. I then locked up the gate, and went up to the roof thereof. The budmashes now surrounded my house, and called upon me to deliver the refugees into their custody; I swore to them by every thing that was sacred, that there were no Europeans concealed in my house. I was menaced, and very offensive language was uttered towards me; they now set to work with hatchets to break open the gate, but were foiled in their endeavours to do so. By means of a ladder they jumped into my brother's apartments—my brother resides in the same house with me. On seeing how they had effected an ingress, I came down from the roof of the gateway, and was unfortunately made a

prisoner. By the same ladder they jumped into my house, and now commenced the bloody deeds; by a blow from a club, I had a finger broken, and my toes bruised, the doors were burst open, the gentlemen dragged from their rooms, and were most barbarously murdered by the Nawab's emissaries. The guard placed over me now released me, and I saw the fiends carrying away the bodies of the deceased officers. I then went to the kotwalee in person, and asked for the bodies to bury them, I was refused them by the Nawab who was greatly vexed with me, and made use of the most opprobrious terms which human ingenuity could devise. I then returned home, but found it was no longer a home for me, my property plundered, the female inmates of the house had fled for their lives;—my hardships are better conceived than described, and I trust to a generous Government to give me redress. In trying to save the life of my employer, I have lost my all, and my losses are irreparable. The following residents of Bareilly will bear testimony to the truthfulness of my statement, viz, the Principal Sudder Ameen of Bareilly, Misser Byjnath, Goordyal Khuttree, the Sub-Assistant Surgeon of Bareilly, and Moonshee Nittanund, besides several Hindoo citizens whose names it would be too tedious to mention, are eye-witnesses to the fact. The following is a list of the names of the persons whom I recognized, at the time my house was attacked, and who took an active part in murdering the officers —Almul Hussun Kotwall; Mundul, fruiterer; Khuda Buksh, servant to Nawab Futty Allee Khan; Hafiz Kullun Khan, ditto of Khan Bahadoor Khan; Nubbee Buksh and Ilahee Buksh, sons of Fujjor goldsmith; Gholam Sumdanee Khan, and his brothers, sons of Gholam Jeelanee Khan; Bukshoo Khan, servant to Mahomed Hossein; Khan Newab, sons of Fujjoo, lime-vender; Fuzloo bad character; Mudar Ali Khan, resident of the old city of Bareilly; Munsoor Ali Khan, ditto ditto; and Mikmood Shah, ditto ditto.

Statement made by Sheikh Toofanee Syce.

On the 22nd of May last I arrived at Bareilly from Calcutta in charge of two horses from Messrs. Cook and Co. for Mr. Guthrie, the Collector; on arrival I found that fears were entertained that the sepoy infantry regiments were about to rebel. The 8th irregular were thought to be staunch. The officers and other gentlemen used to congregate nightly for safety at particular houses, although the men were performing duty as usual; the ladies and children had been sent up to Nynee Tal sometime previously. My master, Mr. Guthrie,

as well as others, kept their horses always saddled ready for any disturbances that might happen. On Saturday the 30th, there was great confusion and dread of an outbreak, but it passed off. The next day, Sunday, about 10-30 A. M., a chuprasee came to Mr. Guthrie and told him that the sepoys were plundering the treasury. My master and the Deputy Collector, Mr. White, started for the treasury in a buggy, they soon afterwards returned and saw the holes made by bullets in the hood of the buggy. My master, Mr. White, Mr. Currie, the Commissioner, and the Brigade-Major, mounted their horses, and rode to the cavalry lines for aid. I accompanied them, the sowars were all ready and mounted. The General (Sibbald) came along from his house on horseback, and was at once shot dead by a sowar; upon this all the gentlemen fled for Nynee Tal, where I afterwards heard that Mr. Guthrie wrote to the Bareilly Nawab, that he had arrived, and would one day be quits with him. I heard that the infantry officers made off for Nynee Tal directly their men rose. Two officers (of the 68th, I believe) were murdered by their men near the lines, I believe no other gentlemen were killed, but the sergeants and the women, and children of clerks, and others who had not previously been sent to Nynee Tal, were cruelly murdered. The kotwal I believe escaped to Nynee Tal, with the gentlemen; the town was not plundered; the four guns were taken by the insurgents, and were fired by them on the fugitive officers, but without effect; the bungalows were all plundered and burnt. The only gentlemen killed were Brigadier Sibbald, shot by a sowar, the Superintending Surgeon (Hayes) killed by the people in the city while trying to escape, and the two officers killed in the infantry lines. I heard that eight gentlemen who had fled from Mooradabad, I believe, were under the protection of the Rampore Nawab, and that he had threatened to attack the rebels, if they come his way, which they must do if they go to Delhi as they had intended. They are under the command of the artillery subadar, but each man did what he liked, and no authority was respected. I remained a week at Bareilly after the rebellion near my master's house in a grove, and travelled to my home at Dinapore viâ Shajehanpore, where all was burnt and no Europeans remaining; Seetapore where the same condition existed; Sultanpore again the same; Juanpore, where the treasury had been plundered; Ghazeepore where all was quiet, Buxar and Arrah; and reached Dinapore on the 24th instant. The regiment from Shajehanpore had joined the mutineers at Bareilly before I left it. I did not hear at Shajehanpore what had become of the officers, the bazar was almost deserted. I met

with Jemadar Solamat Ali near Juanpore, and thence we travelled together; a Goorkha regiment is protecting Nynee Tal and guns. When I left Bareilly, Moradabad had not gone.

Escape of Captain Gowan, 18th N. I.

Account of my escape from Bareilly and subsequent occurrences to the period of my arrival at Meerut.

On the 30th May after a day of great fatigue and excitement, I had returned to my house at between 8 and 9 P. M., with the intention of getting a little rest, when one of my orderlies spoke to me through the closed door. I desired him to repeat what he said, and he began telling me that some large zemindar in Oude had been oppressing his family, and he wished me to hear about it. I told him I was very tired, and to let me hear what he had to say at another time. Next morning, having occasion to call him into my room, as he was about to go out, I desired him to let me know what he wished to say the previous night, when he immediately said, "I have heard that the 68th is going to mutiny at 11 to-day, is it true?" I replied, "I don't know, but I have heard so frequently from you all, that the 68th is going to mutiny *this very day*, and it has hitherto proved but a report, that I can't suppose this to be anything more." He said; "I have heard that a sepoy of the 68th came down to our lines to-day, and said so." I said I would make enquiries. I have no doubt now, but that the man wished to tell me this the night before, and knowing I was always ready to listen to all their grievances, adopted the plan he thought would ensure his admittance to me where there would be no servants to over-hear what he said, but I did not look at it in that light at the time, for though very well aware that the Bareilly force would mutiny soon, and that no human precautions could prevent it, I had hoped that none of the regiments would commit any overt act for a short space of time more. The officers of the regiments each stood up for his own, and would not believe that the one to which he belonged could mutiny, and I was in bad odour, because I said, I thought my own no better than any other, and though none could love his men more than I did, I could not expect them to do what I should never dream of expecting from my own countrymen when placed under similar circumstances. I found myself like Cassandra, as indeed I told some, and must expect to be treated similarly. It may be thought that I ought to have brought forward the proof of

what I heard, but I had two reasons for not doing this; one was that I am well aware that

> "A man convinced against his will
> Is of the same opinion still;"

and the other, that had I let it be generally known, who was my informant, I should at once have put a stop to his being able to give me any information. I had had, on other occasions, good reason to thank him for information supplied, and consequently trusted him, and as events have proved, not unadvisedly. He it was told me that neither artillery, cavalry, or infantry was to be trusted, however much they praised themselves, that of course there were good men in each of the corps, but that they were powerless, though they did really strive to keep down the mutinous spirit; that he could learn of no plan having been determined upon, but that the excitement was such, and this daily increasing owing to emissaries from the city, that some overt act must soon be committed, and that he thought that this would be the murdering of some officer, it did not appear to matter whom, by some of the bad men. He advised me consequently never to go about alone after sun-down, a precaution to which I attended, and myself gave to other officers, Colonel Troup, and the officers of the 18th N. I., my own corps especially. Soon after the orderly had told me about the report before mentioned, Major Pearson (who since his return from Nynee Tal, on the 15th of the month, had lived in my house) came to me; he had been with Colonel Troup, whom he stated to be in a depressed state of mind, but did not give the reason, which I afterwards learnt, was owing to his knowledge of the purpose of the 68th to mutiny. I mentioned to him what the orderly had told me, and though Colonel Troup had told him to tell me that the 68th would mutiny at 11 A. M., he even then, not believing it I suppose, treated the reports as I had, but desired me to send for the havildar major, a man in whom he placed great confidence. I went outside to do this, and found that the man had come; he was a Mussulman, named Ali Khan, and had been brought up in the corps, as indeed his father had been. He was weeping, and told us that there was a rumour prevalent in the lines that the 68th were to mutiny at 11; Major Pearson questioned him, but could learn nothing more than it was a prevalent rumour; and the 18th had no intention of joining them; the rumour was to the effect that the 68th were going to mutiny by marching away with their colors and arms from the station.

Major Pearson then told him to go back to the lines, that the rumour was but a false one, and that it must have arisen from

an order for a company of the 68th to proceed at once to strengthen the treasury at Budaon, which was to start at 11. These occurrences took place at about 9. I may mention that when I went outside and brought the havildar major in, all the servants were collected together whispering and looking very frightened, so as I had not seen them as yet before; but not myself believing that the fatal day had arrived, I took no heed of this.

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.

Being the last day of the month, I was busy examining the muster rolls, and had gone through them all, (the pay havildars saying nothing to me or I to them about the rumour), and had commenced taking a copy of a station order calling for a return to be furnished without delay, when my bearer came into the room evidently much alarmed, saying, "there is a great noise in the 68th lines—the men are shouting!" I told him it was a company of the 68th going to Budaon, when he went away, but evidently dissatisfied. In a short time he returned saying that the muskets were being fired off, I told him not to be alarmed, and asked Major Pearson, who came in just then, to go out and listen, as I was anxious to finish copying the order. He went out, but could hear nothing. Presently the bearer again returned, and said the 68th were firing again, and so were the guns. Having hurried taking the copy of the order, I went out with Major Pearson, and hearing the musketry firing, I said, "we must go down to our lines," and went inside to get my cap, tunic and sword, and to rouse up Ensign Dyson, who was my chum, whom I desired to follow us to the lines. Major Pearson went on ahead, and I assuring the servants, immediately followed him.

On arriving at the lines we found the men in a state of very great excitement, but unarmed and unaccoutred, Major Pearson ordered them to dress, and to load their muskets, which they did at once; but though frequently directed to fall in, they did not obey the order, and were but a rabble professing devotion to their officers, and sorrow for what had occurred. In a very short time I saw the mess house of the 68th in flames; the lines of that corps were burning when we reached our own lines. Just at this time Ensign Dyson came down, and very soon after Captains Richardson and Hathorn, and Lieut. Stewart, the latter of whom stated he had seen Lieut. Hunter and Ensign Barwell mounted on horses fleeing towards the cavalry lines. Soon after our own lines were set on fire from the left, and as there was a strong wind blowing they were soon consumed. Shots were fired by men of the 68th at horsemen who rode

across their parade. While our lines were burning, some sowars and a native officer of the 8th irregulars came down close to our lines in front, and Major Pearson went and spoke to one of them, but he gave a very unsatisfactory answer. The Major afterwards told me, and some of our men pulled him back, declaring the cavalry had sworn to shoot every European. I also went towards the party with the native officer, who had a standard in his hand, but the sepoys begged me not to go near the cavalry as they would kill me, and just then one of the party raised his carbine to shoot the sergeant major, but was told by a young sepoy, who knocked up the muzzle of the piece, that if he attempted to shoot the saheb he should be shot. Now came a cry that the treasury had been plundered by the guard of the 68th, which was over it, and the artillery fired their guns unshotted.

So things went on until about 2 P. M., when the 8th irregulars, the artillery, and 68th assembled together and turned the guns on the 18th, threatening to blow them away if they did not come and join them at once; the majority then went forward and joined them, while some few, though with the consent of the rest, put us (*i. e.* the officers whose names I have given and myself) with Quarter Master Sergeant Cross and Sergeant Major Belcham, with his wife and four children, of ages varying from 12 to 2½ years, into one of the bells of arms, and shut us up there. The whole regiment then, or at least most of them, went off to the treasury and the jail, and released the prisoners, while some went plundering the station bazar and the officers' bungalows, to which latter they set fire. The sowars took all the horses, hastening on horseback from house to house to effect this. My own parade horse was taken by havildar Kadirbuksh of my regiment, soon after I had been put into the bell of arms, as the groom had brought it down to the lines. While we were in the bell of arms we were supplied with wine and spirits, and food prepared by the natives, and defended from the sowars and prisoners who came to kill us, insisting that we were there, but the soldiers denied that they had anything but their own families and property. In the evening the soldiers returned to the lines loaded with plunder of all kinds, and soon after Khan Bahadoor arrived on the parade, and, after appointing officers and promising large pay, went away. The whole force then encamped on the 18th parade, the cavalry on the right and close to the place in which we were concealed. When it was getting dark the sepoys came to ask us what should be done, and we said escort us to Nynee Tal, which they said they would do, and also furnished us with money and clothes for the purpose, but that

we must wait until it was dark, as the sowars were determined to kill every European they saw; that they had already killed Colonel Troup, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Barwell, Doctors Currie and Oakley, and sent a party on the Nynee Tal road to follow such as had fled on horseback, or stop all who should attempt to get up by the direct road. They again came with sepoys' red coats and dhoties for each of the men, and said they would bring covering for Mrs. Belcham and the children. I aided the officers in putting on their dhoties as they knew not how to fasten them on, and I did, and went to aid the sergeants, and to assure Mrs. Belcham, who was crying, as well as I could, if possible to prevent the youngest child from crying. While doing this the door was opened, and the officers all went out unknown to me. The sowars then came, and the sepoys shut the doors, and I thinking the other officers were there, called to one or other of them, but received no answer. I then went round the pile of clothing, which was in the bell of arms, and to my great horror found that they had all gone; knowing that the sowars were watching the place, I supposed that all would soon be murdered, and I prayed, as may be supposed very earnestly, for deliverance. Soon the sowars went away from before the door, and other sepoys came and took me, the two sergeants, and the family of the sergeant major, out of the bell of arms, hurrying us along as they told us to where the officers were. Sergeant Cross and one child went on first, I followed, but noticing Mrs. Belcham coming slowly, I stopped for her to come up, but the naik who was with me told me we must all go separately, as should the sowars see a large party they would attack us; and we should all meet where the officers were. I consequently went on and was escorted to the rear of the station, and the naik then told me he did not know where the officers were, but that he would escort me to Fureedpore; that I had better make the best of my way to Shahjehanpore, which I could easily reach in two nights, and he would follow me; he also gave me two rupees, which was all the money he had on him, and advised me to keep the road, going round the villages, and to hide during the day, under a bridge, or if I could manage to get there unobserved, in the house of some poor man. I was then under the impression that the others, who had been concealed with me in the bell of arms, were being escorted to Nynee Tal, and though my conductor had led me away from them, yet I had every reason to suppose that he meant kindly by me, both from his accompanying me so far, furnishing me with money, and from his conversation, so I offered him a ring I had, which he refused, saying he could not take it, and that I should need it for our journey. When near

Fureedpore I sent him back that he might make what arrangements were necessary for our journey to his home, and went on. I soon reached Fureedpore, and inadvertently entered it owing to a number of trees and the darkness preventing me from seeing the houses, I was immediately challenged, but allowed to pass with the observation—"he's some European," and walking rapidly reached a police station where one of the policemen called out after me, and desired me to return. This I did, and was told to sit down. Another policeman came up, and putting his hand to the hilt of his sword was about to draw it, when the officer desired him to desist, and leave me alone, which he did with much grumbling, and many imprecations on the infidels. The officer had me escorted to the tuhseeldaree, where I was closely questioned, and well looked at for about half an hour, and then told to go on, the people there (the tuhseeldar was away somewhere) gave me the same advice as Ramchurn Missir, the naik, had given, *i. e.* to keep the road, but to go round the villages. A man ran after me, and advised me to throw off the sepoy's coat I had on, urging me to do so, that the villagers might not attack me. This I did, and threw that coat on the road; of course my disinterested friend immediately picked it up. Hurrying on along the road, or taking detour through the fields, feeling weary and tired, I reached a bridge near a police station which had been burnt—the name of this station was Morilia, and the bridge was near to Tissooa. As the morning was then just breaking I got under the bridge, and covering myself up with the dhoti as natives do when they go to sleep, I committed myself to the protection of the Almighty, who had so much aided my escape, and fell asleep. At about sun-rise I was awoke by a man calling out "what man!" and found that my hiding place was discovered. I told him, and he said, "this is no place to hide in, people always come here as I have done, for there is no water near—get into the bushes, pointing to some kurounda bushes near"—I at once got up to do so, but he desired me to lay down again, and he would see if there was any one coming. Presently he came back, and told me that the officer of the police station had gone to fetch his gun to shoot me, and to run off at once to the bushes. This I did, but had not been long there before a young Mussulman with some others came and asked me for money to procure a doolie and bearers to escort me to a safer place. I gave them all I had, Rs. 2-8 and a silver chain of the value of Rs. 6, but of course I never saw doolie or bearers. Presently others came, and told me to get out of the bushes, or they would kill me; these men were accompanied by the officers

of the police station, who had a gun, and a sword, but the others had only lathees and plundered me of my dhoti, and two watches (one Dyson had given me to take care of) and sent me off to some other bushes, where in a short time I was again plundered, but this time of everything I had, except a pair of worn-out stockings, and was beaten on the head with my own shoes. After being plundered some proposed to murder me, but others said there was no use in this, as they had got all I had, and would gain nothing by killing me, so I was told to run away. This I was about to do, when some said that it was a shame to send a man about naked, so my banyan was given me. All then joined in advising me to get away from the neighbourhood of the road, as the regiment at Shahjehanpore had also mutinied, and murdered every European they had come across, let out the prisoners, and were now advancing on Bareilly, besides that the prisoners and Mussulmans generally were most blood-thirsty after Europeans. As I was going away, the police officer said to me, "get away as fast as you can, I, a Mussulman, have saved your life!" I then ran off in the direction of the forest which they told me I should find not many miles off. While running, I saw a great number of men with lathees in their hands running after me, so I stopped, and went towards them; they were cowherds, and questioned me as to who had robbed me. I said I could not tell, but they took me back to the place from which I had been last sent away, and told me to point out who had done it. I said that I could not recognize those who had taken the things, that some snatched one thing and some another, but who did anything in particular I could not tell. So they let me go away, and I walked off in the direction I had previously gone. When about half a mile off I met a brahmin who was carrying melons, he spoke to me, and offered me one which I took and ate, and while eating he called out to a cowherd to catch a goat, and bring me some milk, which was done—the cowherd also gave me his own shoes. I then proceeded to a village of Kuhars, part of which had been recently burned, as they told me by released prisoners—they fed me with fish-currie, and told me to rest under a tree until the evening, but that they dared not take me into their village, as both I and they would surely be murdered by the Mussulmans. Under this tree was a chowkeydar of Simureea (who was, I heard, murdered next day) who tore his own dhoti in two, and gave me half of it, telling me to use it as a dhoti. While under the tree the villagers came to me in great numbers, expressing their sympathy, and execrating the Mussulmans and sepoys for what they had done. Every one who came brought me some little

present, so that I was soon clothed, and had to eat and drink a great deal that day, to please the poor people. I was also guarded all day long, and when the sun had risen, and, the small tree I was under, afforded but little shelter, I was removed to a small grove of trees, and kept there until the evening, when I was escorted by some of the inhabitants of Hurraillee to a garden of small mango-trees, in which was a well, and a small shed, which latter they told me to get into. Here I was told that Issooree Singh, the Thakoor of Hurraillee, had sent to his relative and superior, Bheekum Singh, who resides near Mewna, to request permission to retain me. Bheekum Singh, however, would not grant this permission, so after being concealed in the shed for three days, I was escorted away to another village. While at Hurraillee I was supplied with food and treated as kindly as circumstances would permit, but they would not allow me into their village, for the sowars of the 8th cavalry, who had been sent to keep open the road, had learnt at Fureedpore of my escape, and of my having been merely plundered and not murdered, near Tessooa, and were in search of me throughout the country. The sepoys of the 28th also joined in this search, and I saw some of the latter, without uniform, but having their muskets and pouches, pass about 200 yards in front of the shed in which I lay. I learnt here, and this was subsequently confirmed, that on the 31st and the three next days, numerous sepoys from Bareilly passed by, unarmed, on their way to their homes, chiefly in large bodies, but some in small parties, and these were set upon by the villagers and all plundered, some being murdered; indeed at this time every body's hand appeared to be against every one else, and the most frightful and cold-blooded murders were committed, sometimes in revenge for injuries received or imagined, sometimes under the foolish delusion that dead men tell no tales, and sometimes as if really for the very pleasure of shedding human blood. One poor brahmin I heard of was sitting telling his beads when a Mussulman came up to him, drew his sword, and murdered him, though the poor man offered him all he had to spare his life, and this "all" consisted of his lota, taree, beads, and the cloth he had on. Land, which had been sold by the former owners, or in satisfaction of Government demands, was resumed, and the greatest oppression and cruelty exercised by the land-owners and the Mussulmans generally, so that no one for a long time ventured to go beyond the limits of his own village unless several others went with him, and if they travelled at night it was in secrecy and with the greatest precaution. While travelling about the country for the first week, I do not

remember one night during some portion of which the country was not illuminated by some village being burnt either out of revenge or for plunder.

Budaon was thrice threatened, but the Thakoors soon found that their men would not fight against guns and the disciplined cavalry of the Mussulman chiefs, and therefore desisted from their boasting of plundering Budaon and other places. From some cause the Hindoos in Rohilkund are very badly armed, having generally nothing but tulwars and shields, most of these newly made, most murderous clubs, and old matchlocks, which looked to me as if they were far more dangerous to those who had the moral courage to fire them than to any one else, and hence though not wanting in pluck, I could never get the Thakoors to aid me in raising a force to resist the rebel chiefs after their first attempt. When Rughoonath Singh had attacked Fureedpore, and plundered it in addition to murdering the collectors of revenue, appointed by Khan Bahadoor, that chief sent out a force against the Thakoor, and this being the first appearance of the rebel army, and a report having gone abroad that it had been sent to coerce the payment of the revenue which the Nawab had demanded, the people anxiously watched it, and the "braves" accompanied it, marching on its flanks to prevent any diversion from the declared intention, *i. e.* to proceed to Futtehgunj, and thence to Bhudowlee, to punish Rughoonath for his "rebellious" proceedings. This frightened the brave army, and they behaved themselves decently, but when near their destination, a blunderbus, or rather small cannon mounted on a camel, was fired off, and though the ball merely dropped on the ground a few yards off, the braves showed their backs. They found out that though there was little dread of themselves, there was of their "guns;" they sent some sowars, troopers, from various of our mutinied cavalry regiments after them, which completed the route, and established a fear of both guns and sowars which the Mussulman chiefs have not been slow to take advantage of, so that ever after no force was sent without at least one gun, which, however useless against disciplined men, frightened the foolish peasantry. As Rughoonath could not depend on his own army, and could obtain no assistance from his brethren, he was obliged to flee. It was currently reported that when this Thakoor attacked Fureedpore, he had some six Europeans with him, who accompanied him to the field, and as the story of the six Europeans was confirmed from many sources, I had hoped that some of the residents of Shahjehanpore had escaped destruction, and not being able to get to Furruckabad, had fled towards Bareilly, not knowing of the revolt there. I

could, however, get no one to take letters for me, even so far as five miles, and so was alarmed for the fate of the Europeans he was said to have with him. It had never occurred to me that my own brother officers might not have reached Nynee Tal, or that there had been any massacre at Bareilly. I had heard that Mr. Raikes, the Sessions Judge, had been first protected and sheltered by the Mussulmans, and afterwards murdered, and that a Sergeant Major had also been butchered. I feared from his having a family with him, that it must be Sergeant Major Belcham, but the accounts were so confused and so mixed up with false accounts of the bravery (superhuman) displayed, that I knew not what to credit. I was soon however re-assured on this subject, as those who had seen the six Europeans had seen them accompanying Rughoonath, as they said, on his way to Poain. Khan Bahadoor's army marched to Bhudowlee and burnt it to the ground, the Thakoor's own residence being pulled down by a large number of bildars sent from Bareilly and other places for the purpose. On the return of this force to Bareilly, they attacked a village called Puchounee, (the Thakoor of which Motee Singh, a relative of my protector Bikka Singh,) had given some assistance to Rughoonath, burnt it to the ground, caught an old relative of Motee Singh and some young lads, carried off as much plunder as they could, and in cold blood murdered old men, women and children, the sowars being the most active. One very old man who was deaf, was sitting "as his manner was" under a tree, when a party of sowars coming up cut off his hand, and then the other hand, and subsequently the head; they also shot down all those who took refuge on trees, cut out the breasts of some women, and destroyed the crops. The old relative of Motee Singh and one young man were blown away from guns at Bareilly, the rest were released. These atrocities very much frightened the people of the neighbourhood in which I lived, but in the Budaon district there was formed a combination of Thakoors, who elected one Halee Singh as their head (because he, though a small land-owner, is a great favourite among them,) calling him "Halee Badshah," by which name he has subsequently gone.

These three several times advanced upon Budaon, but found the "guns" and sowars too much for their "bold" peasantry, and were obliged to retreat, not however until they had slain some forty or fifty Mussulmans. The first attack might have succeeded, but the rabble who went for plunder alone, and were armed with nothing but clubs, rushed forward in front of those who had fire-arms, and effectually prevented their making use of their arms, unless they had fired into their own

people. The Budaonites were not prepared for a fight, so did very little injury to the assailants. This was before Khan Buhadoor's guns had become sufficiently numerous to allow of his sending them to the aid of his friends. During Gungaram's absence at Bareilly it had gradually become known that I was at the village, and in Bikka Singh's house, but no one except the family had seen me, so that the family steadliy denied that I was there. I always opposed this divergence from the truth, but to no purpose, as I could never get them to see the folly, much less iniquity of falsehood, and when those who were supposed to be great tell-tales and mishief-makers, taxed them with harbouring Europeans, I was invariably asked whether such people ought to be told the truth. My reply used to be that though they were always telling me that the Almighty had a very long arm, yet that in their lying they denied this, for that they could not suppose that he approved of lying, and therefore they lied to help him in concealing me, so that they were rather presumptuous and impious, or they must be atheists. I was glad to find that they had so good an opinion of the English, especially in regard to speaking the truth (however undeserved as a general rule that opinion might be) and encouraged them in considering us a moral and intelligent people, full of chivalrous feeling, respecting brave enemies, but despising and detesting cruelty of all kinds; and I was much pleased that whenever I spoke on this subject, my two protectors' eyes would water at the very mention of the destruction of defenceless women and children. "A black man has a soul, sir, quoth Corporal Trim," or my uncle Toby—I forget which—it matters not, but we should remember it in these days. One or two of the small land-owners told my protectors to bring me to their towns or houses should there be any necessity for my seeking any other place of safety, but of course they also were assured that there was no one with Bikka Singh, and that the only "saheb" was "Billy Sahib" (a son of Mr. McLean, an Indigo planter, who lived with Hurceehur Singh,) and as they had now had time to ascertain that many of the Europeans or Sahibs, who were said to be scattered about in Rohilkund, existed only in the fertile imaginations of the people, they readily believed this denial. The stories of so many "sahebs" being concealed were mixed up with wonderful accounts of their doings. Unaided, one European and his wife had been, the latter loading and the former firing off musket for hours, and slaying their assailants in multitudes. Another having caused a couple of guns to be mounted on the top of a house, and the people of it to keep the doors, had slain so many of the villagers of a neighbouring village, who had come to attack the Thakoor

that the sweepers had been engaged for three days in carrying away the slain. On Gungaram's return he informed me of his want of success in finding out any of the sepoys of my regiment, or any of my own or other officers' servants, except one a Mussulman, mess khidtmutgar of my own corps, but this man, though he spoke in praise of me, and of the English, Gungaram did not think it advisable to inform of my whereabouts, contenting himself with saying that I had passed through the village where he lived, and that the Thakoor had not allowed me to stay. He had visited my house, and everything had been burnt, but the ashes were lying in piles along the walls. He told me the Hindoos were universally regretting the British having been murdered and obliged to flee, and very many Mussulmans did so too. A subadar major of the 7th N. I., who had come on leave, was loud in his abuse of the Mussulmans and sepoys, and made no secret of his earnest desire that we would punish them as they deserved. His name was Gungadeen, and his home in the Sudder Bazar. This man had gone on the parade after the men had returned in the evening, and upbraided them with their disloyalty, and earnestly recommended them to go quietly home, if they would not return to their duty. Every house, except Mr. Berkeley's, had been burnt, and even the charred timbers, and door and window frames destroyed; in fact, nothing had escaped the rapacity of the Mussulmans and sepoys. Gungaram had been absent ten days, and brought news that the officers who had gone off with the sepoys had all reached Nynee Tal, and that their escort had remained up there. This delighted me very much, and I made certain that I alone of the officers had been misled, and felt annoyed that Ramchurn had so deceived me. Poor blind creatures that we are! Of the Sergeants and the family of the Sergeant Major I could learn nothing, except that a Sergeant Major had been killed, and a poor woman, when escaping, had been confined in some straw in a field. The six Europeans stated to be with Rughoonath were said to be officers, and one was a Major. As for Khan Bahadoor's army, it was paraded every day and marched about, to the music of tom-toms and fifes, playing the beautiful tune one usually hears at the celebration of marriages among the natives, the commandants of battalions shouting out every now and then "by the right!" which word of command was taken up by the "zemindars" or Captains, and then repeated by soldiers—so that there was a continual roll of "by the right!" throughout the period of the manœuvres which generally lasted an hour and a half.

In about a week after his return Gungaram was again sent

to Bareilly, but could find no one whom he could trust. The Mussulmans were becoming more bold, and oppressing the Hindoos, having got an increase to the number of sowars. Khan Bahadoor had begun to fortify his house, and to build a mausoleum for himself, to erect which he had destroyed Mr. Thomason's grave, and taken all the marble and stone slabs he could find in the burial ground. He was also erecting lines, composed of grass and bamboos only, for his infantry; while the sowars were cantoned in the irregular cavalry lines and the college, some also being in the serais. The infantry also occupied the redoubt, the gate of which had been destroyed, as was also Mr. Berkeley's house. It was at this time also that a party of sowars, some 400 sabres, came from the eastward, escorting European prisoners, whom they refused to give up to Khan Bahadoor, stating their intention to take them to the king of Delhi, on whose orders they would act. I never could ascertain who the "saheb logue" were, or what became of them. The sowars were, at least some of them, of the 13th irregular cavalry, and left Bareilly after a sojourn of three or four days, during which no one was allowed to enter the serais in which they were. The report of my being in the village having been confirmed by some women, who had, true to their sex, peeped over a wall and seen me, the lords of the creation showed that they sprang from women by imitating their example, and it was wonderful what a number of things Bikka Singh possessed which were required by his neighbours. The family were, however, on their guard, and met duplicity with the same. They, however, thought it advisable to let a great friend of theirs into the secret, so I was introduced to Boorai Singh, the Thakoor of Bhitara, a small village about 1½ miles from Khairath Bhujhairup. He is a fine old man, a very great talker with a stentorian voice, but not the wisest of heads. He had a couple of stud stallions about whom he was in a great fright, for the Mussulmans were always asking him to give them up to them, and several mares. He himself and his two sons, fine young men, were good riders moreover, and being much among Mahomedans, and having them at their house, were passed to enter Khan Bahadoor's service as cavalry officers,—one as commandant of a regiment, and the other as rusuldar. I, of course, advised that they should not take service, at which the father and youngest son seemd disappointed. However they followed my advice for the time. On his third visit to Bareilly Gungaram was fortunate enough to find some of my servants, a dhobi, and all my saises, and brought the dhobi and one of the saises, who had been but a short time in my service, as the latter

had promised to take a letter to Nynee Tal for me. At the same time I was visited by Pirbhoo Lal, our new native doctor, who also volunteered to take or send a letter for me. My servants brought me some tea, fruit and sugar, and appeared delighted to see me. They stated that though they had asked the sepoys for their pay, seeing they had confiscated all their master's money, they were refused it, and had been subsequently themselves plundered, as had all the poor Hindoos at Bareilly, and were obliged to support themselves upon what they could get from the sowars, for grass, and that as they usually got more kicks than ha'pence, they were but badly off. A large number of saises, dhobis, and other servants had attempted to reach their homes, but have been sent back to Furreedpore by the tehseldar who had been very kind to them, and advised them not to proceed, for that they would surely be murdered for even the few clothes and cooking pots they had upon them, and they were now living in such vacant houses as they could procure in the Sudder Bazar, protected by the new Kotwal, an Aheer called Heera Singh, formerly one of the chuprassees, who kept order, did his best to prevent the Mussulmans from bullying the Hindoos, being backed by the Aheers in the Gual-tola, and also by Jarmul Singh. As I was able to travel about only at night at first, it had become customary at the time of my sais's arrival for me to take moonlight walks, and when I returned any visits to do so by night. I had received an invitation to supper from Booraj Singh, and accordingly, on the day my letter was despatched by my sais (that sent by Pirbhoo Lal was forwarded some six days subsequently) I went to partake of this Thakoor's hospitality. I had at first walked about without shoes, as I was afraid that the hard leather of the native shoes would cut my feet, but the Brahmin and Thakoor were very much distressed at my doing so, and consequently I had lately worn shoes in my rambles. My fears were only too soon realised, and the sore aggravated by emersion in a stream I had to cross, though on horseback, quite lamed me, and laid me up for a month or more. At these suppers I used to be supplied with fine wheat chupathees, vegetables curried, rice boiled in milk and sweetened, vermicelli treated in the same way—all quite palatable. Of course I had no spoons or forks, and had to use my hands to eat my food, but instead of employing my fingers, I used to form the chupathee into a spoon. My friends would have given me brazen vessels to eat out of, but I preferred earthen ones or wooden ones. However, at these suppers I of course used their own brazen ones, knowing they had only to heat them well in a fire to

purify them from the pollution of my touch. They never offered me any other, as to their ideas the so-doing would have shown disrespect, or allude to the necessity for purification. On the occasion of this visit to Booraj Singh, my arrival was announced by a salute of fire arms, occupying about a quarter of an hour, and consisting of an unknown number of vollies of two, three, four, five, or six guns, followed by a file fire of those that were not ready by the time the word "fire!" was given. I was shown the stallions, and myself exhibited to the females of the family; of course not apparently, but was held in conversation while a light was so placed that they could see me without my seeing them. After supper I had a chillum, and took my departure. I should mention that before my supper was served, the Thakoor insisted on himself washing my feet, both as a show of hospitality and proof of respect to a superior. The chillum I smoked was such as natives use, but being then unable to use my hands as they do, Bikka Sing had rigged up for me a pipe, of which the chillum formed the bowl, and the tobacco I used was that beaten up with *goor* which is used in villages, and not scented as it is in bazars. Some of the tobacco in the villages is very good, and as Bikka Singh was a great smoker he used to have the best, paying a high price for it, and procuring his from a village called Oossaiee in the Budaon district. This when well kept and smoked dry, tasted like old manilla cheroots broken up and smoked in a pipe. Bikha Singh was very proud of this tobacco, and used to keep me well supplied with it, filling my chillum whenever he came into the room he had given me, besides leaving a quantity with me to smoke when I liked, and as the male members of the family did so too, I had a good deal of smoking. When I was first taken in by Gungaram, he gave me a bed in a hut full of *bhoossa*, on the top of which I used to lie all day long, and very hot it was. At night I used to sleep in the open air amongst the cattle. This, however, was for but a few days until he built up the walls of and covered in a house which had fallen down. This hut was of the size of a hill tent, having one door, and the upper part of one end left open. In this my bed was placed in a corner, and the rest was left bare, except that some straw was placed near the door to make believe that the house was used to store straw in, but really to hide my bed. At first I used to wear the *banyan* and *paijamahs*, but from the great perspiration thereby induced, I was soon covered all over with prickly heat, and became as red as a lobster, so that it was agony to me to wipe myself dry after bathing. Bikha Sing consequently advised me to dress more lightly, which I did,

discarding the *banyan* and *paijamah* and wearing a *dhoti*, and the prickly heat soon disappeared. In my den I used to walk up and down, eight paces at a time, and by counting the paces was able to ascertain the distance walked each day, 5, 6, 7, or 8 miles.

As may be supposed my days appeared very, very long, even though I shortened them by sleeping as much as possible, and getting up very late, which was also necessary from the late hours the family kept. I used to awake before day-break, take my bed inside, and then go to sleep again until about 7 or 8 o'clock, when my friends would awake me, bring me water to wash, a piece of a *neem* bough for a tooth brush, and afterwards my breakfast, which usually consisted of chapathees, milk, curds and sweetmeat of some kind. After I had eaten the breakfast, fire was brought for me to light my chillum. According to circumstances, my devotions were performed sometimes before, sometimes after, my breakfast. After the smoke I used to take my exercise by walking up and down my den until I had completed one, two, three, or four miles, when I would sit or lie down, or perhaps have a smoke first. Thus about the first half of the day would have gone, and the brothers would come in from their field labours to bathe, and eat their dinner, I should have mentioned that Gungaram gave me on the first day a copy, in Nagree, of Deuteronomy, which he had received from a missionary at Shajehanpore, while he was yet a sepoy, and I used to read a chapter or more of this at a time, not only morning and evening, but also whenever I laid down, receiving the comfort and consolation which is conveyed by a prayerful perusal of any part of the holy word. Bikha Singh afterwards gave me a copy of Luke's Gospel, and of the Acts of the Apostles, so that I had the additional benefit of studying the conduct and life of our great Examplar, and of his most energetic apostle, and what new light was thrown on the Scriptures! I had read and read the works now before me over and over again, and was very well acquainted with not only the facts, but the phraseology, but never did I read with so clear a perception of the meaning, or feel how applicable the various parts are to ourselves as a people, or individually. I am thankful to think that I derived great benefit from my reading, and pray that I may never forget the lessons I then learnt. I had but these three books for two and a half months. When Gungaram or his brother had finished his *poojah*, one of them used to bring me my dinner, which consisted of chupathee and curried vegetable in general, though sometimes I had *kheer*, *i. e.*, rice boild in milk and sweetened, and other delicacies. The food, though plain, was very palatable, the only fault I

had to find with it, and this was corrected so soon as I mentioned it, was the amount of ghee and of salt, as well as red pepper in the curries. The ghee was very good, pure and fresh, but I never could bear much grease in my food, and natives are proverbial for the quantity of salt they consume, as well as for their fondness for hot spices. It was a constant source of complant with them that salt had become all but unprocurable since the outbreak, as Buktour Sing had seized a large convoy of salt, and would not allow the owners to sell it until they had paid him for permission. This they would not do at first, and the consequence was that no one could get salt. At last Buktour Sing got a broad hint that the Thakoors could not do without their salt, so he compromised with the dealers, allowing them to sell it, and to pay him so much per maund for the "protection" he afforded them. After dinner came anothor chillum, another walk, another read, and when it was well dark, and there was no probability of visitors making their "calls," I used to bathe and taking my bed outside, sit in the open air either smoking or talking with some of the family until supper was brought. After supper Bikha Sing used to come for a smoke and chat, and about 11 or 12 o'clock I used to get to sleep. Of course whenever the creaking door gave intimation of a visitor, I was obliged to lie down on my bed if I were walking, and by speaking lowly, avoiding showing myself. My residence with Gungaram was unknown except to his family, and one or two relatives who came to visit them—by the bye, they came to purchase salt. Sometimes the old mother would come and sit with me and the wives would come to the door, and ask me questions. The children too used to pay me a visit, and in their shy way show their interest in me, ascertain my wants, and bring me presents of fruit, &c., &c. Indeed nothing was left undone by these kind people to render my concealment and confinement more bearable. At first I was very sad, but I thought that most of my companions, if not all, had reached Nynee Tal, and felt thankful that I, who from my constitution could best endure the trial, had been selected for it. I had heard of the fearful tragedy at Shahjehanpore, and was delighted that none of our sepoys had acted as the 28th were said to have done. I endeavoured by every means in my power to get away from where I was to some of our stations, but my protectors wisely overruled my plans, and faithfully kept me from danger. They advised my gaining correct information, and spent their means inducing people to go with letters for me, Gungaram and his brother both volunteering to go themselves if I would allow them, and Bikha Sing offering a man a small portion of his own land as a free gift

if he would go, and this although his own banker had become bankrupt owing to the way in which he, as well as others, had been fleeced by the Mussulmans. Both families were very poor, the Brahmin had been robbed of almost all his cooking utensils, and unable to marry the eldest daughter, and the Thakoor had been obliged to dispose of his land.

When I had gone to Bikha Singh's house, my manner of living was much the same, but the house was larger, and I did not see the females; the building being separated into three enclosures by high walls. I was also permitted to speak aloud and was left less to myself, as there were several males of the family, and these did not follow the plough. Bikha Singh is a Pundit, or one learned in the religious works of the Hindoos, has travelled a good deal in Oude, and as far as Jugurnath, and is fond of talking, so that here my time fell less heavily on my hands. At the outer door of his house was the "chowpara," where the gossips assembled of an afternoon, and where all the current rumours were uttered, and many of them concocted, or at least improved, much in the manner reports are set afloat or improved at our coffee-shops. All were brought to me, and my opinion asked as to the truth or otherwise of our having "leather guns," of our being able to fire off a number of guns at a time, which it was said was done at Cawnpore when our forces reached that station, and other such questions. Of course I was frequently asked as to the cause of mutiny, and invariably told them that it was the hope of getting the rule into their own hands on the part of the Mussulmans, and of avarice on that of the sepoys, that the latter knew well enough that none of the rumours about "greased cartridges" and "bone dust attah" had the slightest foundation in fact, and that they would in time bitterly repent of their folly. I also told them that I was perfectly well aware that not one single regiment, regular or irregular cavalry or infantry, was to be trusted, but that notwithstanding this I was sure we should in the end subdue all our enemies, for that though we had numerous shortcomings, yet I fully believed that God would aid us, and that though the Mussulmans slew every European in the country, England would never loose her hold on India; for that India was her life blood—India given up England must die, and therefore that for every Englishman killed, three at least, if not five, would come, and wreak vengeance on the murderers of women and children, and the destroyers of the tombs of our relatives and friends. I said that this vengeance would be one worthy of England, not a petty malicious one as they expected; that though our women and children had been murdered, we would

not follow the example set us, but show our detestation of those crimes by sparing the defenceless. I told them, and Gungaram here coroborated what I said, that in the Sutlej campaign, although the Sikhs murdered our poor wounded soldiers whom they had found being conveyed in doolies, yet we had had the Sikh soldiers, who had been wounded, conveyed to our hospitals, and there cured; that was our custom in war, that we detested cruelty, and admired a brave foe, and fought with armies and rebels, but not with individuals. Bikha Singh responded to a good deal of this, but said he hoped we would exterminate the Mussulmans root and branch, or, as he expressed it, destroy the very seed. I find there are a great many Bikha Singhs among my countrymen, and am sorry for it. I hoped that there had been more sense in every Britisher, than to begin petting one set of our fellow subjects, because a great many of another set had misbehaved. The sepoys from Oude and Behar have mutinied, and the Punjabees have sided us, and consequently Sikhs are entertained in thousands, and petted while there is to be no counterpoise to them. Our Punjabees are fine fellows in their way, but they hate us, almost as much as they do the "Poorbeeas" or the "Mattadeens," and when they see that we are unprepared, they will do as the Poorbeeas have done. I used to say, when asked as to what I thought would be done, that I supposed, since the Mussulmans had proved (what those who knew them best always said) that they were ambitious, cruel, and treacherous, and the Hindoos that they were too great cowards to aid us, notwithstanding we had done so much for them, and that they liked our rule, no soldiers but Europeans would be allowed in the country, *i. e.* armed with fire-arms; all escort, and such duties being entrusted to policemen armed with swords, and that all the tuhseeldars, thanadars, and people in authority would be Europeans, or at least Christians; that the whole country would be disarmed except Government servants; that all the fighting would be done with the Europeans, of whom (by reducing the pay of our native force) we could afford to keep a sufficiently large number in the country to meet all requirements. This somewhat astonished them, but they saw the justice of our not trusting the natives, especially Mussulmans. It must be remembered that my auditors were all and always Hindoos; with either the power or the means of doing what they had lately done and were then doing.

At this place was one Mittoo Lall, Darogah of the Dattagunj thanna, who had remained at his post until all his policemen had gone, and even now continually visited the place to see how matters were going on. I heard great praise of this

man from all quarters, Mussulmans and Hindoos, who described him as a very honest and just official, during the short time he had been in the district. From him I learnt that he had been for sixteen years in the service of the Rajah of Kupoorthulla in the Jullundhur Doab, and had left that country shortly after the death of his master, and had obtained service with the English Government only about four months prior to the outbreak. Bikha Singh and he struck up a great friendship and were most assiduous in preventing my being bored by too many visitors. In a few days Oomrow Singh and Kirt Singh, the two sons of Indur Sing, returned from their expedition against Budaon, in which of course they had failed, owing, as they said, to the rabble who accompanied the "army" getting in front, and preventing their acting, and also to the "juwans" of the other Thakoors turning tail at the first discharge from the guns. This having been the third attack the Hindoos had made on Budaon, the Mussulmans determined to take it out of them, so instead of remaining fast, Khan Bahadoor's forces were pushed forward into the district, and, when they found the people well frightened, the Thakoors were called upon, and forced to pay the revenue due to that time. One Booray Khan brought two guns and some two or three thousand infantry, besides several hundred horse to within eight miles of where I was, and threatened the surrounding Thakoors, that he would burn their villages for their insolence. I mentioned that I had sent messengers to Cawnpore, the first on the 8th August; I think up to this time no reply had been received, but while at Jalounpore, the first messenger came back bringing a letter enclosed in a quill from Mr. W. Edwards, C., S., Collector of Budaon, who was then at a place called Kussoura, in which I was informed of much that was going on, and that my letter had been forwarded to General Havelock. Despairing of getting any replies from Cawnpore, I had only the day before sent off a Brahmin with another letter. This Brahmin, by name Cheeta, had been away from his home ever since the commencement of the rebellion, and Gungaram, whose relative he is, had always regretted that he could gain no intelligence of him, so when at last he returned to his home, Gungaram brought him to me with great joy, as he was well assured that this man would go wherever I chose to send him, and the Brahmin has well borne out the character given of him. Owing to Booray Khan's threat Bikha Singh begged me to stay no longer at Sulainpore, the more so as my being there was so well known, for that, notwithstanding their boasting that nothing of harm should come to me, the villagers were making every preparation to

run away and leave the Thakoors to their fate. I consequently yielded to his wish, and left one fine night, got the ferrymen to take me across the Ramgunga by moonlight, and reached Bikha Singh's house before the morning broke, without any one being the wiser, except Bikha Singh himself and Gungaram, who had fortunately come that day. Returned to Bujhero I was delighted to hear the very strong reports of the fall of Delhi, the capture of the king and his numerous family, and their having been transferred to Meerut, as the whole of Delhi was to be destroyed. I had been informed that the latter was to be the case, and therefore, knowing the siege operations had commenced, easily believed all the rest. The effect of the news was also most excellent on the Thakoors, and I got a pressing invitation to go and live with him from one, who only a fortnight before had refused to receive me. I had however determined to get Sergeant Major Belcham and family over to where I was, both because they appeared to be uncomfortable where they were, and because I thought I might be able to raise the force of the Thakoor's people, and would have the Sergeant Major to assist me in organising them. So I sent to say that I wished him to bring over the Sergeant, to whom I gave him a note, and that when he had brought him, I would come; I also mentioned that Belcham was an old artillery man, and could teach the Thakoor's people to load and manage the gun, for which I had learnt he had sent. My endeavours were however fruitless, as the note was never sent. Bikha Singh (for that was this Thakoor's name,) subsequently fully made up for this inattention to my wishes.

On the 18th September, I received another letter from Nynee Tal, and communicated its contents to the people about me. I was disappointed at its contents, as of course my assurance of the fall of Delhi was destroyed, notwithstanding that about this time thousands of runaway sepoys from Delhi were passing by and through Bujhero and the neighbouring villages. I sent an answer stating all I knew of things going on, and what I had learnt since my last of the fate of my brother officers. As the sepoys passed by, I sent Bikha Singh and Gungaram among them to find out their feeling, and to learn if there were any of my own regiment among them, as I had determined, if I found that they were not vicious, to try whether I could not induce my own men, and through them others, to fight the rebels at Bareilly. Perhaps fortunately for me none of the 18th men were met by friends. The feeling was one which would have induced me fully to trust them, as they were aware of the folly they had committed, praised the Government they had rebelled against, and acknowledged

that it was only just in punishing them to the utmost. They were very downspirited and fully prepared for death, though they said a death in fight was preferable to being hung or blown from guns. They were fully aware that they had been outlawed, and their property confiscated, so that it was useless going to their homes, on which account they had determined to proceed to Lucknow, and die fighting there, and when that place was taken to go to Nepal. From the accounts these men gave I was in a manner kept aware of the progress of the siege. I had in like manner learnt of the sally of the garrison of Lucknow, from several hundred sowars, chiefly wounded, who had passed by towards Bareilly, where they took service with Khan Bahadoor; these were Rohilla Pathans.

At first, when these sepoys passed through, they came in small bodies only, and said they had left Delhi, because they had got no pay, and could not starve. They mentioned that the king and royal family were joined with the mutineers, and that they took all the plunder to themselves, having lots of Mussulmans of the city of Delhi to aid them. Many of these sold their arms to those who would buy them, and some actually begged their way through the country. Afterwards they came in very large bodies, so that the whole road was covered with them, and four boats were employed from early dawn till past dark in ferrying them across the Ramgunga at a place where that river was not more than 200 yards wide. I should suppose that upwards of 20,000 passed by, besides some few sowars, though most of these latter either went to Bareilly, and took service with Khan Bahadoor, or took some other direction. The messenger who had taken my letter to Mr. Edwards had unknown to me, again gone off this time to Cawnpore, and returned on the 26th September, bringing me a letter from Mr. Edwards, which fully to my mind accounted for my other messenger, Cheeta, having returned to me with merely a receipt and statement that he had been rewarded with Rs. 3, for his trouble. I was now in a position (through the kindness of one whose liberality to me and other refugees, though he himself has been most mercilessly plundered, I have brought to the notice of Government, Byjnath Missir) to reward him further, and thus induce him to go on other errands for me. Mr. Edward's letter contained authority from General Neil, on the part of Sir J. Outram, to expend Rs. 50,000 in the raising and organisation of the Thakoors' troops. I had asked for assistance, and said, that with a few Europeans and guns (little did I know at the time how scarce such articles were) there would be no difficulty in retaking the rich province of Rohilkund, as all the Thakoors would give every aid in their power

in the way of supplies and carriage; they had no arms except wretched matchlocks, swords, clubs, and shields. I at once set to work and begged Bikha Sing of Govindpoora to convene a council of Thakoors (I was at his house when the letter was given me, a dependant of his having been the messenger) and I would myself come and state, what plan I proposed to adopt. It matters not what these plans were, as I was unable to carry them out. The Thakoors being afraid of openly assisting me, and too jealous of each other for one to raise a force quietly and drill it, as I wished by the aid of some sepoys, who were at their homes on leave at the time of the outbreak in Rohilkund, without being suspected of evil designs upon his neighbours. I was told if I could get only 50 or 100 Europeans and a few guns, or 500 Sikhs with the guns, could Europeans not be got? they could depend on their men fighting; but, after the failure of Rughoonath Singh and the attacks on Budaon, the advancing on Bareilly or any other place would result only in bringing down on them the vengeance of the Mussulmans. I had written off to Nynee Tal and Delhi to get such assistance—but received letters that crushed any hope of being able to do anything in Rohilkund, as I had hoped. I should here express my thanks to Colonel Greathed and Captain Grant, for their great kindness in answering my letter, and also to Captain Ross, for the postscript he added, and his kindness to my messenger—who by the bye was Cheeta. My efforts were not confined to this "Conncil of War." I wrote purwannahs, and spoke to a number of other Thakoors, but with the same result, in every case except one, Bheekum Singh's—this man wrote me that he had raised 1,500 men armed with fire arms in two days, and had also obtained two guns and two "Goordas," very small native cannon, from the Rajah of "Beknee." To him I replied that I was much pleased with his exertions, and should feel obliged by his bringing the force for me to inspect to Kherah Bujhero, as I was well aware that could I but get one Thakoor to openly commit himself, I should get plenty to join me. Of course, the force never came, but instead a letter, to which I sent a verbal reply that I could receive no excuses, and that, until my order regarding the force had been complied with, I could hold no more communication with him. About this time there were numerous reports of the Rajahs of Powain, Mittowlee, Devowreea, and others joining together to attack Bissulpore, and several of them did assemble, with a few of their forces at the last named place, in the hopes of meeting Mr. Alexander, C. S., Commissioner of Rohilkund, having been made to believe that he would come there, by Rajah Nowbut Raio

of Bareilly, who sent purwannahs to all the Thakoors and Rajahs to that effect. Of course, no, Mr. Alexander came, and I have since learnt that all concerned have paid large sums into Khan Bahadoor's treasury, having been compelled to do so to save their villages from being burnt. While all this was going on I was not unmindful of my purpose regarding the Belchams, and as I could get no one else to go, and the Thakoor with whom they were was unwilling to bring them, I wrote to Belcham to tell Hindoo Sing, that I would send men, and to threaten him with the vengeance of Government if he dared to prevent their coming—as I had determined to send them to Nynee Tal or some other place of safety. So when my messengers to Nynee Tal and Delhi had been despatched, I sent off Bikha Singh and Gungaram, with some two or three others to Bhownee, where the Belchams were; and on the morning of the 3rd October was delighted to see their familiar faces. As they had arrived at Bujhero in open day, their arrival could not be kept a secret, and soon spread all over the place. So all the females of the two villages came to see Mrs. Belcham and the children. A small party of Mussulmans also arrived, consequently we were all removed to another house during the night, and afterwards into a field where under a tree we remained four days. This last move was due to my spy in their camp sending word that the weavers at Kherah had given information to the Mussulmans of Kuttra of our being at Bujhero, and that if a force were sent we could easily be taken. My spy however induced them to let him send to make enquiries first, and made use of the permission to warn us. While in the field the weavers got men to come over from Kuttra; as they said Booray Singh (my spy) was deceiving them, and when they had found out (by inspection of Bikha Singh's premises,) of which he permitted under pretence of allowing them to see his mare which they professed to wish to purchase, or at least to see that really the birds had flown, they searched the fields round about in hopes to find us there. This news was brought to me one afternoon, and soon their voices were heard, but they were decoyed away from where we were. This search was continued the next day, but the weavers got a significant hint that, as their landlord Hurreehur Singh was a great friend of Alee Ruza Khan, and that his concubine and Khan Bahadoor's were sisters, should any of their number meet with his death in the village limits, there would not be any strict enquiry as to the cause, and he certainly could not allow any Europeans on his estate to be carried away, so they desisted. This Hureehur Singh is a great rogue, and without committing himself except by making a present of rupees 300 to

Khan Bahadoor as part of the revenue due, has kept on good terms with the rebel Government. I think and expressed my opinion that his voluntarily sending this money hastened the demand for their instalments of the revenue from the Thakoors, as none had been required before he sent it, but I have no doubt that this act of his was most beneficial to me, as it saved the neighbourhood from a hostile visit. He also, when aware of my being in Bujhero never gave me any assistance, and came to see me only when the sepoys passing through proclaimed the fall of Delhi; at which time I mentioned to him my desire to escape, and he volunteered money and any other assitance I required, but when I applied to him for it, he refused everything on the plea that I should go away quietly and not with a guard.

It was also about this time that a number of the mutinous sepoys of the Rohilkund force came to Bareilly, and demanded three lacs of rupees as their pay for the past six months, stating that, as they had rebelled at his instigation, and also gone to Delhi by his order, they considered him the proper person to pay them their arrears, and now that Delhi was taken, Khan Bahadoor was their master. After staying a few days, the very prevalent report of our forces advancing on Rohilkund drove them away—without their pay. Up to this time Khan Bahadoor had ordered that any sepoys running away from Delhi were to be seized and plundered as deserters, and for spreading false reports, so that the sepoys were exasperated with him, and had not our forces approached the river, would probably have forced him to give up some of his ill-gotten gains. He tried to induce them to go to Nynee Tal, but this they refused to do until they had been paid. I have not mentioned that when the force which went against that sanatarium had been repelled and returned to Bareilly, the regiment was discharged, and one of the Tomandars or Captains imprisoned. When, however, the second army was sent to co-operate with that from Philibheet, under Fuzal Huq, the men were re-entertained, and the Tomandar released. This army, at least so much of it as ever went (for numbers deserted between Bareilly and Bahairee) was driven back by the great sickness which attacked them. Of course numerous lies were invented to prevent any acknowledgment of defeat on the first occasion, and these were affected to be believed by the rebel government. One was that cannon balls rained thick among the brave troops, coming as it were from the clouds, for that if shot from guns the guns made no report, what could an army do against such witchcraft? These cannon shots were nothing more than stones thrown upon the fools by the Paharees when

they attempted to go beyond Jooleeapool, where the real ascent from Huldwanee commences. I heard that several hundreds of the 2nd army died at Bareilly from the fever and dysentery induced by the jungle air.

After remaining a few days in the field, we returned to Bujhero, but our hiding place having been discovered, I was obliged to flee to a village some miles off called Nowgowan, whence after two days' stay we were carried off to Govindpoora, and very kindly kept by Bikha Singh, until at the end of a week my spy sent word that we must move, as a force had been got ready to capture us, and would march that evening; he however got the Kuttra people to postpone their visit until he should send and see, reminding them how false was their information on the last occasion. I went to Bujhero into a jungle, to meet some messengers and the Belchams, where they remained one night and were taken back to Govindpoora in the morning, as Bikha Singh's spies had learned that the force was not coming. My spy had however sent word that our enemies were bent on sending some soldiers, as Bikha Singh had not paid up the required revenue, and that these men were to remain with him, being fed at his expense (a common way of making the refractory pay up, for this expense is not deducted out of the revenue, but is an additional impost), and that we had better go to his house at Bittara; so next night we all went off and I returned to Bujhero, leaving the Belchams at Bittara. I did this, because I was now determined to proceed to Allyghur (a step I had been induced to take from the letters from Brigadier Greathed's column at Nynee Tal, which I had received on the occasion of my meeting my messengers at Bujhero on the occasion before mentioned, and others while we staid at Govindpoora, for I paid several nightly visits to Bujhero during that period,) and because I saw that at Bujhero alone could I properly push on the arrangements. Unfortunately Booray Singh's eldest son got an attack of cholera, and being the only man there entrusted with our secret, I was necessitated to take the Belchams into the fields again. On receipt of the letters above mentioned, I wrote to the civil and military authorities at Allygurh and Meerut, mentioning my purpose and asking for assistance; stating that I thought the Zemindars would convey across the river the numerous refugees in Rohilkund, if promised the favor of Government and threatened with its displeasure if they did not aid. To these letters I received one from Mr. Thornhill, authorizing a reward to a large amount for the safe escort of the refugees, and another from Mr. J. Cracroft Wilson, Judge of Moradabad, stating that he would move down with

a force at his disposal to my aid, on making such arrangements as appeared to him necessary. On receiving these delightful letters I pushed forward my plans. Gungaram had that morning returned with some money from Bareilly, and I sent him off to Bikha Singh of Govindpoora to borrow more, as well as a hackery and an escort of men, and Bikha Singh to Hurreehur Singh for money and a guard. The former was successful in his errand, the latter, as I have before stated, was refused everything. I had arranged with Mr. Wilson (by the bye, I was very nearly tearing up his letter before I had read it, as it was wrapped up in another fold of the letter from Mr. Thornhill, which I supposed contained nothing) to meet him with such other fugitives as I could collect, at Mecown in the Budaon district, and sent off my messenger to him without delay. I also sent off messengers to Mr. Hardy to meet me, and to some I had lately heard of near Bareilly; the latter were not inclined to trust themselves to strangers, though I gave them a note to show them, and the Hardys were not to be found, having been removed to some other place, without those at their former residence being able or willing to say where they had gone. I could not send to others far off, as they could not reach in time. On the night after I had received the letters we all started, I viâ Bujhero to get some sweetmeats and clothes brought from Bareilly that evening, and the Belchams direct; I meeting them at Ramgunga. Our mode of travelling was in a country cart covered up, and we were supposed to be the female portion of some Thakoor's family proceeding to the Ganges to bathe. We travelled all night and the following day, dreadfully cooped up, and bumped far more than was at all pleasant, but kept up our spirits, for were we not going to meet our countrymen, and terminate our exile? At night we reached Mecown quite knocked up, and hoped that after a night's rest, Mr. Wilson's guard would arrive and carry us across the river. I had not however been asleep above an hour when the people with whom we put up awoke us saying that we must be off at once, for that the guard of Mussulmans 100 strong, at Mecown, had got scent of our arrival and were preparing to sieze us. So off we trudged some six miles, and put up with a Goossain, at a small village called Rookharoo. Here next day I received a letter from Mr. Wilson desiring me to come with my party nearer to the river, and if possible to get my friends to convey me across the Ganges, letting him know by what ghat I should cross, and he would have his party moved accordingly. Cheeta brought this letter, and like a sensible fellow, having been apparently informed of what was wished of me arranged for my crossing much lower down the river than at first intended

I wote off to Mr. Wilson informing him of the arrangements made and the villages through which I should pass in the direction of Suron where he was, and in the evening (having been very kindly treated and well entertained by the Goossain family) we started again in our cart, safely reached the river, were crossed over, at a place where there is no regular ferry, to Mistnee, by moonlight, and reached Quadirgunj, where Mr. Wilson had arrived by about noon; and were most heartily welcomed by him, and the native officers of the 8th I. C., who were with him. Thus, on the 31st October, terminated our concealment and exile. And with a deep sense of gratitude to our God, who had so mercifully and evidently preserved us through so many dangers, and supported us in so many trials, we offered up our thanks to Him publicly, on our arrival at Meerut. May we ever remember these mercies and give Him all the praise, not only with our lips, but in our lives. I cannot help tracing the Almighty hand through all the occurrences I have related. Had I left the bell of arms with my brother officers I should probably have been murdered as I believe they have been. On the way out of the station I met one of the sepoys, who had escorted those officers out of it, and was on the point of asking him where they were, but did not, I know not why, here was another wonderful interposition of the hand that watched over me. Had I not been detained at Furcedpore, I should have reached Futtehgunj by daylight, and been murdered as some European, name unknown, (his corpse was stealthily buried by some Hindoos, the head, hands and body having been collected for this purpose) was. Had Soomair Sing listened to me, and conveyed me to Lucknow or Futtehgurh, in the first few days of the rebellion, as I asked him to do under promise of Rs. 2,000; even had I reached in safety, my fate would probably have been that of my murdered countrymen. My endeavours to escape to Nynee Tal viâ Rampore, to Meerut and Cawnpore, as well as to Alligurh and Agra, were at the time overruled doubtlessly for the same wise purpose. How many kind friends were raised up for me! How strange that I should have been led to Gungaram and Bikha Sing who were actually on the look out for European fugitives; and that Gungaram should have slept at his master's fort that night, a thing he had not done, so he told me, for a very long time, and indeed very seldom did! Then when the proper time had come, and not till then, messengers were obtained for me to carry my letters. My plans for raising a force were frustrated, to my great disappointment, but doubtless for my safety. I had been removed to another house on the very morning when a spy, who came on pretence of pur-

chasing Bikha Sing's mare, insisted upon seeing it, and was by his own act, made a security for me, as he went back stating he had seen Bikha Sing's house, and that there was no European there. One day, when very much depressed with the thought of the long captivity before me, (this was in July, and I had somehow made up my mind that I must wait until the end of October,) and the probable amount of suffering I had to endure, I was suddenly reminded of the pangs of hell, their durability and endlessness, whereas here I had hope, and knew that there would be an end, sooner or later. I never desponded again, but was filled with hope that at the end of October I should somehow be freed, and the long list of Sundays I had marked on the wall in my despondency (I chose Sunday both on account of the day itself, and because the Bareilly mutiny was on a Sunday,) became a source of comfort and consolation, and as Sunday after Sunday passed I looked forward with joyous anticipation to that which would fall on the 1st November, as that on which my troubles would have ceased. Booray Singh would go and take service with the rebels to save the Government horses against my wishes and the advice of his friends, and was thus enabled to give me correct information of the proceedings of the Mussulmans in the only place where I had the least cause for apprehension, that they would send to seize me; for from Kuttra, and Kuttra alone, were emissaries ever sent to find me out. I was led to a village, the Thakoor of which was on terms of intimacy with Khan Bahadoor's family, and consequently the very safest place I could have been in. While the Thakoor was too weak of himself (for Bikha Singh, though poor, is powerful through his connections, and the influence of ancestral possessions in the village) to do me any harm, even had he not been far too crafty to commit himself until the game was quite up.

Budaon.

About the middle of May, the districts on both sides of the Ganges becoming very disturbed, Mr. Edwards sent his wife and child for refuge to Nynee Tal. He was the sole European officer in charge of the Budaon district, and felt his anxieties deepen as rumours reached him of disturbances in other quarters. At the end of the month, news of the revolt at Bareilly added to his difficulties; for the mutineers and a band of liberated prisoners were on their way from that place to Budaon. Mr. Edwards expresses his opinion that the mutiny was aggravated by the laws, or the course adopted by the civil courts, concerning landed property. Landed rights

and interests were sold by order of the courts for petty debts; they were bought by strangers, who had no particular sympathy with the people; and the old landowners regarded with something like affection by the peasantry, were thrown into a discontented state. Evidence was soon afforded that these dispossessed land-owners joined the mutineers, not from a political motive, but to seize hold of their old estates during a time of turmoil and violence. 'The danger now is, that they can never wish to see the same government restored to power; fearing, as they naturally must, that they will have again to give up possession of their estates.'

Narrowly escaping peril himself, Mr. Edwards, on the 1st of June, saw that flight was his only chance. There were two English indigo-planters in the neighbourhood, together with another European, who determined to accompany him wherever he went, thinking their safety would be thereby increased. This embarrassed him, for friendly natives who might shelter one person, would probably hesitate to receive four; and so it proved, on several occasions. He started off on horseback, accompanied by the other three, and by a faithful Sikh servant, Wuzeer Sing, who never deserted him through all his trials. The worldly wealth of Mr. Edwards at this moment consisted of the clothes on his back, a revolver, a watch, a purse, and a New Testament. During the first few days they galloped from village to village, just as they found the natives favorable or hostile; often forced to flee when most in need of food and rest. They crossed the Ganges two or three times, tracing out a strange zigzag in the hope of avoiding dangers. The wanderers then made an attempt to reach Futteghur. They suffered much and one life was lost in this attempt; the rest, after many days, reached Futteghur, where Mr. Probyn was the Company's collector. Native troops were mutinying, or consulting whether to mutiny; Europeans were departing; and it soon became evident that Futteghur would no longer be a place of safety either for Probyn or for Edwards. Flight again became necessary, and under more anxious circumstances, for a lady and four children were to be protected; but how to flee, and whither, became anxious questions. Day after day passed, before a friendly native could safely plan an escape for them by boat; enemies and marauders were on every side; and at last the danger became so imminent that it was resolved to cross the Ganges, and seek an asylum in a very desolate spot, out of the way of the mutineers. Here was presented a curious exemplification of 'lucky' and 'unlucky' days as viewed by the natives. 'A lucky day having been found for our start,' says Mr. Edwards, 'we were to go when the moon rose;

but this moon-rise was not till three o'clock on the morning after that fixed for the start. This the Thakoors were not at first aware of. I was wakened about eleven o'clock by one of them, who said that the fact had just come to his knowledge, and that it was necessary that something belonging to us should start at once, as this would equally secure the lucky influence of the day, even though we ourselves should not start till next morning. A *table-fork* was accordingly given him, with which he went off quite satisfied, and which was sent by a bearer towards the village we were to proceed to.' Under the happy influence of this table-fork, the wanderers set forth by night, Mrs. Probyn and her children riding on an elephant, and the men walking on roads almost impassable with mud. They reached the stream; they crossed in a boat; they walked some distance amid torrents of rain, Mr. Edwards 'carrying poor baby;' and then they reached the village, Runjpoonah, destined for their temporary home. What a home it was! 'The place intended for the Probyns was a wretched hovel occupied by buffaloes, and filthy beyond expression, the smell stifling, and the mud and dirt over our ankles. My heart sank within me as I laid down my little charge on a charpoy.' By the exercise of ingenuity, an extemporaneous chamber was fitted up in the roof. During a long sojourn here in the rainy season, Mr. Edwards wrote a letter to his wife at Nynee Tal, under the following odd circumstances: 'I had but a small scrap of paper on which to write my two notes, and just the stump of a lead-pencil: we had neither pens nor ink. In the middle of my writing, the pencil-point broke; and when I commenced repointing it, the whole fell out, there being just a speck of lead left. I was in despair; but was fortunately able to refix the atom, and to finish two short notes—about an inch square each: it was all the man could conceal about him. I then steeped the notes in a little milk, and put them out to dry in the sun. At once a crow pounced on one and carried it off, and I of course thought it was lost for ever. Wuzeer Sing, however, saw and followed the creature, and recovered the note after a long chase.' Several weeks passed; 'poor baby' died; then an elder child—both sinking under the privations they had had to endure: their anxious mother, with all her tender solicitude, being unable further to preserve them. Mr. Edwards, who was one of those that thought the annexation of Oude an unwise measure said, in relation to a rumour that Oude had been restored to its king: 'I would rejoice at such an equitable measure at another time; but now it would be, if true, a sign of a falling cause and of great weakness, which is I fear our real case.' On another occasion, he heard

'more rumours that the governor-general and the king of Oude had arrived at Cawnpore; and that Oude is then formally to be made over to the king.' Whether Oudians or not, every-where he found the Mohammedans more hostile to the British than the Hindoos; and in some places the two bodies of religionists fought with each other. After many more weeks of delays and disappointments, the fugitives were started off down the Ganges to Cawnpore. In effecting this start, the 'lucky-day' principle was again acted on. 'The astrologer had fixed an hour for starting. As it was not possible for us to go at the fortunate moment and secure the advantage, a shirt of mine and some garments of those who were to accompany me, were forwarded to a village some way on the road, which is considered equivalent to ourselves starting.' Half-a-dozen times on their voyage were they in danger of being shot by hostile natives on shore, but the fidelity and tact of the natives who had befriended them carried them through all their perils. At length they reached Cawnpore on the 1st of September, just three calendar months after Mr. Edwards took his hasty departure from Budaon.

Mooradabad.

On the evening of the 18th May, writes a resident of the station, we received intelligence that a large party of the 20th N. I., which had mutinied at Meerut, were encamped fully equipped, and with a quantity of treasure, in the jungle on the left bank of the Gorgun river, about five miles from the station. The night was pitch dark: by 11 o'clock, a force consisting of thirty sowars and a company of 29th N. I., marched upon them, the Civil Surgeon went ahead with some horsemen to man the bridge over the river, and when all was ready, the force headed by the Judge, Magistrate, and two officers rushed in, overpowered their sentries, killed one man, took all their arms, horses and eight prisoners, besides ten thousand rupees in coin, the remainder of the insurgents got off, owing to the extreme darkness, in fact friend could only be distinguished from foe by the flashes from the fire-arms. Next morning several of the sepoys of the 20th N. I., who had escaped from the night attack, had the impertinence to come into the lines, where one was shot down by a sepoy of the 29th N. I., and the remainder taken prisoners; they were then lodged in the jail, and it unfortunately turned out that the man who was shot in the lines was a havildar, and had a relation in the regiment; this fellow immediately collected

about 100 "budmashes" in the corps, and went to the jail and released the 20th sepoys with 600 prisoners. The remainder of the regiment, on hearing this, turned out, and offered their assistance to recover the prisoners, and went into the jungles, and brought back upwards of 150, since which numbers have been caught, and several have returned of their own accord. The regiment appears much disgusted at this occurrence, and has since lost no opportunity of trying to redeem its character and gain the confidence of its officers and the civil authorities. On the 21st we received intelligence that a number of Mussulman fanatics from Rampore had collected on the left bank of the Ram Gunga, opposite the city, and had raised the flag of their faith, and were in communication with a Moulvie, and all the bad characters in Mooradabad; the Judge, with two officers and some sowars and sepoys from the 29th N. I., went at them and dispersed them, and one of the sepoys rushed forward and saved Mr. W.'s life, by seizing a man who had levelled a blunderbus loaded with slugs at his head; the leader of this insurrection was killed by a body of police in the city during the night. On Saturday, the 23rd, news was brought that two companies of sappers and miners from Roorkee were close to the station, laden with loot and fully equipped. No time was lost in getting two guns, two companies of the 29th N. I., and sixty sowars ready; they got intelligence of our coming, crossed the river and made toward the Teraie, but our Joint Magistrate was fortunate enough to track them with four sowars, and kept them at bay in a mangoe grove until the detachment came up, when they were made to lay down their arms, stripped and hunted off towards the Teraie. Since that, detachments of the 29th N. I. have been sent on several expeditions to put down disturbances in the district, and have always behaved well, and done their work like soldiers and cheerfully. Should they continue to act in the steady manner they are now doing, and remain staunch to the last, they certainly will have deserved the honorable notice of Government. The effect produced by the successful expeditions against insurgents of the 20th N. I. and sappers, has been to deter bodies of armed mutineers on the way to their homes coming this way; we are, however, so close to Delhi, that bad characters are constantly coming into the lines to tempt the sepoys to desert to the imperial city, with offers of higher pay.

From the Magistrate and Collector of Mooradabad to Officiating Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces.

SIR,—It is with feelings of no ordinary pain and regret

that I have the honor to report for the information of the Government, that it became necessary on the 3rd June for the officers of the British Government, both civil and military, and other Christian inhabitants of the place, to retire from Mooradabad, and to seek their personal safety in a hasty retreat, upon either Meerut or Nynee Tal.

The above measure was not had recourse to until it became fully apparent that no further advantage to the public interests could be obtained by our remaining longer at our posts; but that on the contrary, our continuing to do so under the circumstances, after Mooradabad had become perfectly untenable through the breaking out into open mutiny of the 29th native infantry, and of the detachment of artillery, and plunder of the Government treasury by the guard in whose custody it had been placed, would only, in all probability, have resulted in a very serious sacrifice of human life.

The disturbed state of Rohilcund in general, and of my own district in particular, and the excited and turbulent condition of the Mahomedan population of the neighbouring native state of Rampore, coupled with the painful intelligence which had reached us, the previous day, of the outbreak of the troops at Bareilly, and of the massacre of many British officers at that station, warned us that there was no longer any possibility of our being able to retain our position at Mooradabad with advantage to Government or honor to ourselves, and that any further attempts to do so would merely result in an indiscriminate massacre of the European population.

It is not improbable that, owing to the disturbances in the Doab, and consequent interruption to the dâk communication between Mooradabad and the seat of Government during the past fortnight, the difficulties which have from day to day been encountered by the local officers in retaining their position at Mooradabad, and in endeavouring to restore peace and good order to the district after much émeute on the 19th May, when a portion of the 29th native infantry proceeded to the district goal and released the prisoners, may not be fully known to the Lieutenant Governor. Daily reports, in a demi-official form were forwarded by me to the seat of Government, respecting the state of feeling among the troops and in the district generally, and the different eventful occurrences which from time to time took place in my district; but I presume that but a few of these communications ever reached their destination, as no replies were ever received, and the dâks were apparently systematically stopped and plundered in the Allyghur district.

It will be hardly necessary, I conceive, for me on the

present occasion to mention in detail all that occurred during the interval between the breaking of the goal on the 19th May, and our subsequent retreat from the district on the 3rd and 4th of June. It may, however, be as well for me to state that we had succeeded by great exertions in putting a stop to the system of open plunder and rapine which had been commenced by organized bands of Goojurs, Mehwattees, and even Jats, who had been led to believe from the tales told them by the released prisoners, that a general massacre of the civil authorities had taken place at the time of the goal outbreak, and that constituted authority was at an end, and who hence considered that they might commit any amount of atrocity with impunity.

Several expeditions were carried out against these marauders with perfect success by the civil authorities, with the aid of detachments of the 29th native infantry and irregular cavalry, at Amroah, and also in the neighbourhood of Chuglut and Hussunpore, and peace had been almost completely restored to the district by the end of May, and we were very sanguine of being able to retain our posts and weather the storm in safety. A large force of the sappers and miners who had deserted from Meerut, were attacked on their way through the district to their homes, and made to lay down their arms, to the number of upwards of sixty stands. A party of twenty sepoys of the 20th native infantry returning to their homes with treasure plundered from the Government coffers at Mozuffernuggur, were also attacked, and their ill-gotton gains taken from them; two of the party having been killed and twelve or thirteen apprehended.

Unfortunately, however, the news of the outbreak and massacre at Bareilly on Sunday, the 31st May, reached Mooradabad early on the 2nd June; intelligence of the same having been communicated to us, at his master's request by the confidential servant of the Nawab of Rampore. The change of tone and feeling in the regiment during the next day became most apparent; and a similar alteration was perceptible in the demeanour and conduct of the ill-affected among the community at Mooradabad.

On the morning of the 3rd June, the sepoys refused admission to the cutchery building, being in an exposed and unsafe position, in the event of the Rampore insurgents coming down to attack them—a contingency which they professed to consider not unlikely.

After consultation it was agreed that the treasure being already in their power, it was perfectly immaterial, as they had made up their minds to possess themselves of it, whether they

helped themselves to the money from the Government treasury building or from the tumbrils, except that in the latter case, it would remove all temptation to the budmashes of the city to come out and join in the disturbance.

I regret to say that a sum of about 75,000 rupees has fallen into the hands of the mutineers. I was unable to destroy the whole of the stamps in store, whose value exceeded four rupees, during a brief interval of want of attention on the part of the native officers and sepoys who were removing the treasure; but with that exception the whole of the Government funds at Mooradabad fell into their hands. It would appear that the sepoys had been under the impression that there had been a much larger sum in the treasury, for they were evidently much disappointed at the amount, and seizing the treasurer carried him up to the guns and threatened to blow him away unless he disclosed where the remainder had been placed. I succeeded in rescuing him from the awkward position in which he was placed; but the most ill-affected and turbulent among the sepoys endeavoured to cut off the retreat of Mr. Wilson, the judge, and of myself, and a few of the number deliberately put their percussion caps on their muskets and levelled their pieces at us. Some of the native officers, however, rushed forward and reminding the men of the oath they had previously taken not to injure us, persuaded them to desist from their intention of shooting us.

Under these circumstances, the regiment and artillery detachment having deliberately appropriated the Government treasure, the opium and all the plate, chests and other valuable property of private individuals which had been sent for security to the Government treasury, and from information received, it being evident that the police had ceased to act, and were in concealment; and that the bad characters of the town and the disaffected would attack us, it became necessary for us to make arrangements for our speedy departure; and we accordingly summoned the officers of the irregular cavalry on leave from their regiments, whose service had been previously placed at our disposal, and disclosed to them our intention. They volunteered to escort us in safety to Meerut, and by far the greater number fulfilled their promise, and have since been rewarded by the military authorities at this place by general promotion to higher grades in their respective regiments.

Mr. J. C. Wilson, the Judge of Mooradabad; Mr. J. S. Campbell, the joint magistrate; Dr. H. M. Cannon, Civil Surgeon; and myself with our respective wives, and a European discharged artilleryman, of the name of Green, have reached this place in safety. I regret to say that up to the

present time we have received no information regarding the safety of the remainder of the European community of Mooradabad. We gave due notice of our intention to proceed to Meerut to the officers of the 29th native infantry, and requested them to join us; but, although we waited for upwards of an hour before we started, and for some time at the point of rendezvous at the Gangar bridge, four miles from Mooradabad, which we had agreed upon, I regret to say that they did not any of them accompany us on the journey. The great majority of the officers had expressed an intention of riding off to Nynee Tal, and I am in hopes that the whole of the officers and three or four ladies still remaining at Mooradabad, may have taken their departure in that direction, where I have little doubt, but that the 66th Goorkhas will remain loyal and defend the European community at present residing at Nynee Tal.

I cannot conclude this report without expressing the obligations under which I feel to those who have shared with me the labors and anxieties of the past eventful period, and for whose ready and cordial co-operations throughout, I cannot feel too grateful.

I feel some delicacy in passing an opinion upon the merits and conduct of an officer of such far higher standing in the service than my own, but I should not be doing justice to my own feelings were I not to state how grateful I feel to Mr. Wilson, the judge of Mooradabad, for the effective and constant assistance which he has rendered during the whole period to the executive officers of the district, and for the advice which his great local experience and knowledge of the people enabled him to offer. He obtained a very marked and extraordinary influence over the sepoys of the 29th native infantry, by means of publicly haranguing them and conversing familiarly with them in their lines. One quality, a most useful and important one on occasions, like the present, he has evinced in a very striking degree, namely, bold, unflinching, personal courage, which has been abundantly apparent througout the late disturbance.

I am extremely indebted to my Joint Magistrate, Mr. J. C. Campbell, for the ready, cordial, and efficient support he has rendered me throughout, emulating the example above referred to, he has on several occasions done prompt and effective service in pursuit of marauders, &c. On the occasion of our proceeding against the sappers and miners who had dispersed on hearing of our approach, he was fortunate enough to be the first to ascertain the line of country which they had taken, and pursuing them with but four sowars, brought them to bay until the arrival of the remainder of the force.

Dr. Cannon, Civil Surgeon of Mooradabad, has throughout been most indefatigable in his exertions as well in a military as in a medical capacity, having volunteered his services on almost every occasion on which we sent out expeditions against marauders and others. He has given me most zealous and efficient service, and with Mr. Campbell worked hard to raise and train a new levy of horsemen to the number of nearly 200, which the Commissioner had authorised me to entertain.

I would also beg to place on record my humble tribute of respect to the noble and devoted conduct of Captain Wish, Captain Faddy, and the other officers of the 29th native infantry, who never for one moment abated their most strenuous exertions to preserve unimpaired the discipline of their regiment, under the most trying circumstances, sleeping and living among the men for the last fortnight, and striving most indefatigably to counteract the external influences which ill-disposed, intriguing men were daily bringing to bear upon them.

Had the troops at Bareilly but remained staunch, the 29th regiment native infantry would not have fallen from their loyalty and allegiance to the Company.

In conclusion I would beg to express a hope that the Government will exonerate the officers attached to the Mooradabad district from all blame in having at length felt compelled by dire necessity to forsake their charge. My own conscience acquits me of having deserted my post one moment before absolute necessity compelled me, as well for the interests of Government, as for the sake of humanity to have, and I trust that the Government verdict will equally absolve me from the charge of having neglected my duty on the present occasion.

Extract of a letter by the Post-master of the Station.

Mr. Powell, who used to live with Lieutenant Warwick, was attacked and wounded by the blackguards of the Mahomedans of the city. He, Mr. Hill and other clerks were then taken prisoners by the mutinous sepoys on the 4th. Lieutenant Warwick and his wife being killed at the time. Shortly after, Mr. Powell and other prisoners were promised their release, on condition that they would be converted to Mahomedanism, and being obliged to submit to these terms, they were converted and kept in a house in the town. Mr. Kitchen with his family was still safe and hidden in the town, when the Bareilly mutineers arrived here on the 15th June. Mr. Powell and others were again seized with their families. Mr. Kitchen was also found out by the Mahomedans, and

they murdered him, his eldest son, and his brother-in-law, Mr. Carbery, Mr. Powell, Mr. Hill, Mr. McGuire, and Mr. Darlington were taken as captives to Delhi with the mutineers on the 18th June last, and their wives and children, together with Mr. Kitchen's family, all converts, and thirty-two in number were set at liberty and made over to Mujjookhan, whom the mutineers had made Nawab of Mooradabad. The Nawab of Rampore, who is now in possession of the district, has given them every possible assistance, he has placed a vigilant guard over them to protect them from any further molestation, and has also ordered five rupees a month to be paid for each individual for their maintenance, so that they are now comfortable, longing to hear of the fall of Delhi, and the re-establishment of the British Government in Rohilcund. On the night of the 3d June, when all the officers' houses in the cantonment, being stripped of all valuables, were set on fire, I fled to a neighbouring village, leaving all my property in the post office, and thus narrowly escaped with my life, but not even a piece of paper was to be found in the post office on my return; even the doors were snatched from the walls and taken by the offenders.

The Shahjehanpore Mutiny and Massacre.

On the morning of the 31st May, Sunday, the 28th native infantry stationed at Shahjehanpore, broke out into open mutiny. Some of the sepoys rushed into the Church while divine worship was being performed.

The clergyman was the first who went out to the mutineers. He was at once attacked, but managed to effect his escape with the loss of one hand. Mr. Ricketts was pursued and murdered in his own verandah which he had succeeded in reaching. He had excited the particular hatred of the mutineers by changing the guard over the treasury, and in this way preventing the mutinous 28th from sharing the plunder amongst themselves alone. A Mr. Labadoor, a writer, was killed in the Church; in the confusion his wife and sister-in-law with the band master made their escape for a time but eventually they met with a worse fate. Captain James, then in command of the 28th was shot whilst endeavouring to reason with his men. They asserted that they were not such great traitors, for they had served the Government faithfully for twenty years. As he turned away in disgust, they shot him. The clergymen severely wounded as he was hid himself in the river with a writer, Mr. Smith. The latter towards the evening went to the

house of Mr. Ricketts, was there found by the sepoys and murdered. The Chaplain seeing men weeding in the fields thought that they might be induced to help him. He accordingly left his hiding place and offered them money if they would assist him in reaching some place of safety. No sooner did they see the money than they rushed upon the unfortunate man with their sticks and knocking him down, commenced beating him to death. His cries attracted the attention of a Pathan in a neighbouring village who armed with a sword, rushed up and severed his head from his body. The Assistant Magistrate, Mr. Smith, was shot by the sepoys in the verandah of his cutcherry, where he had fled for safety. Dr. Bowling had been allowed to visit the Hospital unmolested, but on his return after the commencement of the outbreak, and when he was endeavouring to escape with his wife, child and a European servant, he was shot by the sepoys. He was seated on the coach box, and fell rolling to the ground. Mrs. Bowling was wounded in the forehead by a bullet, but joined some other fugitives.

Some, however, of the officers and ladies succeeded in obtaining refuge in the vestry and turret of the church, securing the door after them. Fortunately the sepoys were only armed with swords and "lathees," and their efforts to break open the doors being unsuccessful, they withdrew to their lines for the purpose of arming themselves with their muskets with which to renew the attack. Seizing upon the opportunity of escape thus afforded to them, the officers and ladies rushed to some carriages and horses still waiting outside of the building, and mounting, made the best of their way to Powaen, the residence of a Raja, and situated on the frontier of Oude, but within the Shahjehanpore district. The party was ill-received by the Raja, who urging his inability, real or pretended, to protect them, refused them shelter. Mr. Jenkins, the Junior Magistrate of Shahjehanpore, and one of the party, on his arrival at Powaen, wrote to Mr. Thomason, the Deputy Commissioner of Mohumdee, in Oude, giving him notice of what had occurred at Shahjehanpore, and begging him to send all available carriage to enable the party to reach Mohumdee. Mr. Thomason received the letter at the hands of a runner on the evening of the 31st May, and immediately complied with Mr. Jenkin's request.

Previous to this period, matters had been wearing a gloomy aspect at Mohumdee; it is true, that up to the 3rd June 1857, the dâks were still running, but it had also become evident that the minds of the native population were greatly agitated. At the station were Mr. Thomason, the Deputy Commis-

sioner, and Captain Patrick Orr, 1st Assistant Commissioner, with Mrs. Orr, and child. Of troops there were—

Two companies of the 9th regiment Oude irregular force.

Two ditto of the Oude military police, with about fifty troopers.

On the receipt of Mr. Jenkins' letter, both Mr. Thomason and Captain Orr felt that the crisis was at hand, and that the mutineers of the 28th regiment N. I., from Shahjehanpore, would shortly reach Mohumdee, attracted thither by the hope of securing for themselves the contents of the Government treasury. It was at once resolved that Mrs. Orr should be sent to Mithowlee, under care of the Rajah of that place, a man who had not only been ever treated with much consideration by Mr. Thomason, but also was indebted to Captain Orr for many acts of kindness shown to him by that officer, before the country had passed under British rule. It was also resolved that the civil officers should withdraw from the station to the fort of Mohumdee, distant about one mile. The fort had since the annexation been made use of as a treasury as well as a jail. Mr. Thomason even hoped that he might in case of necessity, by strengthening the fort and calling for assistance from the neighbouring Zemindars, defend the place against the attacks of the rebels, but it was soon found that the building was in too dilapidated a state to admit of its long being taken advantage of as a place of defence.

On the night then of the 31st May 1857, Mrs. Orr, accompanied by an escort of the 9th regiment, Oude irregular infantry, under command of Issuree Singh, Soobadar, left Mohumdee, the escort having previously sworn to defend with their lives both Mrs. Orr and her child. The small party marched all night, a distance of about twenty-six miles and reached Mithowlee on the morning of the 1st June at about eight o'clock. On the arrival at the fort of the Rajah, Mrs. Orr was told that he was asleep and could not, on any account, be disturbed. At the expiration of two long and weary hours the Rajah sent his wakeel with a message to Mrs. Orr that she should proceed to another of his forts, at a place called Kutcheance situated in a dense jungle, and consequently, as he said, less likely to attract the attention of the bands of soldiers that it was expected would shortly be over-running the country.

Finding all remonstrances useless, Mrs. Orr proceeded with her escort to the Kutcheanee Fort, on entering which, a place was pointed out for herself and another for the escort. It was a most dreary desolate looking building, devoid of the most common articles of furniture, and presenting a picture of the

utmost discomfort. Mrs. Orr could not but shudder as she entered the place, but she was assured by the people that the Rajah would himself shortly come to the fort, and make every arrangement for her comfort; he did indeed come that very evening, and taking a most solemn oath, assured his guest that he would be faithful to her and protect her from all danger. He mentioned in course of conversation that Mr. Christian, the commissioner of the division, had written to him to forward to Seetapore all the Rajah's elephants, but that he had refused to comply with the Commissioner's request, under pretext that the animals were suffering from sore backs, but he plainly gave Mrs. Orr to understand that although Seetapore had not as yet broken out, still the men were rife for mutiny, and he did not wish to lose his elephants.

The Rajah, after renewing his protestations of fidelity, took his departure for Mithowlee, without however having taken any steps towards rendering her position a little less uncomfortable, or providing for her most pressing wants. The whole day had passed and the evening was fast closing in, without any food having been supplied, and it was only at a late hour of the night that some provisions of a coarse kind were procured from a village. Those who are unacquainted with the manners and customs of the Oude Zemindars, and who have experienced the courteous hospitality invariably shown by them to strangers, will not fail to remark this gross deviation on the part of the Rajah from time honored usage.

Let us now return to Mohumdee. On the receipt by Mr. Thomason, of Mr. Jenkins' letter, he sent for a party of men from the lines to escort to the fort, a sum of money which was then in the kutcherry. The men came, but though they still, mechanically as it were, obeyed orders, yet from their behaviour and bearing, it was but too evident that they were no longer under any real subordination. It was also from this party that the escort which accompanied Mrs. Orr to Mithowlee had been chosen. They belonged to the Regiment formerly raised and commanded by Captain Orr under the Oude rule. That officer now advanced to the sepoys, and plainly and frankly told them that the troops at Shahjehanpore had mutinied, and that in all probability, sooner or later, thay would come to Mohumdee; that he was anxious to see Mrs. Orr and her child placed in safety; that he had fixed upon Mithowlee as a place of refuge, and that he now asked them, if they would escort them to the Rajah's fort. The men swore solemnly to do so.

Issuree Sing, Soobadar, at once came forward and said that not only would he accompany them to Mithowlee, but even

should it be desired, he would see them safely to Lucknow. To this latter proposal however the men objected, saying that Lucknow was at too great a distance, but they would willingly agree to go to Mithowlee. We have seen how well they fulfilled their promise. Issuree Sing especially behaved extremely well, showing in his conduct the greatest respect towards Mrs. Orr, and even when required affording his assistance and advice. On Mrs. Orr's departure from Mohumdee, Mrs. Thomason and Captain Orr followed by the troops then at Mohumdee, removed to the fort. This was now the 1st of June. On the day following, the party expected from Powaen, reached Mohumdee. It must not be imagined that the officers who had escaped from Shahjehanpore, had effected their escape scathless; no, several of them had received severe wounds which had been bound up by the ladies of the party with portions of their dress torn up for the purpose.

Sad was the appearance of the poor Shahjehanpore refugees on their arrival at Mohumdee; weary and with naked feet did they with much difficulty and toil reach thus far. Mr. Thomason now wrote to Mr. Christian, at Seetapore, requesting him to send all the conveyances he could possibly collect for the use of the party at Mohumdee, whose intention it was to proceed to Seetapore, then considered the safest place. Mr. Christian sent the carriages together with a guard which reached Mohumdee on the 3rd, and immediately spread the report that two companies of their own regiment had been destroyed by the English at Lucknow for refusing to become Christians. On the following day, the 4th, the guard broke up the doolies, &c., that had been entrusted to them by Mr. Christian,—it was on the evening of this very day (4th) that all the party, then assembled at Mohumdee commenced their march towards Seetapore. An account of this dreadful march is contained in the following copy of a letter, written on the 8th June, by Captain Orr to his youngest brother at Lucknow. It will be found of a profoundly sad interest, written as it was so shortly after the enactment of the dreadful tragedy of which it gives the details:—

Jungle near Mithowlee,
8th June, 1857.

My Dear Adolphe,

I wrote to you on the 6th instant, but am afraid my letter has not been sent to you. On the 31st May, Sunday, the 28th N. I. broke out into mutiny, and some of the men rushed into the Church and murdered Collector Ricketts, and wounded

Spens, of the 28th, and killed the Doctor. James was killed on his parade ground.

The following made their escape :—

Captains Sneyed, Lysaght, and Salmon; Lieutenants Key, Robertson, Scott, Pitt, and Rutherford; Ensigns Spens, Johnston, and Scott; Quarter Master Sergeant Grant, Band Master, one Drummer, Mrs. Scott, Miss Scott, Mrs. Lysaght, Mrs. Key, Mrs. Bowling, Mrs. Shiels, Mrs. Grant, Mrs. ——, four children, Lieutenant Shiels, Veteran Establishment, Mr. Jenkins, C. S. They ran away to Powaen, but the Rajah turned them out the next morning and they came to Mohumdee. Thomason, (the Deputy Commissioner of Mullaon) and myself on hearing of this sad affair at Shahjehanpore, consulted together and sent away Annie to Mithowlee, and went ourselves to the fort to protect the treasury, if possible.

On Monday, about 12, noon, the party from Shahjehanpore arrived, and from that time the most alarming symptoms shewed themselves amongst the men. I used every measure in my power to pacify them, but in vain. By the most strenuous efforts I persuaded them from hour to hour to come back to their allegiance. Every moment seemed to be our last. The men were civil to me to the last, but each one said he could not answer for what some of the bad characters would do.

I succeeded in gaining some influence over them, and kept them quiet till a detachment of fifty men came in on Tuesday morning, 4th, from Seetapore, sent by Christian (Commissioner) to escort the ladies in.

These men brought with them the report that the whole of their light company at Muchee Bhâwan had been cut up by the Europeans, and that they were determined to take their revenge. Seeing the state of things, I sent for all the native officers and told them to let me know at once like men what their intentions were, and if reasonable, I would give my consent. They came to the resolution of marching at once to Seetapore, and swore they would spare our lives and take Thomason and me into Seetapore, and would allow the others to go away unmolested.

I made them take a solemn oath, and they all put their hands on Luchmun Jemadar. Well, we left Mohumdee at 5½ P. M., on Thursday, after the men had secured the treasure about one lakh and 10,000 rupees, and released the prisoners. I put as many of the ladies as I could into the buggy, others on the baggage carts, and we reached Burwan at about 10½ P. M. Next morning, Friday, the 5th, we marched towards Aurungabad. When we had come about two koss, the halt was sounded, and a trooper told us to go on a head where we liked.

We went on for some distance, when we saw a party coming along. They soon joined us and followed the buggy, which we were pushing on with all our might, when within half a mile of Aurungabad, a sepoy rushed forward and snatched Key's gun from him and shot down poor old Shiels, who was riding my horse. Then the most infernal carnage ever witnessed by man began. We all collected under a tree close by, and put the ladies down from the buggy, shots were firing in all directions amidst the most fearful yells. The poor ladies all joined in prayer, coolly and undauntedly awaiting their fate. I stopped for about three minutes amongst them, but thinking of my poor wife and child here, I endeavoured to save my life for their sakes. I rushed out towards the insurgents and one of our men, Goordeen, 6th company, called out to me to throw down my pistol and he would save me. I did so, when he put himself between me and the men and several others followed his example. In about ten minutes more they completed their hellish work. I was about 300 yards at the utmost; poor Lysaght was kneeling out in the open ground with his hands folded across his chest, and though not using his fire-arms, the cowardly wretches would not go up to him, till they shot him, and then rushing forward, they killed the wounded and the children, butchering them in the most cruel way. With the exception of the Drummer boy, every one was killed of the above list, and besides, poor good Thomason and our two clerks, denuding the bodies of their clothes for the sake of plunder. They had on them rupees 1,000 and Thomason rupees 100, we had managed to get this money and distributed it amongst ourselves in case of our escaping. On arrival at Aurungabad some of the men proposed that I should send for Annie and marching into Seetapore, put myself at the head of the Regiment.

To this, I said I could do nothing without knowing what the officers said. Fortunately these were not brutally inclined just then, and explained to the men that it was only by the consent of these two companies that I had escaped, and that there was no knowing what the rest of the corps and the 41st and 10th would say or do, and that till their wish was known, it was better for me to go to Mithowlee. They let me have a horse and a few clothes, (they had the evening before plundered Thomason's and my property,) I pursuaded a guard to bring me here and got a letter from them making me over to Rajah Lonee Sing. On reaching this, the Rajah received me and sent me to the house a koss off, where Annie had been. We remained all Saturday there, and Sunday morning the Rajah's people hearing of the mutineers coming

to Mithowlee advised us to remove into the jungle. Here we are since yesterday morning exposed to the most trying heat without any shelter from the sun, except a few thin branches and a sheet we have put up. Moonshee Seetaram is with us sharing our trouble. I was obliged to part with Bolakee and his party when we were coming here: a few of our faithful servants are hovering about, our khidmutgars walked off with our forks and pots. Some of the Rajah's people feed us, but you may fancy what our appetites are; my poor wife as usual is bearing up with her misfortune like a saint, but is extremely weak. The Rajah sends word that he will do his best to protect us. The troops from Mohumdee and Seetapore are continually moving backwards and forwards between Seetapore and Aurungabad, we can't find out their intentions. Perhaps they will go to Delhi. Some talk of going there, some to Lucknow. They cannot, I hear, decide about the distribution of the money, and there might be a row. My opinion is, that they will all by degrees walk home. You must have heard of the massacre at Seetapore: three men, one lady and one child are here also, but separate from us. The Rajah thinks it advisable to divide us, so to have smaller parties. He is right. From what I can gather, I think that young Jackson, his sister, little Sophia Christian, and Barnes are in the number, I can't make out the third name. The Rajah sent me word that when the mutineers leave the vicinity, he would try and send me to Lucknow. Shew this to Sir H. Lawrence. Tell him that my being here is kept a profound secret. If in a few days something favorable turns up, we might be saved; but I fear nature will not stand much longer, I use my influence in behalf of the other fugitives in having food, &c., sent to them. They are in a house, but don't know where I am. For the safety of both parties, I have not attempted to see them.

My dearest brother, I wrote you a long letter from Mohumdee on the 2nd or 3rd, but as the carnage at Seetapore took place on that day, I don't think my letter could have reached you. In that I asked you to do your best in case of our succumbing to the dreadful privations we are subjected to, (even water being with difficulty procurable,) for our poor Pauline and Douglas.

I heard to-day that two Europeans had escaped to Dile and that John Hearsey had gone away somewhere on his elephant. Are any European regiments coming to Lucknow? One regiment sent out toward Seetapore would settle this part of the province.

9th.—I could not send this off this morning. I managed

to communicate with the other poor fugitives by letter to-day. Seetaram carried the letter. Their names are Sir M. Jackson and sister, little Sophia Christian, Barnes and Quarter Master Sergeant, 10th Oude irregulars. I have a servant to cook for us, and he feeds the poor people. The troops are still at Maholee. They cannot make up their minds as to their movements. This morning they went some distance towards Aurungabad with the intention of going to Delhi, but changed their minds again and returned to Maholee, en route to Lucknow. They are constantly quarrelling about the division of their booty, a small body of Europeans could snatch the money from them very easily. The men from Seetapore have two lakhs, the Mohumdee detachment 1,10,000. The natives all seem to think that Muchee Bhâwan is impregnable. The privations we are put to are indescribable, but the fearful heat beats all, we could put up with any thing else. Annie is as well as can be expected. Poor Louisa is behaving like a sensible person, never once troubling for any thing. I keep this open to the last in hopes of hearing from the mutineer's camp.

10-5 P. M. The Passee came back last evening with the news that all the mutineers are collected at Maholee, but can't make up their minds—they are quarrelling about the money; some sepoys have as much as rupees eight or nine hundred each; such fellows will walk home.

(Signed) P. J. Orr.

It will be as well to mention, that during the night previous to the massacre, the native officer, Luchmun, whose name is mentioned in Captain Orr's letter, came to him privately, and with tears in his eyes, supplicated him to leave the party and proceed to join his wife at Mithowlee, adding that the men had consented to allow him to leave the camp. Captain Orr replied that he could not abandon his friends at a time of such extreme danger, and that unless the whole party were allowed to go unmolested, his fate should be linked with theirs. Luchmun notwithstanding Captain Orr's reiterated questions, refused to be more explicit, throwing out merely dark hints as to the fate of the party, but urging and imploring Captain Orr to leave the camp; Luchmun only left when he found his entreaties of no avail.

The kindly interest shown by Lutchmun, and subsequently by other men of his corps towards Captain Orr, will be easily explained by a reference to a remark already made, that these men belonged to a corps raised and commanded by Captain Orr previous to annexation.

To render the letter that we have just transcribed more complete, it is merely necessary to add, that when the men,

who had escorted Captain Orr to Mithowlee, reached their destination, they bound the Rajah down under the most solemn oaths to protect Captain Orr, his wife and child. To the list given in the letter of those that fell in the massacre at Aurungabad, must be added the names of Mr. Thomason, and of his two writers, Mr. Smith and his wife and Mr. Hurst. Mr. Hurst had brought a small Bible with him, the pages of which were eagerly read by the doomed party on their way from Mohumdee towards Seetapoore. After the massacre the precious volume was picked up by the sole survivor and carefully carried away.

The narrative now returns to the portion of Mrs. Orr and her husband which Captain Orr thus resumes. On that day (the 6th) the Rajah sent word to Captain Orr that the number of Europeans under his protection had now become too considerable to admit of their being together at Kutchianee, and that for safety's sake he wished to locate them separately; consequently it was his desire that Captain and Mrs. Orr should leave the fort of Kutcheeanee and betake themselves to the jungles (which abound at Mithowlee) and that the new arrivals should occupy Kutcheeanee. Why the Rajah thus wished to drive Captain Orr and his wife into the jungles, to make room for the new party, and why he did not rather choose for the latter, the newly devised place of concealment is still a matter of mystery. However, on the morning of the 7th June, Captain Orr and his wife and child left the fort and proceeded about two miles to the jungle. By this term the reader must not understand a beautiful or even an ordinary *forest*, the noble trees of which would have afforded a grateful and necessary shade, but he must picture to himself a vast and dreary extent of land, covered, with the exception of a few patches, here and there, with thorny brushwood, growing to the height of about two or three feet, totally incapable of affording shelter against the fierce and intolerable rays of the scorching sun of India, during this season of the year: what their sufferings were in this wilderness, are touchingly described by Captain Orr himself in the letter already given.

As night closed in, our poor sufferers were obliged to leave the thickly studded portions of the jungle and remove to an open spot, in order, by lighting fires, &c., to scare away the tigers, wolves and other wild animals, which infested the neighbourhood. The Zemindar of Kutchianee, one Bustee Sing, sent food, dal and chuppatees, to the party, this food of the coarsest description was served on broad leaves tacked together with thorns.

Captain Orr discovered with great difficulty that the fugitives that had arrived at Mithowlee from Seetapore, were 1st Sir Mount Stuart Jackson; 2nd, his sister, Miss Madeline Jackson; 3rd, Lieutenant Barnes, who had been doing duty with the 10th Regiment Oude irregular force; 4th, Sergeant Major Morton, of the same corps; and 5th, Miss Sophia Christian, a little child of about three years of age. Since their removal from Mithowlee to the fort of Kutchianee (after Captain Orr's departure from the latter place) Lonee Singh had completely neglected them.

Mutiny at Azimgurh.

As soon as the events of Meerut and Delhi became known at Azimgurh, the demeanour of the sepoys of the 17th assumed a form not to be mistaken. They had always been a most indifferent regiment, and it was now their misfortune to be commanded by a man totally unfit to have charge even of a company. The consequence was that disorder reigned rampant; the sepoys behaved exactly as they chose, and became the terror, instead of being the safeguard, of the European inhabitants.

Such was the state of affairs at the end of May. It was known that every station in India was "shaky," that no native troops could be depended upon. Yet at this epoch, the Accountant of the North-West Provinces issued an order for the removal of ten lakhs of treasure from Goruckpore and seven from Azimgurh to Allahabad.

The orders of the accountant must be obeyed. The ten lakhs of treasure were therefore brought from Goruckpore to Azimgurh by an escort, under the command of Lieutenant Palisser of the irregular cavalry: here they took charge of the seven lakhs. But the 17th native infantry were not going to lose this money without a struggle. On the 2nd of June they made a desperate effort to prevent the party leaving Azimgurh; but the tact and coolness of Lieutenant Palisser, and the staunchness of the troopers of the cavalry, quite paralysed them, and they were compelled for the moment to forego their intentions. But, though baffled, they were not defeated. On the night of the 3rd the treasure party started; it consisted of two companies of the 17th and Palisser's horse. They had scarcely marched three hours when the six companies left behind rose in revolt, killed Lieutenant Hutchinson, their quarter-master, and letting loose the prisoners from the jail, accompanied by them, and by all the police, set off after the treasure.

It had been Lieutenant Palisser's intention to disarm the two companies of the 17th with him; but on his intimating his resolve, they went down upon their knees and swore that they would stand by him to the last. At that time we were not so well acquainted with the value of native oaths and with the estimation to be placed on native honour as experience has subsequently made us, and Palisser believed them. They were, therefore, not disarmed. The consequence was that when the excited crowd, pouring out from the station, came near him, all armed to the teeth and thirsting for blood, Palisser was helpless. His troopers stood by him so far as to defend him and the officers with him (Lieutenant Simpson and Mr. Turner), but no more. They would not act against their countrymen. He was compelled, therefore, to draw off, and abandon the treasure: his troopers retired with him.

But it did not suit the object of the mutineers to permit these officers to retire unmolested. Their avarice was even surpassed by their desire for blood. They therefore did all in their power to persuade the sowars to give up their officers; they appealed to religion, nationality, love of money; even offered 5,000*l.* for each head: but all in vain. The sowars were negatively faithful: they would neither act for us or against us, and, resisting all temptation, safely escorted their officers into Benares. The very next day they deserted. Sensible, perhaps, that they had done but half their duty, and secretly sympathising with the rebels, they had gone probably, after having seen their officers safely disposed of, to swell their forces.

On the mutiny breaking out at Azimgurh, the lives of the residents were in great danger, and had it not been that the sepoys were primarily intent on securing the treasure, but few of them would have escaped. As it was, one only who went amongst them was killed; the others barricaded themselves till the mutineers had started after the treasure party, and then set out for Ghazeepore,—Mr. Astell, the judge, leading the way in his carriage, most of the others following as best they might. However, all who started reached in safety. On arriving at Ghazeepore it was discovered that some of the Indigo-planters and the poorer class of Christians had been left behind. As it was known that the 17th native infantry would return to plunder the place, great anxiety was felt on their behalf by one, at least, of those who had escaped. This was Mr. Venables, an Indigo-planter residing in the neighbourhood of Azimgurh, a gentleman of large property and of a very high character. Fearing for the unfortunates who had been left behind, Mr. Venables endeavoured to

persuade Mr. Astell, Mr. Horne, and others, to return with him. They were most unwilling, and pleaded fear of the commissioner's anger, if they should return without his sanction. A message was instantly despatched for that sanction. But the Commissioner, Mr. Tucker, sent back a reply to the effect, that "he had no objection to Mr. Venables going, but the civilians were on no account to risk their lives."

Thus privately and officially left to himself, this noble-hearted man determined to go alone. He started the next day, went direct to his estate at Doorie Ghat, some two and twenty miles on the Goruckpore side of Azimgurh, assembled his ryots, armed them, marched at their head, and recovered Azimgurh. He did more; he held it; and whilst the civilians had retired into Benares, and were allowed to continue to draw their immense salaries—Mr. Venables, the indigo-planter, remained at their proper station, did all their work, even collected the revenue which they ought to have collected, restored order where all was chaos: and employed himself in restoring the power and re-asserting the prestige of Government.

Mr. Venables held this district, reinforced only by a small detachment of native troops, for about six weeks.

Lieutenant Constable was one of the officers of the 17th native infantry. He gave a very lively account of the whole affair. They were all at mess, and had the ladies with them. All of a sudden two signal guns were heard on the parade, and then whirl went the drums, and they all knew the regiment was up. They fled immediately to the kutcherry, and put the ladies on the top of it. The soldiers came up with such an outcry that you could not hear your own voice. In this instance they behaved with romantic courtesy. They formed a square round their officers, and said they not only would not touch, but would protect them, only that there were some of the mutineers who had sworn the death of particular officers, and therefore they begged the whole party to take to their carriages and be off at once. 'But how are we to get our carriages,' said they, 'seeing that they are scattered all through the station?' 'Ah! we will fetch them,' said the sepoys; and so they did, and gave the party an escort for ten miles out of the station on the road to Ghazeepore. It has been remarked that, to complete the romance, they ought to have offered the officers a month's pay out of the treasure they were plundering. But, alas, one of the doomed victims fell a sacrifice. A sepoy, with two loaded muskets, walked up

to about ten feet of the quarter-master (I think his name was Hutchinson), and shot him dead on the spot.

Narrative of the Mutiny in Azimghur, and of the perilous position of the Native Christian, Timothy Luther, and his Family, and their eventual escape to Benares.

For some days previous to the mutiny, signs of the coming storm displayed themselves. At last it came. The troops mutinied about two o'clock or three o'clock on the 3rd June 1857. Mr. Simson, the magistrate, came to my house, and said that the treasure was about being removed to Benares, and that the ladies and children of the station would accompany it; and recommended that Mr. Newbolt and I should send off our children too at the same time. I therefore began to prepare my children for the journey. But suddenly the thought came into my mind, that intelligence had arrived from Juanpore and other places, that dacoits were about, and were committing depredation in various directions. I therefore considered it better not to send the children away with the treasure, lest some calamity should befall them on the way. I went over to the house of Mr. Newbolt, and continued talking with him about our affairs until the evening came on. While still conversing with him, I heard one sepoy say to another who was standing at the door of the collectory, 'fire the cannon quickly.' I then heard the report of the gun. At once I said to Mr. Newbolt, 'It is not good to remain in this place; you had better shut up your house, and take your family to the Sidharee Baboo, and put them under his care, and I will, if possible, go home and see after the security of my family. If I could have stealed my heart against my family, I might have saved myself easily at that time, by going at once to Sidharee, and thence to Ghazeepore. But this I could not do. I could not, surely, leave my family to perish, and be only solicitous or my own welfare. I therfore changed my clothes, and, putting a loose pair of trousers on slunk under the shade of trees and walls, and thus ran off to my house. While on the way, I saw a sepoy, with a musket on his shoulder, coming in my direction. When I came near to the school, I was obliged to leave the covert of the walls, and to go into the open plain. I there came in contact with two sepoys. One put his carbine to his breast, with the intention of killing me; the other forbade him to fire, and said, 'kill no one at present; let us first go to the kutchery (courts of law), and see what is being done there, and regulate our actions accordingly.' On this they left for the kutchery while I, jumping over the

wall of my compound, entered my bungalow. On arriving there I found all my children in a state of unconcern, totally ignorant of the danger that was so near at hand. I woke up those that were sleeping, and, telling them of the danger we were in, snatched up the bundle I had got ready for their journey to Benares, went out of the bungalow, taking them with me and proceeded to the house of Meer Ashar Ali, the chaprassee of the school, in which I hid my family. I also buried in the house about seven hundred rupees in money. The chaprassee, and a khidmutgar of the name of Nannoo, were well aware of my doing this. I then took a heavy stick in my hand, left the place, and remained concealed in the compound of my bungalow, ready to leap the wall and flee to a neighbouring village should any sepoy come that way. While I was waiting in suspense, a company of sepoys, playing their bugles and firing their muskets, passed on from the lines towards the kutchery; but not one of them looked in the direction of the school. On reaching the jail, the sepoys set the prisoners free. They then killed a gentleman in the kutchery. As their chief business was to plunder the treasury, they let the rest of the Europeans alone, who, seizing their opportunity while the enemy were thus employed, rushed out of their hiding-places in the kutchery, and took the road to Ghazeepore. I remained part of the night, indulging the thought that the sepoys would leave the station with their plunder, and not return towards the city. At midnight the chaprassee came to me, and said that he had been talking with one of the band men, who said that he had got part of the treasure, and was going back to the lines, whither the sepoys intended to follow him, and then they would all proceed to Delhi. The band man, at the same time, sent his salam, through the chaprassee, to me. When I heard this, my hope turned to sorrow.

Just as the band man had said, so it turned out. The sepoys came into the station, burned the bungalows, and searched for the Europeans. They came to the school-house, and began to plunder it, and inquired, 'where is the superintendent of the school?' They pointed their muskets at the chaprassee of the school, threatening to kill him if he did not say where I was. He told them they might kill him, or do what they pleased with him, but he did not know where I was. Then they searched for me in the bungalow, the stable, and out-houses, and through the whole compound in every corner; and, not finding me, they fired their muskets into the bungalow in a great rage, and, taking with them a horse, a goat, and some clothes, departed. Witout informing my servants I had

gone to the house of the Sudder Ameen. This gentleman shewed me kindness, and put me into a room and locked me up there. After a time, I said to the Sudder Ameen that I thought I had better not to be locked up, for if the enemy should approach the room I should be unable to flee. He therefore unlocked the door. The Sudder Ameen presently left the house on his horse, in order to go and threaten the rebels. Quitting the room, I leaped over the wall of the house into a very spacious building in which was an empty well. Here I concealed myself. I examined the well, in order to ascertain whether, if necessary, I could hide myself in it. It was while in this place that I heard in the distance the noise and cries of the mutineers, as they were ransacking the school-house and destroying the property there.

After waiting here some time, I left the building, and, jumping over a wall, entered the house of the deputy-treasurer, who shewed his sympathy for me in attending to my wants in every possible manner. I thought that it would be a good place for my family to come to; but, on looking out, I saw that it would not be prudent to send for them by day, as the gleams of swords were visible in all directions. So, on the next night, I changed my clothes and went to my family, which I brought into the house of the Sudder Ameen. Here we remained from fifteen to twenty days. While the school and my bungalow were being plundered, the chaprassee, Meer Ashar Ali, joined with the mutineers, and wished to take some of the property; but, as my family was residing in his house, he did not find the opportunity to carry out his wishes. He then, with many threats, turned all my children out of his house. On leaving, they were in the greatest consternation; at last they took refuge with a gardener, who compassionated them and took care of them. When the children had come to the Sudder Ameen's residence, I requested the chaprassee to return me the property I had deposited in his house. He put me off, saying it was not a good opportunity for returning it; and this excuse he made day after day. At last he brought a tin box to me, the lock of which had been broken, and from which all the jewels and ornaments, and all my Hindustanee clothes, had been extracted. On my inquiring what had become of the valuables, he said, that what I saw was all I had given him, and that the lock was accidentally broken. I was, of course, perfectly helpless, and could do nothing in the matter.

On the occasion of Mr. Venables coming with a body of men to Azimghur for the purpose of rescuing any Christians who might be concealed there, I left my hiding place, and went to

meet them in their camp. On arriving there, I found that the child of Mr. Newbolt had died from privation, and the effects of the sun, and that he was in great distress, because it seemed impossible under the circumstances to bury it. On seeing his sorrow, I said I would make arrangements for its interment in the churchyard. So he and I both proceeded thither and buried the child. After this, as I was returning to the camp, I met the brother of the Rajah of Azimghur, who had from two to three hundred followers with him. He said to me, 'will you turn Mussulman?' I remained silent, and said nothing. He said again, 'will you turn Mussulman?' I then replied, 'You are perfectly aware of the nature of the religious instruction I have always given in the school; my practice is like my teachings, I cannot deviate from it.' Vexed and angry, he went away.

After three or four days, I went with the European escort to Ghazeepore, and thence to Benares. At the expiration of fifteen days, the commissioner and other gentlemen imagined that all danger was gone from Azimghur, and that the place was perfectly safe. The collector and other officials were consequently sent back to Azimghur. I accompanied them, in order to take charge of the school. On entering the city we found a number of zemindars and patwarees assembled there to oppose us. A fight took place, which, by God's mercy, ended in the dispersion of the enemy. I had remained in Azimghur a fortnight, and recommenced some of the duties of the school, when, on account of the mutiny of the cavalry stationed at Segowlie, it was found necessary once more to abandon the place. Since then, I have continued in Benares.

It is manifest, that those persons who imagine that this rebellion has been caused by the teaching of the Christian religion, are very foolish and ignorant, inasmuch as if this had been the case, it would have been naturally expected that those who had been taught in mission schools would have been my most virulent opponents. But my experience strongly testifies to the contrary. They who had received instruction in the Azimghur school, whether Hindoos or Mohammedans, shewed me more kindness than other people; they went about searching me out, in order to provide for my wants, and in various ways to comfort and relieve me; and if they had not done so, I much fear my children and myself would have been exposed to great personal trials. Indeed, the insurrection has been greatest in those places where the Christian religion was not taught or known, and where missionaries were not found. It is therefore evident, that they who impede the operations of mission schools, or obstruct the work of missionaries, or who do not

render assistance to both to the utmost of their power, upon them the blood of the people of India rests.

Mutiny at Benares.

Lieutenant-Colonel J. G. Neill, of the Madras Army, to the Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army.

Benares, June 6.

Sir,—I have the honor to report for the information of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, that I arrived here on the 3rd instant with a detachment of the regiment under my command (1st Madras Fusiliers), and found sixty of my men and three officers, who had preceded me here. A company of men were about two days in rear, and three more were following up by bullock-train. I had arranged to start with a detachment of the regiment for Cawnpore on the afternoon of the 4th, but on that afternoon intelligence was received from Lieutenant Palliser in command of a detachment of fifty sowars of the 13th irregular cavalry, sent out to escort treasure from Azimghur to this, that the 17th regiment had broken out into open mutiny, and joined by the city people and gaol prisoners, had left the station and attacked his party, and captured the treasure, his infantry escort acting with them. On this intelligence reaching Benares, Brigadier Ponsonby consulted with me about taking the muskets from the 37th, leaving them their side arms. He proposed waiting until the following morning to do this. I urged its being done at once, to which he agreed, and left my quarters to make his arrangements, directing me to be present with the Europeans,* at five P. M. The Seikh regiment, in which Lieutenant Colonel Gordon placed much confidence, and a party of about seventy of the 13th irregular cavalry, who were despatched, were to join the Europeans in their demonstration. Brigadier Ponsonby came on parade at the hour appointed, but I observed that he appeared far from well, and perfectly unable to act with energy or the vigour required on the emergency. We moved up the Europeans and guns towards the 37th, the Seikhs advancing upon the other flank of that corps, followed by irregular cavalry. On approaching the bells of arms of the 37th, the sepoys of that corps seized their arms, loaded them, and opened fire upon us, which was immediately returned with considerable execution by the artillery and Europeans, the Seikh regiment not having yet come up. At this time several of our men fell wounded, and the Brigadier was on his back on the

* 3 guns of No. 12 field battery and 30 men, under Captain Olpherts. Her Majesty's 10th, 150 men and 3 officers. Madras fusiliers, 60 men and 3 officers.

ground, seemingly struck by a stroke of the sun, and declared himself quite unfit for anything, and begged that, being the next senior officer, I would at once assume the command, which I accordingly did, and directed a dash on the lines with the Europeans and Seikhs in line on each flank of the artillery. I was on the right of our men in the lines when an alarm was given, and I found the Seikhs had suddenly halted, wavered and eventually gone about and dispersed, having first, however, fired at and tried to shoot their commanding officer and adjutant, and fired upon and wounded several other officers, and fired upon the squadron of irregular cavalry drawn up in rear of them.

I believe, from all I have observed and been told, that, with a few exceptions, the Seikhs were supposed to be quite staunch; they seemed in the greatest spirits, and anxious to be led against the 37th. The cause of their sudden panic and extraordinary conduct is supposed to have been the turmoil caused in their rear by a sowar of the 13th irregular cavalry having fired at and attempted to cut down the brigade-major, Captain Dodgson, on his riding up to assume command of them by the Brigadier's order, their own commanding officer having been killed before reaching parade by the men of the 37th native infantry. On hearing the shot and shouts the Seikhs turned round and fired on their officers and our men; one man who had fired at Colonel Gordon was immediately shot by one of his havildars.

The artillery, on observing the disaffection of the Seikhs, opened upon them with considerable effect; they broke and ran, as did the irregular cavalry. After this I completed the expulsion of the 37th regiment from their lines, and burnt them, and withdrew my men and guns into position in the barracks, securing myself for the night.

Early next morning I sent out parties and brought in the arms, accoutrements, and colours of the 37th that had been left in their lines, as also some of the Seikhs. I also arranged with the civil authorities to remove the treasure from its most insecure and unmilitary position in the civil lines, and detached a party consisting of 100 men of Her Majesty's 10th and Madras fusiliers, and twenty-five sowars, irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, and had it all brought up and secured in the barracks.

On my arriving here I had observed and expressed my opinion on the insecurity of this treasure, under charge only of a native guard of Seikhs, who, however, stood firm and

deserve the greatest credit for their loyal conduct. I consider the peril in which this treasure has been placed, has been for some time imminent; and I feel assured that had the steps taken against the 37th been deferred until the following morning, the outbreak would have taken place that night when unprepared, and no efficient assistance could have been rendered by the troops to the European families in cantonments, who would have been left to the mercy of the miscreants let loose on such an occasion. I had a party of Madras fusiliers at a building called the Mint, and arranged with the Brigadier, before going on parade, that should any disturbance occur all the families should go there for protection. This was carried out, the party of Europeans there giving confidence and acting as a check to plunderers; the mutineers, who broke and fled, deserted cantonments rapidly, many of them throwing away their arms. I now hold the barracks and Mint-house between cantonments and city with my Europeans, and have some native guards of trustworthy men as pickets in different parts of cantonments, and feel the cantonments are all safe; and when a few more European troops come up I intend planting a picket at the church, when all the houses in cantonments may, I consider, with safety, be again occupied. About ninety of the irregular cavalry remained faithful, and are now doing duty, patrolling and keeping off the "budmashes" from the city from entering cantonments. About 190 of the Seikh regiment who were on treasure and other guards, are still with us, and remain faithful. A few of them I have promoted for their good conduct when the regiment broke and fled. A further report will be made on this subject as well as regarding some men of the irregular cavalry I have also promoted for loyalty and good conduct.

I beg to state that we have lost several officers and soldiers on this unfortunate occasion, as follows:

Killed.—Captain Guise, commanding irregular cavalry, murdered by 37th men; one apothecary, Her Majesty's 10th ditto; two men, Her Majesty's 10th, shot on parade.

Wounded.—Shot on parade.—Ensign Chapman, 37th regiment, native infantry, dangerously; Ensign Hayter, 25th native infantry, doing duty, 37th, dangerously; Ensign Tweedie, 4th native infantry, doing duty, 37th, severely; eight privates, Her Majesty's 10th; Quarter-master-sergeant Maidman, 25th native infantry, doing duty with Seikh regiment, severely.

All ranks behaved as British soldiers; the hard work and exposure to the sun were most cheerfully borne. I beg to

bring to notice particularly the assistance I have received from Lieutenant Colonel Gordon, commanding the Seikhs; Lieutenant Colonel Spottiswoode, 37th; the Brigade-Major, Captain Dodgson, Captain Olpherts, commanding the artillery, and Lieutenant Gosling, Adjutant, Madras fusiliers.

I have, &c.,

J. G. NEILL, *Lieutenant-Colonel.*

P. S. I have strengthened Chunar by a small detachment of Her Majesty's 84th, with three officers of 37th, and despatched to Allahabad by Garee Horse dawk this evening fifty men of Madras fusiliers, the same number following to-morrow, and as quick as I can spare them to that post and Cawnpore.

Nominal Roll of Killed and Wounded.

STAFF.

Killed.—None.

Wounded.—Captain and Brigade-Major D. S. Dodgson, gunshot grazed right elbow slight; on duty.

2d company, 3d battalion, royal artillery.

Killed.—None.

Wounded.—Gunner John Lindsay, 2nd company, gunshot wound in right thigh, severe.

Her Majesty's 10th Regiment of Foot.

Killed.—Private William Conway, 2nd company, gunshot wound in left lung; private Joseph Gill, 7th company, gunshot wound of head; hospital apprentice Edwin Courtenay Jackson, gunshot wounds, head, hip, and thigh; killed while proceeding with hospital supplies to the scene of action.

Wounded.—Private John Conolly, 2nd company, gunshot compound fracture of left thigh, very dangerous; Private Job Dowell, 2nd company, gunshot wound in left shoulder into chest, ball lodged, very dangerous; Private Patrick Dunn, 2nd company, gunshot wound in right cheek, slight; Private John Fergusson, 2nd company, gunshot, deep in right hip, ball lodged, very dangerous; Private Thomas Kilsonye, 2nd company, gunshot, left hip, slight; Private Robert Sherlock, 2nd company, gunshot, deep in left thigh, severe; Private Owen Surewan, 7th company, gunshot, left thigh fractured, left hand, severe; and Private John Ferris, 7th company, gunshot two bones of left foot fractured, very severe.

37th Regiment Native Infantry.

Killed.—None.

Wounded.—Ensign Chapman, gunshot through upper jaw, very severe; Ensign Hayter, gunshots in right groin, right foot (amputated), left thigh fractured, very dangerous; Ensign Tweedie, gunshot through right shoulder, severe; Havildar Bulwant Sing, gunshot through knee-joint, very severe; Sepoy Laljee Lookul, gunshot, left thigh, severe; Sepoy Bundee Chow Opudiah, gunshot, right thigh fractured, very severe; Sepoy Lall Sing, gunshot left thigh fractured, very severe.

13th Regiment of Irregular Cavalry.

Killed.—Captain Henry John Guise, gunshot wounds in head, chest, abdomen, and both arms; two very deep sabre cuts on left side of head.

General Abstract.

Killed.—One captain, two privates, one hospital apprentice. Total four.

Wounded.—One captain, three ensigns, one gunner, eight privates, one havildar, three sepoys, total seventeen.

Grand total of casualties, twenty-one.

Other Accounts.

We had been expecting the outbreak here for the previous three weeks. It came on the 4th, we got an express from Azimghur to say that the 17th native infantry had mutinied and plundered the treasury. On hearing this I knew our time was up, but as I hoped to have twelve hours' start before the information got out, I went and engaged two garrees, one for Harriet and the other for Mrs. Captain Dodgson, to send them off at once.

While these garrees were coming I went off to the judge to explain why I sent Harriet away, to guard against future remarks, and to offer myself for any service that might be needed for work so near at hand. I then went to the commissioner to offer a seat in the garree to any female member of his family. It was accepted for a sister-in-law. After despatching the ladies I was to go and reside with Tucker and his family. I had hardly returned home ten minutes, when

bang, bang went the cannon—knew all was up. Saw crowds running for their lives. Had my buggy at the door; bundled Harriet and our little boy, two guns, a revolver, and a pistol and sword into it, and drove to Mr. Tucker's the commissioner. He had never fired a shot in his life, and had not a weapon of any kind in the house, which I knew; but as his house was a *pukka* one, and capable of defence, I drove there instead of to the mint, which was the rendezvous. In the house there were Mr. Tucker, Miss Tucker, four little children, and a sister-in-law of Mr. Tucker, with my guns only. Got them to the terrace of the house and covered them up with straw, and made every preparation we could. In came Captain Watson with two ladies, but without any weapon. All this time the cannon were banging away and a rattle of musketry going on, and the whole of the sepoy lines were on fire. The rascally sepoys were flying in squads past the house, with terror depicted in their faces, and very many of them had thrown away their muskets, accoutrements, &c., and were cutting like fun. Seeing this, and fearing that they might make an attempt at the house after the firing had ceased, I determined to go off to the bridge near my house and try and make a stand there, so as to stop the sepoys flying any more to our side. Got upon Mr. Tucker's horse and galloped off, followed by Mr. Tucker, having left Captain Watson in charge of the ladies with my battery of guns. Immediately we came to the bridge, the sepoys, instead of coming our way, made a rush down the sides of the bridge leading to the banks of the Burna. There were at the time fifty sowars of the 13th irregulars stationed opposite my gate. We begged of twenty-five of them to follow to cut off these vagabonds, but not a man would stir, on the plea that it was the collector's *hookum* (order) not to budge from the treasury, which was held by 100 Seikhs. The array, however, helped us to frighten the sepoys. The runaways decreasing in number, I swept over the bridge to find out how things were going on at the mint, where Mrs. Dodgson was, and who had been placed under my care. Mr. Tucker led this time. "Ping" went a bullet at him, but missed. I had three shots with my revolver on the bridge, but just as I came to the narrow part, just three or four yards before me, I saw one of these rascally runaways ramming home a cartridge. Bang went the musket at me; but was a bad shot, for instead of hitting me he slightly wounded the horse. Away we flew, but mid-way we came upon 50th sowars of the irregulars. One fellow came with a pistol cocked at me, and said that they had no officer and no

commands, what were they to do? I asked them (twenty) to follow me, but the fellows hesitated, and Mr. Tucker advised me not to trust myself to them. We left them and went to the Mint, and met fifty European soldiers, and sent them off to protect the other ladies. We had hardly been gone fifteen minutes when these fifty sowars bolted, after firing a volley into the Europeans we had just left. Gallopped back as fast as we could to our dear ones. The firing had by this time ceased, and thinking the worst was over I put off my sword, &c., and ordered dinner. Hardly a dish had reached the table when bang, bang went the guns again—this time at the Seikhs, who had joined the 37th. The same scene of flying sepoys; for you must know we had two 4-pounders pounding the rascals with grape, which they could not stand. Shortly after in came Colonel Gordon with thirty European soldiers, and carried us off to the mint. It was a fearful time, and enough to sober one for life; such a scene met us at the mint, which was choked with refugees. Every one had some one to inquire for, but no one could say-where any one was. It was a long and anxious night. With dawn more courage was plucked up. The panic among the mutineers, however, had been so great that not a man could be heard of, and even the thieves and budmashes had mizzled; for, notwithstanding every bungalow had been left to take care of itself, not a pin had been stolen, or even a thatch burnt. Every refugee was busy removing valuables, and all got something. Our treasury was safe. The treasure was removed by twelve o'clock at noon to the artillery barracks, but not a man budged out for the next twenty-four hours; yet the fear and funk had been so wholesome that all our property remained untouched. On Saturday, seeing all quiet, we determined to spend the day at home, but all of us returned to the mint at night.

We had long known that the 37th was mutinous, but were waiting for more soldiers to disarm them. The mutiny at Azimghur, however, precipitated matters. On the news reaching us a parade was ordered for the evening. The hour came; the fellows smelt a rat. Instead of obeying orders, they began popping at the soldiers (viz., the 37th native infantry). The Britishers went at them. The blackies retreated into their lines, and from that shelter kept up firing. The four pounders were then brought to play, and graped them. The lines were then set fire to drive them out, which was done. All this time the Seikhs stood spectators, drawn up in open parade. They then wavered, first attempted to murder

their commandant, Colonel Gordon, who was saved by one of his own men, who received the ball in his arm, and was immediately removed to the mint. The Seikhs then sent a volley at the gunners, who wheeled their guns round and hammered them with grape ; they were mowed down like rotten carrots, and bolted like the 37th. Meanwhile Captain Guise, in command of the 13th irregulars, called upon his troopers to charge, and went off at a gallop. Not a man stirred. Captain Guise was shot by the 37th, and it is said had his head split open afterwards by some of his own troopers. Two other officers of the 37th, youngsters of only sixteen and eighteen, were desperately wounded. A third was wounded severely, ten or twelve rank and file were killed and wounded, of whom we have buried three.

It was a providential thing that we took the initiative, for otherwise they would have risen at night, as afterwards discovered, and perhaps very few of us would have been alive to tell the tale. God has indeed been gracious to us, and by visible signs shown his presence and protection to us.

On Thursday, the 4th instant, I was at college at Benares, when a message came from Mr. Tucker, the commissioner, which required an answer in person. About half-past five I started in my buggy ; when I reached the Sigrah compound, I saw Mr. P— and a sowar (native cavalry) and a number of native Christians running around them. Mr. P— said, "There is fighting going on, don't you hear the firing." As soon as my buggy stopped I heard it on the parade, which is about one and a-half mile from Sigrah. The sowar brought a note from Mr. Tucker telling us that the native regiment at Azimghur (sixty miles off) had mutinied and carried off the treasure ; that our own regiment had risen ; that the rendezvous was the mint. The fighting we heard was between us and the mint; so to reach it was impossible. We immediately turned homewards, and after ten minutes' packing, set off for Chunar, a strong fort on the river, about eighteen miles off. As we drove off we saw armed men running up to the parade and groups of natives staring in our faces to read our looks as we heard the firing. We did not take the direct road to Chunar on account of the mutineers who took that direction, but we crossed the river to Ramnuggur, a fort and palace belonging to the Rajah of Benares. There we bivouacked for the night. The Rajah himself, who was oblig-

ed to fly from Benares during the night, was very kind to us, and gave us provisions, &c. But, as he feared the responsibility of sheltering us, he sent us on with a guard of his sepoys to Chunar. We have since heard that all his tenantry have revolted from him. And now I must tell you what happened at Benares. When the news arrived from Azimghur it was resolved to disarm the suspected regiment at Benares, the 37th native infantry. It is said that this intention was not fully communicated by the chief authorities to the officers of the regiment, who could not therefore properly explain it to the sepoys. About 4 P. M. the troops were drawn out on the parade. The 37th native infantry were ordered to put their arms into the "bells of arms." As they were doing so they saw the English in front of them and the guns, and they were panic-struck, thinking they were going to be shot down, and therefore as any soldier would, they seized their arms, and, as their officers could not explain, they called out that their officers were betraying them, and immediately shot at them, and poured a volley on the Europeans. This, of course, was instantly returned, and followed up by a discharge of grape from the three guns. The 37th fled to their lines. The Seikhs, who had hitherto been considered faithful, had been told nothing of what was going on, were also panic-stricken, and fired at the English. My friend Captain Dodgson, who was in command of the sowars, was fired at by one of them. So here were all three native regiments against us. But not a bit were our own handful of fine fellows dismayed. Colonel Spottiswoode, with fourteen men, fired the sepoy lines, and drove them out on the parade again: there the guns were turned on the 37th and the Seikhs, and very soon some were shot down, and the rest dispersed. Captain Guise was killed: Ensign Chapman shot through the mouth; Lieutenant Hayter shot, and likely to die; Captain Dodgson slightly wounded, and three English killed. About fourteen natives were left dead, and many wounded. Some of these poor fellows were very faithful. Major Barrett was protected and carried off the field by a party of the 37th. Colonel Gordon, commanding the Seikhs, was aimed at; another Seikh stepped forward and held his arm in front of the Colonel and received the bullet; another aimed at him and was instantly shot down by two others. The sowar who fired at Captain Dodgson was shot down by others. As they ran off they fired at Mr. Tucker, but missed him; they also fired at the carriages taking the ladies to the mint, but without injury.

Farther Particulars of the Benares affair.

At about 5 P. M. on the 4th instant, it was the intention of the Brigadier to disarm the 37th N. I., who had been suspected of disaffection for some time. All the officers were ordered to stand at the head of their respective companies, and the parade was formed of the regiment of Loodianah, composed of Seikhs of the 13th irregular cavalry, the three guns of Major Olphert's battery, and 150 of H. M.'s 10th Foot. The 37th seemed perfectly quiet at first, and had actually lodged their arms, but seeing the other corps closing on them, they were panic-struck, rushed to their kotees and took their muskets, and soon began to fire here and there, and became totally disorganized. The Seikhs also shewed treachery, and fired at the European officers, as also the irregular cavalry, and a general melee ensued. After firing at the European officers, the Seikhs made a dash for the guns, but by the quickness of the artillery officer, grape was well directed, and poured into them, which drove them away like a flock of sheep, killing and wounding a great number of them; they then took to their heels together with the 37th N. I. towards the infantry lines, the guns still playing on them; the lines were set fire to by the fire of the guns. The troops rushed through all parts of the station in a panic, throwing away their muskets and belts, and even uniform. 1,400 stands of arms were recovered, so the scoundrels did not take many of their arms with them. It is most fortunate we took the *initiative*, or we should have fared the same fate as those of Allahabad, Delhi, &c.; as it has been proved beyond a doubt, that it was the intention of the troops to have risen up at 9 P. M., on the 4th or 5th instant, but they were forestalled and got a good thrashing, and had to escape without a pice, as the treasure is all safe with the European troops at the barracks. Some of the Seikhs and 37th N. I. remain staunch to their guards, but it was only a *very few*. Major Guise was shot by a Brahmin of the 37th, in four places. His head was cut off or nearly so, some say by one of his own men, others say (with his own sword after he fell) by the men who shot him; two other officers were wounded, all severely, by the Seikhs, and about thirteen of the Europeans. The Brigadier was taken ill at the commencement. The number of killed and wounded among the mutineers must have been great, and more than known, as numbers were burned to death in the lines, and others were drowned in crossing the river. All the ladies and children were safe in the mint and barracks, and well guarded. Numerous marvellous escapes from death took place, but a wise providence provided otherwise, and

very few were injured, comparatively speaking. Too great credit cannot be given to the civil and military authorities, for the arrangements made, by which the city has up to this date, remained quiet, and all has been snug in the cantonments. Mismanagement caused the outbreak, but at the same time it was the best thing that could have occurred, and it saved a number of lives.

One who shared in the horrors of the night, thus adds:—

Such courage was never displayed by Europeans I think before; every one seemed to vie with the other, civilians and Europeans. A braver man never drew a sword than Sergeant-Major Gill, of the Seikhs; he came into camp covered with blood and his sword spoke volumes. He was the first man to give me any news of my wife, who had a narrow escape; at the time that the party left my house under Major Barrett, they had forgotten her; when Major Barrett wanted to go back for her—no, no, said a sepoy of No. 1, I'll fetch her, and ran back and tucked her under his arm, and midst grape and balls, he succeeded in saving her life. After affairs had subsided a little, we withdrew to the artillery barrack where we made preparation for the night. About 2 o'clock in the morning, I heard that my wife was in Captain Brown, Pension Master's bungalow. I, Serjeant Major Gill, and a man of the 10th went, and found my wife, Captain Brown and his lady and infant all safely hid in the stable; we brought them safe to barracks. Be it said to their credit, the mutineers did not harm a lady or child; the treasure also was safe: but they looted their regimental treasure.

The Civilians at Benares.

Whilst this was going on on the parade ground, the civilians, with their wives and families had, according to previous arrangement, assembled on the roof of the treasury, distant about two miles, and there abided the fortunes of the day. Just before the firing commenced, Soorut Singh, a Seikh *détenu*, had left Mr. Gubbins; but on the booming of the first gun, he returned to the place where he and the others were collected; and taking a double-barrelled gun from the hands of that gentleman, announced his intention to share his fate. His arrival was most opportune. A quarter of an hour had not elapsed before it was announced to the Seikh guard stationed over the treasury, on the roof of which the civilians were standing, that our guns had been turned on their countrymen, who were being slaughtered in every direction. Already the Seikhs

began to feel that they at least were capable of avenging their comrades, when Soorut Sing, going amongst them, pointed out to them that the attack must at all events have been unpremeditated, or the civilians would not have placed themselves and their families in their power. He stated his firm belief in the sincerity and good faith of the English, and announced his intention to stand by them. These arguments, proceeding from one of their own countrymen, himself a *détenu*, had the desired effect, and the men never afterwards attempted to swerve from their duty.

The presence of Messrs. Gubbins and Lind on the roof of the treasury that evening, undoubtedly saved the building from plunder. Had they not been there, the Seikh guard, hearing of the massacre of their comrades, would at once have made the best of their time, and have helped themselves, previous to making off. There would have been no one to prevent them. But the presence of Mr. Gubbins primarily, and of Soorut Sing secondarily, saved the station from that catastrophe—a catastrophe which might have been the prelude of a greater.

In the cantonment, meanwhile, the ladies and non-combatants, on the first sound of fire, had hurried into the mint, which had been prepared for their reception: here also congregated, after the mutiny had been crushed, the officers and civilians. Every bungalow was deserted; but it is a fact that speaks decisively as to the effective manner in which the *émeute* had been suppressed, that, though all the houses were deserted and every door left wide open, not a single robbery took place that evening.

The revolt of the sepoys had, indeed, been effectually put down: but no sooner had it become known in the districts around that there had been an insurrection, than the whole country rose as one man: communication was cut off with the neighbouring military stations, and it appeared as if the ryots and zemindars were about to attempt the execution of the project in which the sepoys had failed. All depended on the deportment of the city. It was at this epoch that the character and influence of Mr. Gubbins came fully into play. The memory of the fruitless revolt of 1852, and of the punishment meted out to the ringleaders, had its full effect. The powers with which in their eyes, Mr. Gubbins was endued, were sufficient to discover and overturn any cabal; and what was really the effect of untiring zeal, undaunted energy, and clear-headedness unmatched, was attributed by them to the supernatural.

They saw, indeed, that Mr. Gubbins exposed himself as much or more than any one else. One shot would have brought

him low; and on his death the insurrection of the city would have followed as a matter of course: but the shop-keepers and the *canaille* had fired at him in 1852; he had laughed at their miserable attempts; he had baffled, he had punished them. They feared the same result now.

So argued the commonalty. With the superior class his influence was of a higher order. There were two native noblemen in Benarés at that time, both of them of great wealth and immense influence, and one of them possessing, in addition, strong sense and ability of no common order. This was the Rao Deo Narain Singh; the other was the Rajah of Benares. Everything that the former possessed he placed at the service of Government. After the mutiny he and the Seikh Sirdar Soorut Singh, actually lived in the same house with Mr. Gubbins. The former procured for us excellent spies, first-rate information, and placed all his resources, and they were great, whatever he possessed in the world in fact, at the service of our Government. Soorut Singh almost gave his life, at least he offered it; but, as will be subsequently shown, the rebels were content with paralysing a limb. As for the Rajah of Benares, he behaved throughout like a loyal subject. Although not so personally active as the Rao, he was equally liberal with his resources, which were even greater, and never, in our darkest hour, did he hang back from assisting us.

It has been stated that the entire district rose at the sound of the cannon at Secrole. But in this emergency our countrymen were not wanting to themselves. A small number of the irregular cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant Palisser, had remained faithful; but they were suspected by every one. At this crisis Mr. Chapman, an indigo-planter, came forward and offered to accompany them anywhere; he even proposed to take a portion of them under his command, and surprise and attack the Azimgurh mutineers. But this proposal, after due consideration, was rejected by Colonel Neill, who had arrived at a very correct appreciation of native troops. But this gallant volunteer's services were not refused. He was endowed with the powers of a magistrate, and sent first with irregulars, and afterwards with detachments of Europeans, against the surrounding districts, and with marked success. Three gibbets were erected at Benares. Again the name of Mr. Gubbins became a proverb for swift stern justice. Neither rank nor caste protected any man; and by this means and the success of the flying parties who were sent out, order was temporarily restored in the Benares division.

Mutiny at Juanpore.

On the morning of 5th instant Mr. Beynon, a planter, resident at a factory four miles distant from Juanpore, was attacked by a party of the mutinous 37th, (who had fled from Benares the previous evening) and had barely time to escape with his life. He rode into the station in company with two other gentlemen, his neighbours—and informed the Europeans there of the state of affairs. It was decided that a rendezvous should be held at the cutcherry, and thither the residents proceeded. The guard of Seikhs, 150 in number, under Lieut. Mara, was also ordered to the same place. The Seikhs, at first, intended to prove faithful "to their salt," but it apprears from what was afterwards discovered that two of their comrades from Benares, rode in and informed them of what their friends at that station had done, and prevailed upon them to follow their example. This occurred at 2. P. M. Half an hour after, whilst standing with several gentlemen in the verandah, Lieut. Mara was shot in the breast. The Europeans immediately rûshed into the room which they endeavoured to barricade, and lay down expecting the mutineers every moment to force the doors. Mr. Cuppage, the Joint Magistrate, had but a few minutes previously gone out with the intention of visiting the jail guard—he had proceeded but a few yards beyond the gate when he was shot dead, the bullet entering the back and passing through the heart. (His body was afterwards seen with the little finger off, some rascal having cut it off for the sake of the ring on it). It appears to have been the purpose of the Seikhs merely to hide their officer who was not very popular with them, for the remaining Europeans were completely in their power, and a few moments would have settled their fate. They contented themselves however with firing a few shots through the windows, and then made for the treasury. Finding the "coast clear," the party availed themselves of the opportunity to move off. Two gharries were procured for their accommodation, and they went the same day as far as the village of Bassava, seventeen miles from Juanpore. Here poor Mrs. Mara, whose husband was murdered in the afternoon, expired of apoplexy brought on by excessive grief, and was buried by torch light. On the following morning, the party took boat and proceeded slowly down the river. They had gone but five miles when they were compelled to bring to by the villagers of a place called "Kurrahut," and would undoubtedly have lost their lives, but for the protection they received from an influential Lalla of that place who took them to his own house and kept them in safety till the arrival of an escort. The party consisted of Messrs. Fane, Paske, Tuttle, Bevnon.

Unsworth, Reuther, Bradford and Julius Cæsar, and Mrs. Paske, Mrs. Reuther and children, Mrs. Cæsar and Miss Robinson. The fate of Mr. and Mrs. Thriepland was very sad. They had refused to accompany the flying party, and on the arrival of the mutinous sowars from Benares had taken refuge in the house of a chupprassie who barbarously turned them out. Whilst looking round for some means of escape, they were observed by a few sowars, who rode up, and, after stripping them of everything valuable, cruelly shot them both, sparing their children however. Mrs. T. lingered for a few hours during which time she was exposed to the greatest insults from the barbarous villains around. The mutinous sowars about forty and fifty in number rode in about an hour after the departure of the Europeans, whom they eagerly sought after, but failing in finding them, revenged themselves by setting fire to the bungalows and destroying the property therein. The chupprassie who behaved so inhumanly to Mr. and Mrs. Thriepland, has since been caught and hanged. On the night of the 7th, the party of refugees returned to Bassava, and remained there till the 9th instant on which day they were brought in to Benares under an escort of a few volunteers and soldiers.

Mr. Julius P. Cæsar's Narrative of the Mutiny at Juanpore, and the Escape of some of the Residents.

On the 18th or 19th May the news reached the station of the massacre at Delhi. After a day or two the natives became acquainted with it. As we had at Juanpore two companies of the Loodianah regiment—and the men were considered staunch —there were but slight fears of an outbreak in the station. What we dreaded was an attack by mutineers from Sultanpore, or from the Rajpoots and Brahmins residing on the borders of Oudh, amongst whom we heard that meetings were held. There was a report on the 23rd that the Collector was to be killed that night, and an additional guard was placed on the Treasury, where he thought of sleeping. Afterwards he changed his mind, and remained at home. My wife and myself slept at the Mission House, and Mr. Reuther's horse and my own were kept harnessed at the door. We had a small guard of the *Nujeebs*. The night, however, passed in quietness. A day or two after the news from Delhi reached the station, I was recommended to close the School, as the midsummer vacation was at hand, and to take my wife to some other station. This I did not do, as I felt persuaded, it would be ascribed to fear, and might go some way towards creating [illegible] which all [illegible]

The School therefore remained open till the end of May—the Sunday School also—but I gave a holiday on the 25th—the *Bakar-i-Id*—in observance of our most gracious Sovereign's birth day, which fell on the previous day—Sunday. It was our custom to give a holiday on that occasion. On the 1st June the vacation commenced according to custom.

On the 4th there was a bazar report that on the previous evening the troops at Azimgurh had mutinied. This was confirmed on the morning of the 5th—the day of the outbreak at Juanpore. About a quarter past 8 *a. m.* Messrs. Beynon, Tulloh and Unsworth rode in from the Bubcha factory, about two and a half miles from the station, stating that the factory had been attacked by a party of *sepoys*, and that, amidst a shower of bullets, they had succeeded in making their escape. Some days before, the Magistrate's Cutchery had been appointed as the *rendezvous* in the event of an outbreak. Thither we proceeded; and soon nearly all the European and East Indian residents were assembled there. About half the Seikhs were on guard at the Treasury, which is in the compound of the Magistrate's Cutchery. The Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Mara, marched the remainder of the men—with the exception of a few left on guard in the lines—to the spot, and the whole were kept under arms for some time, as it was expected that on leaving Bubcha, the detachment of *sepoys* (who we heard were from the 37th Regiment N. I., which had mutinied at Benares on the afternoon of the 4th) would visit the station. We were prepared for them, and had they come in the morning, it is probable that the Seikhs would have fought for us, as at that time they were loud in their protestations of loyalty. Before noon we heard that the mutineers, after plundering and burning Bubcha factory, had gone on the Lucknow road. No attack from them was, therefore, considered likely. Still we remained at the Cutchery. Some of the table servants had brought breakfast, and orders were given for dinner. The Commanding Officer had dismissed the men from the positions they occupied on our first going to the Cutchery, and having laid aside his regimentals, he took (if I remember rightly) a nap. About half past two, he, with myself, and some others, were in the verandah, and I remarked to Lieutenant Mara, that I supposed we could not sleep in our bungalows, to which his reply was that we had better remain at the Cutchery that night, and he advised me to send to my bungalow for any thing I might require. Several boxes and *pataraks* had been brought there, but I thought some other things could be removed, and I was giving directions to a servant to that effect, when a shot was fired, and on looking round, I saw

that poor Mara had been shot through the chest. We ran inside the building, and just within the door of the Magistrate's Cutchery, Mara fell on the ground. Other shots were fired into the rooms, and we retired to the Joint-Magistrate's Cutchery, and barricaded the doors as well as we were able. We did this with little hopes of escaping from the hands of the mutineers. They were about 140 in number, and the gentlemen of our party in the room (for some were absent) were but nine or ten. We fully expected a rush would be made into the apartment, and that we should all be slaughtered. It was a solemn moment; the hour of death seemed to have arrived; the greater part were kneeling, or crouching down, and some few,—perhaps many—were engaged in prayer. The firing had ceased, and the rebels were plundering the Treasury, in which were about 2,65,000 rupees. Mrs. Mara came from another room into the one in which we were assembled, and upbraided us for leaving her husband to lie in the next room. We were obliged to do this at the time as the bullets were principally fired into the Magistrate's Cutchery. However, some of us went out and brought him in. He still lingered. Shortly after—although some were checking me——I went to one of the doors and peeped out. The rebels were walking away with bags of money on their shoulders. I gave the joyful news. We remained sometime longer, and as all was quiet outside, we went into the verandah, and found that the compound was clear. To leave the place was at once resolved upon. With the exception of two of the planters who managed to saddle their own horses, we left on foot. Our *saises* had fled, and I thought my mare was shot, as I saw her lying down (she turned up eventually in the possession of the Rajah of Juanpore, and was recovered) but no *sais* was visible. The rebels had, I imagine, fired a few shots at them, which made them abscond. Some of us carried poor Mara on a *charpoy*. I had one corner, but I was very soon obliged to resign it, as the wounded man was a heavy weight. Seeing a native I called to him, and he took my place. Immediately after, Mrs. Mara asked me to let her take my arm. Poor thing, she too was corpulent, and it was with difficulty, I dragged her on. At the gate of the Cutchery, Cuppage, the joint-magistrate, was lying a corpse. It is supposed that he was going out to visit the Nujeebs at the jail, when the outbreak commenced, and he was shot down. Not long after we left the Cutchery, poor Mara was abandoned, and left to die on the road side. The Doctor, I believe, had given his opinion that he could not live. It may appear cruel thus to leave a wounded man to his fate, but had he been taken with us, it would, in all probability—as will

hereafter be seen—have led to the destruction of the whole party. We proceeded in the direction of the station. Mrs. Mara could not keep pace with the rest of the party, and I had to get a native to take her other arm, and help her along. As we passed the Doctor's house, his carriage was brought out. It was providential that it had been sent away from the Cutchery (for the horses, I believe, to get their food) and was thus available. Dr. Paske also got his saddle horse. The ladies and the children were accommodated in the *gari*, and on the coach-box. There was room for me on the box, and I mounted, revolver in hand. Reuther sat on the board behind, together with Mrs. R.'s *ayah*. There was still room for another on the seat, and Reuther asked a pensioned sergeant, named Bigroood, if he would take it, but he refused, and said he would shift for himself.

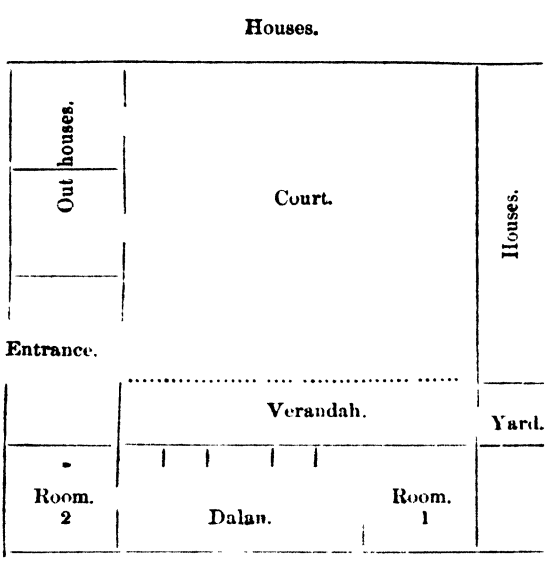
It was about 4 o'clock P. M. when we left the station taking the Benares road. The carriage with its crowded occupants, (five ladies, eight children, two gentlemen, and one native woman, besides the coachman); three gentlemen on horseback, and three on foot. Although we took the Benares road, it was not determined to continue on it. Some were for getting on the Ghazipore road, and Reuther proposed our stopping at Zufferabad, which was about three miles from the station, on the new road to Ghazipore. We had a Branch School there, and R. had been assured of protection. I thought it too near the station. However, when we came to the 4th—and last—turning leading from the Benares road to the Ghazipore road, it was then settled that we should take the latter road. Two of the gentlemen had ridden a little distance ahead, and we recalled them. Whilst staying at this place to drink water—for our thirst was great—Lieut. Mara's coachman, of his own accord, brought his palanquin *gari*. We had thus seats for all the party. When we reached Zufferabad, the people advised us to go on, as it was not considered safe for us to remain there. A few regretted our miserable plight, and one or two were affected even to tears. The residents of Zufferabad are chiefly Mahomedans, and some of them very bigoted. Our Branch School had been established about twelve or thirteen years; thus many of the inhabitants were known to Mr. Reuther and myself. It has just occurred to me, that it may, perhaps, be owing to this friendly feeling that prevailed with some of the principal Mahomedan residents that we were permitted to pass through the place without molestation, and that although they advised the step, yet they were sorry at our departure. Having again refreshed ourselves with water, we proceeded on our way. About

ten miles from the station we had to cross the Goomtee. There was a ferry boat, and we commenced crossing. It had to make several trips before both carriages, the seven horses, and ourselves had got over. A crowd had collected on both banks, but no obstacle was offered to our crossing the river. An insolent remark or two was made—one man asking a gentleman for his watch, saying that he might as well give it, as he would soon lose it—and on one of the horses floundering in the water, some remark of a similar nature was made. Once again on our journey, we reached the Passewar Factory—at which place we had determined to stop, and deliberate on our future movements—about sun set. We received a hearty welcome from Mr. Nicholls, the proprietor. Assembled at Passewar, were several members of Mr. Nicholl's family, who had come in from neighbouring factories. Dinner was prepared for us, before partaking of which we joined in prayer and thanksgiving for the mercies vouchsafed to us. Just before dinner it was ascertained that Mrs. Mara—the widow of the Commanding Officer—was dead. On being taken out of the *gari* she was speechless. Restoratives were applied, but in vain. Grief had, it was supposed, brought on an apoplectic fit. Between 11 and 12 P. M. she was buried in the garden attached to the factory, Mr. Reuther reading the burial service.

Shortly after our arrival at Passewar, we discussed our future movements. To have proceeded by land on the road to Ghazipore would have been running the risk of meeting parties of the rebels, as at Chandwak, about thirteen miles from Passewar, there is a cross road leading from Benares to Azimgurh. It was therefore determined to drop down the Goomtee, in hopes of getting to Ghazipore, or some other station, or of falling in with a Steamer. Mr. Nicholls kindly offered to get a boat. He would not accompany us, as it was his intention, after our departure, to go with his family to a neighbouring zemindar's house. About half past one, on the morning of the 6th, the boat was announced, and (if I remember rightly) again commending ourselves to the divine protection, we went on board. It may have been about half past two when we started. The boat had no *chopper* to it. This was to be put on a few miles further down the river. As we dropped down, the boat was hailed from the banks, and I imagine inquiry was made as to its freight, for the *manji* replied, that he had blocks of stone or marble on board. We were detained some time whilst the boat-men—with assistance from on shore—put on the *chopper*, and by the time we were ready for starting, the day was breaking. As the river was

shallow, and our crew consisted of only the *manji*, one boatman, and a boy, we were frequently touching the banks, or going near it. Early in the morning the villagers began to assemble on the banks, and kept up with the boat; and at one place, where the boat touched the banks, a crowd, armed with *lathis* (and, perhaps, a few with matchlocks) came down, and were ready to attack the boat. They imagined that Mr. Nicholls was on board (possibly from seeing with us a *khit-mutgur* of Mr. N.'s—whom he had kindly lent us), but as we were willing that they should search the boat, one or two zemindars (I imagine) who knew Mr. Nicholls, came on board, and finding he was not with us, they allowed us to proceed. At the same time they warned us of the probability of being stopped further down, by men of the Dhobi Purganah. I know not what the object of the party was in searching for Mr. Nicholls—whether to keep him in their possession, to obtain a ransom, or to kill him. At Carakat a large town on the left bank of the Goomtee—through which the Ghazipore road runs—our boat was again brought to Mr. Fane, the magistrate, sent for the Tehsildar, and Darogah, and one or both of them came. Their authority, however, had gone, and it was not in their power to render us any assistance. A crowd of about 2 or 300 had collected at the ghat, and either a stone was thrown at the boat, or a pistol was fired. Opinions were divided on this point. I am disposed to think it was a stone or brickbat that struck the boat. Two or three Rajpoot zemindars came on board who were friendly disposed, and they were willing to go with us to use their influence should the Dhobi people stop us. A Lala (named Hingun Lal) also came to us, and he too was willing to accompany us, but at this juncture another obstacle to our journey was raised by the boatman refusing to go any further. To have proceeded without them would have been madness, as the river at that season of the year was both narrow and shallow, and we could not have managed the boat. We might easily have been surrounded by enemies, and beyond the charges in our weapons, I believe no one had spare ammunition. In this dilemma, Lala Hingun Lal (who was a tehsildar, in Deyra Dhoon, and, after an absence of twenty-five years, had returned about eight days previously to his house) proposed that we should abandon the boat, and go to his house to consider what steps should be taken. He informed us that he had a few armed men, and that they must cut his throat before they could get to us. We consulted together, and decided upon accepting the Lala's offer of protection. Accordingly we landed, (about 7 A. M.,) and reached the Lala's house without molestation.

The accompanying sketch—though not quite correct—will give some idea of the premises, the *Dalan* we occupied, and outside the entrance, our kind host had a number of armed men, servants and friends, and he was shortly visited by several zemindars (Rajpoots) some of whom were paying their first visit to him since his return. They sympathized with us, and I rather think, rendered more substantial aid by increasing the guard at the entrance. The Lala set about preparing breakfast for us—using his own *dekhchis* for the purpose—and we should no doubt have had a sumptuous repast, but, whilst the meal was in preparation, the Dhobi Rajpoots came in great force, and plundered the town. Three times during that day did the same party, or other bodies from the same pergunnah, plunder the place. On one or two occasions our worthy host feared that they might attack his house. They passed near it, and we could hear the clashing of weapons. According to the Lala's suggestions we prepared for defence. The ladies and children we placed in or near the small room No. 1, and the gentlemen, with the few weapons we had, were ready to resist the attack, or to sell our lives as dearly as possible. But a kind Providence watched over us, and preserved us from harm. The house was not attacked. As they must have known of our being concealed there, some motive must have restrained them—either they feared the encounter with our hosts' guard, or our number, or that of our weapons may have been exaggerated; rather, perhaps, should we ascribe it to the protecting power of our Heavevly Father. When the first alarm was given, the men (relatives or servants of our hosts) who were preparing our breakfast were called away to assist in guarding the place. On the departure of the first body of the insurgents, the meal was served up. It was,



however, owing to the *looting* of the bazar, nothing like what the Lala intended to give us. It consisted of only coarse *chapattees*, and a kid or goat curry. Of the former we partook, but few tried the latter. Wearily passed the afternoon, we were all occupants of one room, the large *dalan*. Some were lying on charpoys, others sat on chairs, and a third portion oriental-like stretched themselves on the ground.

From Passewar we had despatched two notes to Benares, one written in French, and the other in German, addressed, I believe, to the Commissioner, or to the Commanding Officer; another was sent off from Carakat, but I am not quite certain whether it was on this or on the following day. Our kind host had quite a levee, and he introduced his friends to us. They, with their attendants, at times, filled the verandah, and looked at us, as though we were wonderful creatures, exhibited at a show. We had occasionally to request the crowd to be dispersed, as it was unpleasant, especially to the ladies, to be stared at, and their standing in the verandah kept the air from the *dalan*. The hours passed tediously, but at last evening came. Another meal was then prepared, and as it was a fowl curry, it was relished more than our breakfast was. Arrangements were made for the night. The ladies and chidren slept on *charpoys* in the verandah, and the gentlemen on a large *baitak*, or wooden platform on the court. Two of us kept watch for a couple of hours at a time. My comrade was Dr. Paske, and as his and my wife were lying near each other, for a portion of the time, we acted as *pankah-wallas*. During the night we were told that the *Dhobis* were coming, but it happily proved a false alarm.

Morning dawned. It was Trinity Sunday. Either a messenger arrived, or we sent to Mr. Nicholls in his retreat. His khitmutgar went away yesterday, and did not again make his appearance. We wrote to Mr. N. to send us some food, and he was kind enough, though with some difficulty, to get us from the factory, half a dozen teals, some beer, and what to the gentlemen was almost as good as food, about 100 cheroots. Mr. N. also sent back the letters that had been despatched to Benares, as the messenger was not allowed to cross the bridge at Benares, where an European guard was stationed. So the man said, but we strongly suspected that he never went. We fared better to-day, and our meals were cooked by a khitmutgar, in the service of poor Tucker, the Judge of Futtehpore. The man's house was at, or near Carakat, and he was away on leave. In the evening, the trampling of horses was heard, and it was rumoured that the *Goras* (English soldiers) had arrived. This, however, was not the

case. Mr. Fane went out, and after a short time returned with Mr. Collis, one of Mr. Nicholl's assistants. Mr. N. had returned to his factory about sun-set, under the protection of the zemindars, and thinking we should be more comfortable at the factory, he sent the doctor's carriage (drawn by bullocks, as the horses had been taken away) and a strong guard of horsemen and footmen to escort us to Passewar. As we were under the protection of Lala Hingun Lal, we thought it right to advise with him on the subject. After a long consultation with the Lala, and one or two of the friendly *Thakurs*, it was decided that we should go back to Passewar. One of the zemindars, with some of his men was to accompany us, and the Lala was to visit us next day. Accordingly about half past nine we started: the ladies and children occupying the carriage, and the gentlemen on foot. In about two hours we reached the factory. Tea was soon made, and the quantity we drank is somewhat incredible. The ladies were accommodated in the bed-rooms, and the gentlemen slept in the dining and sitting rooms, on sofas, mattrasses, &c.

The next morning we again made large demands on the khitmutgar for tea, &c., and enjoyed the luxury of a good wash. Our kind host and his family provided some of us with clean clothes. The day was passed in tolerable comfort, but we were of course in a state of much anxiety. In the afternoon, a letter was brought from Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner of Benares, addressed to "any Europeans that might be hiding at Carakat," or a superscription to that effect. It appears that the news had reached Benares of the mutiny at Juanpore, and that some of the residents were at Carakat. Mr. T. wrote to say that twelve volunteers, with twelve men of Irregular Cavalry, would be sent as an escort, but he wished to ascertain if we were at Carakat, as, mistrusting the sowars, he did not want unnecessarily to expose the lives of the gentlemen volunteers. We wrote in reply begging him not to send a native escort. However, in the course of the evening we got another letter to the effect that twelve European soldiers would be sent with the volunteers, and that they would shortly be with us.

I cannot give the rumours that we heard both at Carakat and Passewar in chronological order. We were told of the burning of the bungalows at the station after our departure; and I believe we heard of the murder of a few of the residents who remained at Juanpore, and also of some of the Indigo planters who were in the district. A Mr. Philpotts, the road overseer, arrived at Passewar, either on Sunday or Monday. He had been robbed by the villagers on the road, and reached

the factory with scarcely any clothing. We were likewise informed that on Saturday a number of sowars had come from Juanpore to Pessewar, in quest of us, but finding that we had left, they had returned. This, however, is somewhat doubtful.

About three *a. m.* of the 9th (Tuesday) a portion of the escort—an officer, and four rank and file—arrived. The remainder of the party were waiting opposite the *Ghat* at Carakat. We prepared to start, and about day-break set off. The horses had been recovered, so that we were able to use one or both the carriages; some of Mr. Nicholl's family went in a buggy, others on horseback. Two or three elephants came with the escort. The sight of European soldiers in that part of the district was something novel, and the order of the sergeant to his small party to "shoulder arms," &c. must have had an impressive effect upon the natives. Mr. Nicholl's family accompanied us, and we had also a guard from the zemindar. I drove the Doctor's carriage, and in due time we reached Carakat. How changed the behaviour of the natives. Whilst we were at Carakat on Saturday and Sunday the boats had either been sunk or removed. Now several small boats were in readiness, and *rathas* (twigs) were being placed at the bottom of the boats to keep our feet dry. After taking leave of the Lala and his friends, we crossed the river. The first to welcome us was Mr. Lind, the magistrate of Benares. There were about twelve civilians and officers, volunteers, and as many soldiers. Two carriages were in waiting, with some elephants. We soon started, and about half way (Carakat is about sixteen or eighteen miles from Benares) we halted to rest during the heat of the day. On the road, from some of the villagers we heard sad complaints of the Dhobi people who had been *looting* some of them. A *Bunniah* (I believe) living in the bazar, near which we encamped, provided us with a large tent. The hot winds were blowing, but this was but a small inconvenience. From the commissariat stores, which the escort had brought with them, we were provided with breakfast; and the remainder served us for tiffin. We could not start as early as we intended, as it was discovered that some of the soldiers had broken open a case of liquor, and were lying drunk at some distance from the camp. These men had to be brought in. Between five and six we left, and drove into Benares, which place we reached, in safety, truly thankful to our Heavenly Father for his preserving mercies. We proceeded to the Mint, where the greater part of the residents were assembled for the night. Mr. Tucker, Mr. Leupoldt and others were rejoiced to see

us: and from one quarter or another we were provided with dinner. The house was crowded, but we managed to get sleeping room.

Reviewing the events of the five days, from the morning of the 5th to the evening of the 9th, how appropriate the words of the Psalmist:—"If *it had not been* the Lord who was on our side, when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us...Blessed *be* the Lord, who hath not given us *as* a prey to their teeth." During this short period how many instances of His delivering care! At the Cutchery, we were in the power of the Seikhs. What prevented them from firing into the building till we were all killed, or from rushing into the room, which they could easily have done, and there enacted the atrocities of Cawnpore, Jhansi and other places we know not. Possibly we shall never know, until that day when all secrets shall be revealed. It is I think probable that the men were not bloodthirsty; and it is likely there were divisions amongst them, some being against a general massacre, and restraining the others. I am inclined to this opinion from the fact that after the Commanding Officer had been shot, Mr. Philpotts, (the road overseer, who joined our party at Passewar factory) who had been, I believe, to his house, returned to the Cutchery, but he was told by the Seikhs to go away. Had they been disposed to murder all, they would not have spared Mr. Philpott's life. But these men were in the hands of Him, who hath the hearts of all men at His disposal, and if they became inclined, after commencing the bloody work, to refrain, let Him be praised. Again, in leaving the Benares road and taking that to Zufferabad, how marked an instance of providential interference on our behalf. It was about four when we left the station, and as we came nearly two miles on the Benares road before we turned off, and some of the gentlemen were on foot, it must have been about half past four, when we quitted that road, and in about half an hour or perhaps in less time, a body of sowars from Benares passed on their way to Juanpore, which station they reached some time before sunset. Had we kept on the Benares road, or had we lingered during the two miles, we should have fallen into their hands, and from them no mercy could have been expected: as it is generally remarked that of the mutinous troops they were the most cruel. Again, in saving us from the hands of the villagers, and especially from the Dhobi rajpoots, who sacked Carakat, and for inducing some of the zemindars to be friendly to us, and give us protection and assistance, let the Lord be praised.

Nor must I omit to mention another instance of providen-

tial guidance experienced by the Reuthers and ourselves. On the morning of Wednesday, the 3rd, the Reuthers had determined to go to Benares, and we intended to accompany them. When we met in the evening for the Hindustani Bible class, the plan was abandoned as it was thought that Benares seemed to be in as dangerous a position as Juanpore. Had we gone, we should have left on Thursday evening, and in that case, we should have met the detachment of the 37th, that started from Benares on the evening of the 4th, and reached Babcha about 7 *a. m.* of the following morning. We were running into danger, but the Lord prevented us. Oh that we may ever praise Him for his great goodness towards us!

Of the Europeans and East Indians that were living in the station, five fell by the hands of the mutineers, and one, it is said, was killed by villagers. Of the former, two were shot whilst we were at the Cutchery, viz.: Lieut. Mara, and Mr. Cuppage, the Joint-Magistrate. Two, Mr. and Mrs. Thriepland, were shot on the following day by the sowars. They were with us when we left the Cutchery, and it appears that Mr. Thriepland came to the carriage and asked if there was room for Mrs. Thriepland. The reply was that there was no room inside, and on looking outside it was supposed to be full; so they walked away. They hid themselves for that night in the house of a *burkundaz* (I believe) but for some cause or other they left in the morning, and being seen by the sowars, they were shot. I have been told that Mrs. Thriepland lingered some hours. I did not miss Mrs. T. from our party till we were seated at dinner at Passewar, and then I heard that they had left us at Juanpore. I much regretted this, and I hope that I was not on the coach-box when Mr. Thriepland looked up, and saw that there was no room outside. I think it was just as we were starting that I mounted the box, and if I remember rightly, a child was removed from the seat and placed on the foot board to make room for me. It is almost unnecessary to say that had I known the seat was required for Mrs. T. I should most willingly have walked. Mr. Thriepland, too, could have had a seat on the board behind the carriage, for Reuther—with the *ayah*,—sat there, and there was room for a third; which, as before remarked, was offered to Mr. Bigwood, who refused it. Some say that the Serjeant went to look after one of the bodies—either Lieutenant Mara's or Mr. Cuppage's—and others that he wanted to secure some papers. The latter is more probable. When and where he was killed I do not know. The one who was—so it is said—killed by villagers, was Mr. Davies, formerly an Indigo planter's assistant. He lived in

the lines near my bungalow, and was warned to come to the Cutchery, but he did not join our party. Either at the commencement of the outbreak, or on the arrival of the sowars, he left his house; but within a few miles of the station he was killed.

There is one remarkable circumstance connected with these parties. They, for the most part, were unmindful of the danger. Lieut. Mara had perfect confidence in his men. Mr. Cuppage before the mutiny laughed at the danger; and whilst we were at the Cutchery on the 5th, he said if we would leave the room (for some of us were for a portion of the time there) he would hold Cutchery. He was dissuaded from this, but he had a paper of some kind read by one of the Omlah. Mr. Thriepland was also of the same opinion, and when we were talking of sleeping at the Cutchery, he said he would sleep at his own bungalow. Mr. Bigwood, as we have seen, refused the seat on the carriage, and Mr. Davies kept away from the Cutchery. Thus four out of the six might have been saved, had they acted prudently. When the Lord's hand was uplifted upon the land, and many had fallen victims to the ruthless violence of the mutineers and insurgents, it was impiety to consider there was nothing to fear, and boastingly to acknowledge their opinions. Instead of this, it was a season for deep humiliation, and who can tell but the lives of our party were spared on account of the prayers that were offered at the time when death stared us in the face.

"Praise the Lord, O my soul. While I live, will I praise the Lord; I will sing praises unto my God, while I have any being."

I now proceed to give an account of the native Christians at Juanpore commencing with Baboo D. M., one of the Teachers of the Mission School. He was with me early on the morning of the 5th, and from my bungalow he proceeded to the Mission House. Whilst there, I imagine, he heard of the attack on the Babcha factory, and he hastened—not to his wife and family, although he had to pass, if he went the direct road, within a hundred yards of his house—but to the house of a Mahomedan teacher, where he remained concealed during the day. His poor wife and family, when they heard of the residents being at the Cutchery, went to the house of a heathen Bengali Baboo, and remained there, I believe, for a few days, when they joined the Baboo in Benares. He ought at once to have gone to his house, and made arrangements for removing his wife and family to a place of safety, or at least he might have called and informed them of the danger, and advised them what to do. Instead of this he was mindful only

of his own safety, although I rather think he sent in the course of the day to make enquiry about his family. It was not considered safe for the Baboo to remain at the Mahomedan teacher's house; so in the evening he left, and going across the country, having cut his hair, and disguised himself as well as he could, he reached Benares in safety a day or two after our arrival.

The Catechist Terah and his family, and if I remember rightly, the wife and child of Noah, one of the School chaprassis, were sheltered for several days, in a neighbouring village. Afterwards they joined us at Segra, Benares. Noah also was sheltered by some one in Juanpore, and I think, afterwards, by a Mahomedan in Zufferabad. He too, got safe to Benares.

Another native Christian, Cornelius, who had resigned an appointment he had in the School, started from Juanpore on the 4th or 5th to join his wife and family whom he had sent to Goruckpore. On the road he was told of the out-break at Azimgurh, and turned back. He went to Ghazipore, where he heard that his wife and children had been killed, on which he renounced Christianity, and again became a Mahomedan. The news about his wife and family was false. Subsequently he went to Goruckpore, and applied for re-admission into the Christian Church.*

The Catechist Timothy, with his wife and children, and aged father, were at Azimgurh. On the evening of the 3rd, just before the mutiny at Azimgurh commenced, as he was returning from the station to the School, he was stopped by some sepoys, one or two of whom were for killing him, but the others prevented them from doing so at that time. On the day following the mutiny he went to one of the native officials, and for a portion of the day he concealed himself in a dry well. His family were protected by a Mahomedan, one of the School chuprasis. He, with the other members of his family, managed to escape from Azimgurh, and get to Ghazipore, whence he joined us in Benares, and after a few days his wife and children and father followed. Thus, blessed be God, all our little native Christian Church were again united at Segra. My narrative respecting them though correct, I believe, so far as it goes, is but an imperfect account.

At the time of the out-break at Juanpore, an East-Indian, Mr. Bunny, and his son, with Mrs. Bunny, and a little boy whom Mr. B. supported, resided near the city. They did not join us in the Cutchery, and it was reported that they were

* I have since heard that Cornelius, when at Goruckpore, was wounded by some of the rebels, and shortly afterwards died.

killed. Afterwards they made their appearance in Benares, having effected their escape from Juanpore in native clothing. Mr. Thriepland's two children also escaped. They were protected by an old *ayah*, who took them to Benares.

Of the residents in the district, I can give very little intelligence further than that they all escaped. At first we heard that some of them had been killed, but subsequent accounts, and the arrival of several in Benares, assured us of their safety.

One family lived at Bhattowrah, viz., Mr. Matthews, Senior; Mr. Matthews, Junior, and his two sisters. Two assistants were at out-factories—Mr. C. Waleski, at Kuthan, and Mr. J. Cosserat, at Amgaun.

At the Basharatpore factory, was Mr. Pat. Saunders, Junior, and his two assistants, Messrs. F. and C. Cooke, were stationed at out-factories—the former at Kaprahara and the latter at ————.

At Colinjerah lived Mr. Waleski, Senior. Mr. W. and, I rather think, one of the sons. Mr. Green was at an out-factory. Mr. Reybaz lived at Badshahpore, midway between Allahabad and Juanpore.

Mr. Saunders, with the Messrs. Cookes, and I believe some others, remained at Basharatpore, where, with the assistance of a zemindar, they defended themselves. Some of Mr. Matthew's family wandered about for a day or two, living in the house of servants or retainers, and afterwards in the fort of Juanpore under the protection of the Rajah of Juanpore.

Shortly after our arrival at Benares, Mr. Fane and some volunteers, went with a detachment of European soldiers,* and rescued the party in the Fort, and I believe those that were at Basharatpore. It is likely that Mr. Bunny and his family came with the escort to Benares. Mr. Reybaz, after receiving much ill-treatment from the villagers, reached—if I remember rightly—Allahabad, and I think Mr. Green was with him. Besides Mr. Reybaz, the only person who was wounded was Mr. Waleski's son, who got a sword cut.

In a former portion of the narrative I have mentioned that six persons were killed. Mrs. Mara, who died at Passewar, may be considered another victim, and so also may Mr. C. P. Bradford, the Deputy Inspector of Customs. He was of our party, but on the way he had a slight fever, and he caught cold when going into Benares. At that station he got worse, and on his way to Calcutta, in the latter end of August,

* Neither Reuther nor myself heard of the party going over to Juanpore till after it had started, otherwise we should have accompanied it.

he died on board the Flat *Gorai*, and was buried at Berhampore. Mr. Matthews, Senior, died in Calcutta, on the 15th June last, in the 81st year of his age.

I would make the same observation respecting the residents in the district, that I did about the native Christians. It is an imperfect sketch—but I think the few particulars I have given are *facts*.

In conclusion I would again ascribe praise and thanksgiving to Him, who so mercifully preserved those who left Juanpore on the 5th June, our native Christians, and all the residents of the district. It was indeed, "*of* the Lord's mercy that we are not consumed." Whilst at so many stations nearly all the residents were killed, what were we that the Lord should delight in us, and save us from the hand of our blood-thirsty enemies.

May our prolonged lives be devoted to His service, to whom be glory and dominion for ever and ever! Amen!

Calcutta, 14th July, 1858.

The Mutiny at Allahabad.

On Sunday evening, the 22nd May, two Pathans went into the sepoy lines, representing themselves as emissaries from the Rajah of Rewah, and invited the men to take the fort, promising them the aid of a body of 4,000 men who were in the vicinity, quite ready to come forward. A young sepoy to whom they addressed themselves, invited them into the guard room, that they might converse more safely, and after they had entered, gave the alarm, and had them secured by the guard. The naik of the guard was promoted to the rank of havildar, and the sepoy to that of naik. It was generally understood, that the two prisoners were to have been executed on the parade ground of the 6th native infantry, at six o'clock on the evening of the 25th. The time came, and no execution took place. On the 26th in the forenoon a rumour was abroad, that a rescue of the two prisoners would be attempted in the night, and they were in consequence removed from the jail to the fort, the outer guards being assigned to the Europeans who have arrived from Chunar and Calcutta.

Early on the 5th June I got a telegraph message from Sir H. Lawrence, telling us to keep every European in the fort until all was secure. It was the last message received. Almost immediately after I received notice that telegraphic communication was interrupted. Two hours after that it was cut off at Benares. I at once ordered every non-military

resident into the fort, and in the evening we enrolled ourselves into a militia, and armed ourselves with carbines and amunition from the magazine. The night of the 5th passed off quietly. On the morning of the 6th I returned to my house, and felt very reluctant to leave home, but fortunately I did so, to take my place in the volunteer corps.

At 9-20 P. M. we heard a volley of musketry. The guard at the gate sounded an alarm and we rushed to our posts, and the drawbridges were drawn up. In twenty minutes the officer in charge of two guns which were posted at the bridge-of boats to oppose rebels expected from Benares, rode up and told us the company of the 6th native infantry, which were posted there, had seized his guns and gone off to cantonments. We had then in the fort a company of that regiment at the main gate and four companies of a Seikh regiment, sixty-five invalids who had arrived a day or two before from Chunar, and about the same number of ourselves. We found the company of the 6th native infantry had loaded their muskets. The first thing to do was evidently to disarm them. The Seikhs hesitated, and this was the most painful time. Any hesitation would have lost us the fort.

Major Brazier, who commanded the Seikhs, kept among them. We brought up three nine-pounders loaded with grape, and the volunteers surrounded the whole. The 6th lost heart and gave up their arms. To prevent a rush we sawed off the stocks, threw the bayonets into the river, and then turned them out. The Seikhs, who at first hesitated, marched off to their several stations on the ramparts, one guard only remaining at the gate. The fort was saved, and will I hope be the stay of Upper India yet. Shortly after Colonel Simpson, commanding the 6th native infantry, rode up with few of his officers. We learnt from him that the 3rd Oude irregular cavalry had gone; Lieutenant Alexander, who commanded them, and whom I left an hour or two before in high spirits, had been killed, if not by his own men, by the 6th, with their consent; that Plunkett, Stewart, Hawes, Pringle, Monro, six young ensigns doing duty with the 6th, and about twenty-five other Europeans—men, women and children—had been murdered. Shortly after their arrival flame after flame appeared—the bungalows were burning.

The night passed in painful anxiety, but safely. Detachments of the Madras fusiliers arrived the next day and days following, and we were perfectly secure, when a godown was discovered full of wine, spirits and beer. The Seikhs broke loose from all restraint, and regularly plundered it. Not only wine and beer, but goods of all kinds were plundered. Organs,

pianos, carriages and buggies, goods of every kind, were lying about broken and destroyed. The liquor obtained was purchased freely by Europeans, and drunkenness ruled the day. Cholera, disease and death followed, and our security was gone.

Colonel —— up to this time commanded. He allowed all this, not of his own will, but from an idea that he could not stop it. He did nothing against the rebels, from an idea that he had not the means of acting. At this critical moment Colonel Neill arrived with orders to take the command, though junior, and things changed like magic. On the 19th cholera was so fearful in the fort that all non-military residents were turned out.

The 6th behaved worse than any regiment. They volunteered against the rebels to deceive us. On the 6th of June a general order of the Governor-general, thanking them, was received by them with cheers, and an hour and a half afterwards they were shooting their own officers, butchering women and children, burning our bungalows, and plundering our property. They actually sounded the alarm to collect their officers on parade, and showed no signs of disaffection until they were all collected, when they commenced wholesale murder, the band playing the national anthem. We have been able from the fort to rescue fifty-six Europeans, and I expect twenty-three others to-morrow. I got in the Sultanpore people, but at Fyzabad they have all been murdered. I expect the Salone people, including my old friend and subordinate Carnegy, to-morrow. I am not able to give one-twentieth of what has happened in a letter. I am worked night and day getting information, supplies, carriage, &c. We want to form outposts towards Cawnpore, to clear the fort as much as possible, and help outsiders and Cawnpore if not fallen. I don't see my way out of difficulties, public or private, but trust in God all will end in His glory, and I only hope I may have sufficient strength to do His will.

Another Account.

The Benares and other mutinies had of course warned the Europeans at Allahabad to take precautionary steps to save their lives. They had, however, no idea of the 6th regiment, which had a short time before volunteered to march against the Delhi mutineers, behaving thus shamefully against them, in spite of their own solemn declarations on their parade. They had consequently no scruple to rely on the conduct of the sepoys here, and were of opinion, that in case of an attack by mutineers from Benares or elsewhere, these soldiers would

defend them. Picquets of these sepoys had accordingly been placed here and there around the station.

One detachment consisting of infantry and artillery had been ordered to watch the bridge-of-boats at Rajghaut. They were under the command of an European officer, and furnished with ammunition and two guns. These ungrateful scoundrels, it is believed, first set the example. The officer in command of this detachment, having received his instructions from his superior, the officer commanding the station, to shift the guns and ammunition into the fort, desired his sepoys to do accordingly; but contrary to expectation, they not only refused to obey him, but expressed their intention to carry away the guns and the ammunition to the parade where their comrades were, and where they said they would use them to the best advantage. From the primitive scene of the mutiny the sepoys came straight to Ulopeebaugh, where the irregular cavalry men had been located. Captain Alexander, hearing the noise, gave an alarm and ordered the troops to be ready. As far as their dressing and arming themselves, and their mounting their horses were concerned, his orders were strictly obeyed; but when he ordered them to fire on the enemy, they lifted up their loaded pistols, and discharged them upwards, so as to avoid hurting the mutineers. No sooner did they come in sight of the sepoys of the infantry, than signals were given, and both parties united themselves to perpetrate together their diabolical deeds. The genuineness of the resolution of the cavalry was moreover tested, by the infantry asking the horsemen to shoot their own commander: this was instantly done, and thus fell Captain Alexander, one of the bravest and most amiable officers. After shooting Captain Alexander dead on the spot, they killed two other officers whom they had brought from the ghaut, hands and feet cruelly bound up with cloth, with the express purpose of putting them to death. The rebels then thus united came towards the regimental lines, putting to death any Europeans or East Indians they could meet with on their way. When they reached the parade ground, the bugles were sounded. It was then just 9 P. M. We were at cards in a garden adjacent to our house, when a sowar of Mr. Commissioner Chester's informed us of the impending danger. Almost all the picquets and other sepoys sent on escort duty in and about the station assembled at the parade ground. The officers of the regiment were either at the mess house, or at their own dwellings. They had not the least suspicion as aforesaid, of the out-break of their own sepoys. When therefore all on a sudden, the bugle was sounded, they hastened, some in uniform, others undressed to the regiments, each eager to take the lead of his company,

and to conduct it against the enemy. Their arrival, however, delighted the sepoys beyond conception, and as if they had got view of their prey, they fired at once on the officers, and the volleys of musketry killed all the Europeans on the spot. In the meantime Captain Birch, the Fort Adjutant, with his friend Captain Innes, the Executive Engineer D. P. W., who were both living in the same house, roused by the noise of the bugle, &c., went out and asked the picquet which was placed at the front of the Assembly house, just opposite to his own, to know what was the matter: they expressed ignorance. Then the two Captains thinking that some enemy had approached, and that it behoved them to save the treasure, desired two picquet sepoys to accompany them to the Collector's cutchery, where the treasure was: they appeared to accept the proposal with willingness, but when they drew near the cutchery, they attempted to shoot the Captains, who warned by a servant that accompanied them, turned their horses backwards. Rumour says that both these gentlemen had at first tried to escape into the fort through Bagharah Futtehpore, but there meeting with opposition from the people, they hastened towards Papamow. Some say that there they had caught hold of a country boat, but while one of them was on the boat, and the other was ready to step into it, the sepoys fired at them, and made an end of them both. The villains then made a loud shout *Ram Chundra-ki-jay;* and a few of them went to the jail, and set at liberty about 2,500 prisoners, the most notorious bad characters, and in fact, the refuse of mankind. The emancipation of these rascals made the population of Allahabad start with horror. The noise of iron, dangling on the legs of the prisoners, resounded for hours through the city. The prisoners all in a body rushed toward where the residences of the Europeans were situated, and set fire to the bungalows. The first house which was destroyed by the prisoners and the mutinous sepoys, was that of the adjutant of the 6th regiment, which was situated close to the regimental lines. They next burnt Mr. Berrill's house, and carried on the work of destruction, till the Post Office, the bungalow belonging to Mr. Bell, the beautiful house of Captain Birch, the Fort Adjutant, the Assembly house, those of Major Moorhouse, Mrs. Hamilton and Mr. Palmer and several other buildings were reduced to heaps of ashes. After burning most of the houses, and plundering all of them, the liberated prisoners dispersed themselves. Some were seen to run away towards their houses, others were engaged by the sepoys to pull the wheelbarrows covered with looted property, and the rest began to plunder the ryots. The

next morning, Sunday, the 7th, the sepoys assembled at the parade, and declared their intention of dividing among themselves the public treasure, estimated at about thirty lakhs of rupees. This intention was however, contrary to their first, whereby they had enjoined themselves to carry away the money to Delhi, and there to lay it and themselves at the disposal of the king, but avarice, that great principle of human action, prevailed over all other motives. Accordingly at about 2 P. M. the treasury was opened. Some sepoys took three bags each, while others four, every bag containing one thousand rupees. When they had satisfied themselves, they allowed the convicts and budmashes to divide the remainder among themselves.

Soon after these occurrences, a certain Mahomedan fanatic, whose name and origin none has yet been able to trace out with exactitude, but who was known by the name of 'Moolvee Saheb,' collecting some budmashes and Mewatees, raised the standard of rebellion against the British Government. It is believed that he was a common schoolmaster, and having seized the opportunity afforded him by the mutiny of the ungrateful brutes the sepoys of the 6th regiment, and the absence of any English force in the fort, thus made head against the mighty English Government. His reign was of short duration, but bespeaks that unity of feelings for which the Musulmans are known and that stedfast hate which they bear towards the English. For no sooner had the Mahommedans heard of the Moulvee than hundreds flocked to his flag, their sole object they declared was to root out the white race.

The Moolvee's seat was at a garden in the south western corner of the cantonments, called the *Sultan Khoosow's baugh*. There he spent his one week's visionary reign in ejaculations and prayers, speaking at times a loud harangue, 'Go and capture the fort, the whites are extinct: this my book of knowledge informs me.' Such creations of the Moolvee's fancy would at intervals move his bigotted followers to march in battle array against the fort, but the sight of the cannon placed on the ramparts, would drive them back from their expedition, and they would come back to the Moolvee, wreaking their rage however on the poor ryots. In this way they attempted for several days to enter the fort, but in vain. They never approached within gun-shot distance of the fort.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neill to the Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.

Allahabad, June 17.

I have the honor to report my arrival here on the after-

noon of the 11th instant, with a party of forty men, the fusiliers having had more difficulty in getting on from Benares consequent on the disturbed state of the country, the road being partly deserted, and all the dawk horses taken away by the insurgents. I found Allahabad closely invested except on the river side, it being only approachable from the rivers; the bridge-of-boats on the Ganges partly destroyed; it and the village of Deeragunge in possession of the insurgents. On arriving at the end of the Benares road, at the village of Jhansee, I was obliged to move down to my left; was fortunate to bribe some natives to bring a boat over to the left bank of the Ganges, in which I embarked part of my men. The people in the fort having by this time seen us sent over boats some way down; by these means we all got into the fort, almost completely exhausted from our long night's march and the intense heat. On assuming command I at once determined to drive the enemy away, and open up some communication with the country; on the following morning I opened fire with several round shots on those parts of Deeragunge occupied by the worst description of natives, attacked the place with detachments of fusiliers and Seikhs, drove the enemy out with considerable loss, burnt part of the village, and took possession of a repaired bridge, placing a company of Seikhs at its head for its protection. The next day Major Stephenson's detachment of 100 men, which had left Benares by bullock train the same evening I had, crossed the bridge into the fort. On the morning of the 13th I attacked the insurgents in the village of Kydgunge, on the left bank of the Jumna, and drove them out with loss. On the 14th I could do little or nothing. Ever since I arrived here I have observed great drinking among the Seikhs and the Europeans of all classes, and it was not long before I learnt that large godowns belonging to merchants and river steam companies had been broken into and plundered, and the contents were distributed all over the place. Quantities of all kinds of spirits and wine were brought into the fort by the Seikhs, sold to our soldiers at the lowest prices,* and the consequence was drunkenness to a disgraceful extent in the garrison. The Seikhs showed anything but a subordinate spirit, and, being in the same range of barracks with our men, caused me no small anxiety. I endeavoured to get hold of or destroy all the liquor and rum, and succeeded in both by directing the commissariat to purchase all the liquor the Seikhs had to sell.

* Four annas the bottle all round, beer, brandy, and wines of all kinds, including champagne.

I sent out the only two carts I had, to empty what remained in the godowns into the commissariat stores, and destroyed all that I could otherwise lay hold of. It appeared to me most desirable to get the Seikhs out of the fort; they were very lothe to go, and their officers did not appear to me to have that authority over them to oblige them; it required some tact and management, and was happily effected by Captain Brasier, who deserves the greatest credit. They are now outside in some houses, the old native hospital, and others on the banks of the Jumna, under the guns of the fort, and, although attacked and obliged to retire on the night of the 14th instant, some, including the adjutant, wounded, yet they soon regained their position. I felt that Allahabad was really safe when every native soldier and sentry was out of it, and as long as I command I shall not allow one to be on duty in it. On the evening of the 14th I threw a shell from a howitzer on the brutes into Kydgunge, and the morning of the 15th early opened the same fire with round shot also upon it at daylight. I sent a steamer up the Jumna with a howitzer, under command of Captain Harwood, of the Artillery, and a party of twenty picked shots of the fusiliers, under Lieutenant Arnold of that corps, who went up the river, some distance above the city, and did much execution. The Seikhs were directed to attack and clear Kydgunge and Mooteegunge on the Jumna, and were supported on the right by fifty of the fusiliers, under Lieutenant Bailey, and the small party of irregular cavalry. The troops behaved with great gallantry and spirit in the heat of the sun; the Seikhs had the legs of the European, and the country they had to go over was less difficult; the opposition they met with was not so great; they however, punished the enemy severely, although they fare badly and are very wild. The fusiliers met with some resistance, did good execution among the enemy, but had two men killed and six wounded, all severely, one dangerously, including Lieutenant Bailey, shot through the thigh. The insurgents were so thoroughly beaten at all points, and our men had followed them up so close to the city, that we have since been informed the greatest terror seized them all, and they all fled from the city during the night. They had also lost several of their chiefs, and the Moulavie, the chief of the insurrection, is now, I understand, with a few followers, about fourteen miles off. There are still some villages inhabited by Mahommedan tawnties, who took a prominent and active part on the night of the mutiny, I will make an example of; but I cannot march out until I get sufficient cattle for my artillery, and also to draw carriages to convey wounded or men knocked

over by the sun. Many sepoys, supposed to be from Delhi, fought against us. We have had intelligence from the city of the dispersion and flight of most of the ringleaders. The Moulavie has fled, and two of his men of rank were slain on the 15th. Our two guns taken away from the bridge-of-boats by the 6th were sent in to our outposts yesterday morning; also Mr. Cheek, of the 6th, since dead, and Mr. Conductor Coleman and his family, who escaped the night of the mutiny, although severely wounded and badly treated. The troops are in high spirits and as good health as can be expected this fearful weather. The fusiliers have endured more exposure and fatigue than most soldiers; their conduct has been admirable. I cannot speak too highly of Captain Brasier, of the Seikhs; he alone has kept that regiment together, and all right here. He deserves the greatest credit. He assisted me very greatly indeed in getting the Seikhs out of the fort. I almost feared at one time that force would have to be employed. It was a very near thing indeed. Fortunately, I was able to employ the Seikhs in the constant attacks, which assisted us. The fusiliers now here consist of 11 officers and 360 men.

Lieutenant-Colonel Neill to the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Army.

Allahabad, June 19.

I last did myself the honor of addressing you on the 17th instant. On the following morning I moved out with all my force, having the previous day obtained bullocks for my two guns. I sent one party of eighty fusiliers and 100 Seikhs in the steamer, with a howitzer, up the river, to attack and destroy the Pathan villages of Derryabad and the Mewattee, villages of Sydabad and Russelpore, and to co-operate with me. I marched from cantonments with 200 fusiliers, two guns, all the Seikhs and irregular cavalry, and proceeded as far as the gaol, thus getting between the city and the villages belonging to, and said to be occupied by, the insurgents. I met with no opposition; the enemy, I regret to say, having disappeared during the night; I swept and destroyed these villages, and collected all my force on the parade-ground of the 6th Bengal native infantry. It was my intention to have occupied the church and other buildings during the heat of the day, but as symptoms of cholera among the fusiliers had occurred during the night, one man having been taken ill *en route*, I determined to return to the fort with all the Europeans, and leave Captain Brasier and his Seikhs, with the irregular cavalry accompanied by Mr. Court, collector and magistrate, to des-

troy several villages beyond the church, which work was properly done. I got back to the fort about 7 A. M., and regret to say that several of the men came into hospital with cholera in its worst form. Eight men were buried last evening and twenty this evening; there are still many cases in hospital, but of a milder nature, and I hope, with God's blessing, for the best.

I had before this, fearing disease from the crowded state in which I found the fort, sent off two steamer loads of women and children; and, as the cantonment is now safe, I directed all the non-combatants out of the fort; this order has been attended to. I have also established a European hospital in a Masonic building, a short distance from the fort, to which I have removed all cholera patients. I have also occupied the dawk bungalow near it with a subaltern's party for its protection: 100 Europeans are in tents on the glacis, and I move out 200 to-morrow to a tope of trees near the dawk bungalow. No rain has yet fallen, the heat is intense, and the soldiers, after their hard work and exposure, are much prostrated. The barracks here are in bad order, followers of any description being also unprocurable. There are but few punkahs and no tatties; the men have therefore not the proper advantages of barrack accommodation for this hot season. I regret to add that the supply of medicines here has failed; there appears to have been little or none kept in Allahabad, and our detachments only brought up sufficient for the march.

I am now in expectation of the arrival of the *Mirzapore*, which was also detained by the same authorities, which I hope has some little medicine on board. At the same time, I have also to complain of the civil authorities at Ghazeepore presuming to keep back and not delivering to the officer commanding troops on board the *Mirzapore*, in Calcutta, written orders I sent through them for the removal of the treasure at that station on board the steamer, to be brought by the Europeans to Benares.

Two hundred bullocks with drivers were brought in here yesterday; this is all our public carriage at present; our Commissariat officer is away, and that department is in consequence inefficient. I am prevented, therefore, from pushing on, as I wish, troops to Cawnpore; his Excellency may feel assured that I will do so as soon as I possibly can. I however, apprehend that nothing can be done until we have had a shower of rain. A detachment of the 84th Queen's may be in to-morrow; I shall place them in the church, and the other European troops, as they arrive, in other buildings in the cantonment. I beg to enclose Captain Fraser's report of his march from Benares to

this place. Much good service has been done by so thoroughly opening the road. The men of the detachment acquitted themselves in their usual soldier-like and enduring manner; and I beg to bring to the notice of his Excellency Captain Fraser, an intelligent and energetic officer, in whom I have the utmost confidence in any emergency. I am organizing a body of irregular cavalry, by joining Captain Palliser's detachment of the 13th irregular cavalry with the few men of Captain Alexander's corps still remaining faithful to us, and expect to entertain some sowars. I have established a system of patrolling in the neighbourhood with the troopers, to encourage the people to bring in supplies.

The Moulavie has left this with about 3,000 followers; his destination is unknown, but supposed to be Lucknow, or in this neighbourhood. I have arranged to beat up his camp if it is.

A Missionary's Account.

Allahabad contained about 1,00,000 inhabitants at the time of the mutiny. There had been several panics in the city for some time before the revolt broke out there, and three weeks before there was any fighting, the city was patrolled, and European women and children were ordered into the fort. At times the alarm died away, and the women would come out of the fort. The expectation was that the city would be attacked by mutineers from Benares. At length a chief raised the standard of insurrection. No European knew who he was: some said he was a Moulvie, that is, a Mahomedan religious teacher, something like the padre of the Portuguese; others that he was a native officer; others that he was a weaver by trade. He, however, represented himself as a viceroy of the king of Delhi. He commanded about 4,000 of the mutineers. Mr. Hay speaks in the highest terms of Major Brazier and Colonel Neil, with both of whom he was personally acquainted. Major Brazier rose from the ranks. He commanded the Seikhs at Allahabad, and exercised great influence over them. It was to him that the Europeans were indebted for preventing the rebels from taking the fort. Had they done so, scarcely anything would have driven them out of it, for it is constructed on an European model. Nothing would induce the rebel sepoys who besieged it to come near, so much did they dread its guns. On the 13th of June Colonel Neil cannonaded Daragung, a suburb of Allahabad. Brazier behaved here with distinguished gallantry. The chief of the mutineers was taken prisoner. He was a young

man magnificently dressed, and was said to be a nephew of the Moulvie, who headed the mutiny inside the walls. Major Brazier, surrounded by a few Seikh soldiers, ordered the chief to be brought before him to be interrogated. After being questioned he was ordered to be taken to a place of confinement. His arms were loosely fastened behind him. Before he left the presence of the Major, he, by a great effort, caught at a sword that was within his reach, and made a cut at one of the Seikhs. Brazier and all the Seikhs fell upon him, and the former wrested the sword from the prisoner's hand; but the enraged Seikhs, while the chief was prostrate, placed their heels on his head and literally crushed out his brains, and the body was thrown outside the gates there. It was owing to General Neil's gallantry that all the Europeans in Benares were not massacred. After saving Benares the General arrived at Allahabad, and superseded Colonel Simpson. After cannonading Daragung he attacked and burnt the lower part of the city on the 14th of June. The head-quarters of the Moulvie were in the higher part of the city at the old Mahomedan gardens. There the prisoners of the mutineers were confined, and among them were the native Christian teachers belonging to Mr. Hay's mission establishment. On the 17th of June Colonel Neil, with about 500 Europeans and 800 Seikhs, completely defeated the Moulvie and his 4,000 troops. The native Christians knew, from the manner in which the mutineers returned to their head-quarters—bloody, hurried, and dispirited, that they had met with a defeat, and they counselled one another and their families to keep up their spirits, for they knew that the defeated mutineers would not stand another battle. Sure enough on the morning of the 18th they evacuated the place, and the native teachers were liberated! Hunonian, a wealthy Hindoo Zemindar, befriended them until they got to a place of safety.

The following is a narrative, by an eye-witness, of the mutiny at Allahabad:—

At the latter end of May, we were a good deal excited by the various conflicting reports we got on all sides, and on the 1st June shut up our offices, and packed off all our books, papers, &c., of value, to the fort; and on the 5th, having heard of the Benares mutiny, we all went into the fort ourselves in the evening, and were told off into squads as *militia*. The next day, not finding our bungalows burnt, or the fort attacked, as we had expected, we went out (most of us) to our several bungalows, intending to return in the evening. Every thing was perfectly quiet all day long, and in the

evening I went out for a drive with a friend and his wife, who said they were not going into the fort: so I also agreed, much against my inclination, to remain outside also. After the drive I dined at home, and as luck would have it, made a very good dinner, and it was well I did so, for it had to last for a week. I went to bed outside in the verandah of my bungalow about 8 P. M., and at about half past nine I was awoke by a fusillade of musketry. I jumped up and threw on my clothes as fast as possible, intending to try and drive down to the fort at a gallop, but as I was dressing, my friend's kitmutgar came over and said his sahib wanted me, and as I thought that B—— was going to drive down in his garry to the fort, and thinking two heads better than one, I went over to B.'s, but he would not stir. In vain I offered to drive him and his wife down to the fort at full gallop: he would not listen, and I gave it up as a bad job, and as in the expectation of a drive from B——, I had sent my nag back, we secured the house for defence. (I have since found out that it was a merciful dispensation of Providence that we did not attempt it, for had we done so, we should assuredly have been cut to pieces by the mutinous cavalry who had possession of it.)

The firing had now frightfully increased, and the whole air was resounding with shrieks, cries, shouts and yells of all description. After fastening the house (leaving one door open for escape) we waited for a short time in a perfect agony of suspense, when, in about half an hour's time, in rushed some fifty or sixty sepoys and others, all mad with *bhang*, and yelling and shouting in a frantic manner. After trying most of the doors in front, the wretches set fire to the bungalow, which was tiled over a thick thatch. You cannot imagine the curses and brutal language these fiends made use of against the feringies, and I clearly saw that discovery would be death. I induced B—— and his wife (fortunately they had no children) to go out at the back by the open door, and get to the *ayah's* house. They went, and although I never saw B—— again, for he was shot the next morning, yet I know they both got safe away that night. After B—— had gone out I went into his office to get a pair of pistols, and saw the flaming rafters falling upon the couches. I then made for the door that B—— and his wife had gone out by, and seeing the coast clear, cut along into the garden and out into some fields beyond it.

I knew, if I fell into the hands of the natives, that it was certain death, so I groped my way back to my own bungalow, in the hope that some of my servants would assist to conceal me for the night, and help me with a disguise to get into the fort (which was nearly four miles off.) In the morning I got

to the bungalow, and found most of my people absent, and the horse and buggy also; but a Rajpoot peon and two chowkedars were present, who helped to hide me in a fowl house. The suspense during this time was awful, and the noise almost deafening. I fancy I must have remained there about half an hour, when in dashed a whole host of convicts, with the jail guard, all armed. The wretches forced the chowkedars to tell them where I was, and then stationing themselves all round to shoot me, set fire to the place. It was a fearful time. I never expected to survive it, but the love of life was strong, and I was determined to have a strife for it. As the flame sprung up, the smoke and heat were horrible; and watching my chance when I thought they were unprepared, I dashed out and ran through. Some seven or eight shots were fired close to me, but none touched me, and I dodged a fellow that tried to cut me down with a sword. Both my pistols snapped (I am afraid all B——'s arms had been tampered with,) and I plunged the last one with all my strength at the face of the man with the sword, and heard it crash against his mouth. I got past them, made for a gap in the hedge, and got into a garden next door. I heard them shouting to the sepoys outside to shoot me, as I ran into the garden, and turning close round by the hedge, I dropped down flat, and the sepoys fired over my head into the garden. Whether they were too intent on loot or not, I can't say, but they didn't come to look for me; and I lay there during the rest of the night, close to them, and saw them looting the bungalows, and the convicts making *chudders* and *dhooties* out of the bed sheets and table cloths. About 4 A. M., I fancy, the men all went away, and as I was almost dying with thirst from lying so close to the burning houses at night and the constant excitement, I tried to make for a place where I thought I could get some water, but hearing footsteps I crept under a low bush that was covered with creepers. I remained there for two or three hours, as I could not get away, there were so many men moving about; whilst there, I saw a lot of sepoys, I fancy some 4 or 500, march past in undress, but with their arms and cross belts on, and having some six or seven carts, apparently heavily laden. After they had gone, things got more quiet, and when I thought all was clear, I got out and made for my own bungalow in the stable of which I hoped to find water. I got there and found the water, and had a good drink, and looking round, found one little house (a hut, out of the line of out-houses, and from which circumstance I fancy it had not been burnt down), so, filling a small pot of water that was lying there, I went into this place to hide. I did not

expect any more thieves, as the place was completely gutted, and I had seen the sepoys go out; so I hoped no one would come till a relief came from the fort to pick up us poor fellows outside. I had no time to think. I felt anxious about B —— and his wife, and then remembered that I had heard one of the friends of last night say that the fort was taken by the Seikhs, but I could not think long: I was fairly exhausted, and I fell asleep. It was dark when I awoke, no relief had come, and I had no food, but I didn't feel at all hungry then: still I went out, and looked through the stables for gram, but in vain; I had, however, plenty of water, and that was some comfort. So passed Sunday; Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday were the same: no food, no relief, but still the same infernal shouts; lots of musketry, and men galloping in all directions. In vain, night after night, I went out in search of food. I was afraid to venture far, and confined my searches to the stables of the neighbouring bungalows, but always without success. I was now getting weak from hunger, and I think delirious or mad I don't know which, and during the Thursday afternoon, hearing some footsteps among the ruins of the bungalow, I ran out, and saw an old Musulman; I ran up to him, got hold of him, and breaking off one of my shirt studs, gave it to him, and told him to go to the village close by, and tell my syce, naming him, that his master wanted his horse and promised him the other two, and a bonus besides, if he did so. I thought that if my syce heard that I was alive he would devise some plan to help me. But after the man had gone, I dreaded that he would perhaps play me false, and bring some of his cursed countrymen to finish me, so I went out at dark and crept along the hedges till I got into the stables of a neighbouring bungalow, and stopped there awake nearly the whole night, expecting a relief, but it came not, and about daylight I fell asleep. I fancy it was about 7 o'clock on Friday morning, when I was awoke by some noise, and looking up, found three men standing over me with lattees. I now gave up all for lost. I was so weak I could hardly raise myself on my elbow as I lay on the ground. I looked at them and then told them, that, if they had come to kill me, to do so at once, and make an end of it. But it seems my syce had either seen the man the day before or heard him talking in the village, and dropped some hints to these men who, though all servants of sahibs, were all professional dacoits. Directly they mentioned the syce's name, I forgot hunger, fear, and all, begged them to give me some food, and a disguise to go into the fort; offering them one hundred

rupees each. They agreed to this, brought me some coarse food (which tasted deliciously), and a lot of dirty old blankets, which I was obliged to wrap all round me, and cover my head, to conceal my white skin, as well as white clothes, and then with a basket on my head, to help the disguise, I trudged away on Friday night to their village. The escape to the village, the day and night I passed there, and the escape again from there to the fort on Sunday morning, were full of incidents. At one time I actually heard men talking close by my hiding place, and saying how I had been killed on the night of the mutiny, and I really felt relieved to hear of my own desease, as it led me to hope that the wretches would not come to hunt me down. When I got into the fort on Sunday morning, my old friends stared at me as if I had been a wild beast. I had been given up for dead: indeed some had received circumstantial reports from the natives as to the exact way in which I had been cut up. Of course I was now able to laugh at all these tales, but could not help thinking how very near truth they might have been, and I felt only too thankful for the miraculous escape I had met with.

I feel sure now that, if the men who found me had come upon me three days earlier, they would have killed me, but they found me on Friday, and the gallant and determined Colonel Neill had arrived, and by his attack on Kidgunge, and his liberal issue of shot and shell on Daragunge and the city, had shown the natives that they had a man to deal with who was not a Colonel Simpleton.

I found that I had in the fort six suits of white clothes and a little bedding, and the dhobee fortunately had a few more clothes, but of course every rupee in the house was gone. Col. Neill and his fusiliers soon cleared the place, and on the 18th we left the fort and found the station such a scene of utter destruction and desolation as completely beggars description. The destruction at the Railway shops and storehouse was frightful, and will I fear cost the Railway Company a very heavy sum indeed. It really seemed as if some thousands of men (mechanics) had been systematically engaged for many days in wanton destruction.

The magistrate sent out gangs of men to collect the property that was lying about the fields in all directions, and his bungalow compound presented such a sight as all the Jews' shops in London could not have surpassed: the place was strewn over with buggies, books, pictures, furniture of all descriptions, but nearly all broken; women and children's clothes as well as miniatures; the Church pulpits, Railway tools, lamps and part of the Engines, and in fact such a mass

of materials as would have set up fifty pawn-brokers in a rattling stock-in-trade.

I believe I was the only male survivor of the private residents outside the fort that night. One or two of the Officers of the 6th escaped, but all the rest were butchered. Poor B —— was shot on Tuesday morning, the 7th. I found Mrs. B —— in the fort when I came in, but with a broken arm. Altogether from the experience I obtained that week I shall certainly, in the event of being placed in similar circumstances again, not be such a fool as to sleep outside the fort walls near the lines of a Loyal Bengal sepoy regiment.

Further Accounts.

Well, matters went on quietly enough till Friday, the 5th, when news of the disturbance at Benares came up, with a report that a number of the insurgents were on their way to attack this station. On the same day an order came from the Brigadier at Cawnpore to "man the fort with every available European, and make a good stand." We non-military men were instantly ordered into the fort, being formed into a militia under the orders of the officer commanding the garrison. We slept in the fort on that Friday, the 5th, doing duty upon the ramparts, and returned to the station the following morning, but only for the morning, going into the fort again in the afternoon. At this time we had in the fort about thirty invalid artillery soldiers, some few commissariat and magazine sergeants, and we volunteers mustering above 100 men. There were also 400 Seikhs, and eighty of the wretched 6th guarding the main gate! A great number of the European merchants and East Indians remained outside, believing the report to be only a cry of "wolf," and supposing it to be a false alarm. The report of the approach of the insurgents was false; but, alas! would that the poor creatures had taken advice and joined us in the fort! Among those outside were poor Captain Birch, the Fort Adjutant, a married man, poor fellow, with a family; Innes, the Executive Engineer, who had the previous day resigned his appointment in the fort from ill-health, and had gone up to his bungalow. My poor dear friend, Alexander, of the irregulars, was in a garden near the fort with 150 of his troopers. Two guns under Harward, of the artillery, had been sent down to the river to guard the bridge-of-boats over the Ganges towards Benares. Hicks, of the 6th native infantry, and two little griffs were also stationed there in charge of two companies of that regiment. Well, all these poor fellows were out and we were inside the

fort, through the mercy of the Almighty. We were told off on our guard and had laid ourselves down on our beds (those who were not on watch), when, about half-past nine we heard firing in the station, and on the alarm bugle being sounded we ran up to the ramparts in breathless silence. The firing grew heavier, and we all thought that the insurgents had entered the station, and were being beaten off by the regiment. So steady was the musketry, regular file firing; on, on it continued, volley after volley. "Oh," we all said, "those gallant sepoys are beating off the rebels," for the firing grew fainter in the distance, as if they were driving a force out of the station. But before long the sad truth was known. Harward rode in, bringing the tidings that the wretched sepoys had risen, had seized his guns, and had marched them up to the station. He had escaped, and had run up to poor Alexander's camp, who jumped on his horse and rode up towards the lines, with as many of his men as could be got ready; he had been caught in an ambush by a body of sepoys lying in wait in an empty tank, and had been killed by a musket being placed to his side, blowing out his heart. His poor body was brought in later in the night, and I gave his hand a last shake, and shed tears over his last bed.

The officers were at mess when the wretches sounded the alarm bugle to bring them to the parade, and shot them down right and left! Wretched murderers, may they receive their reward! Nine poor little ensigns doing duty with the regiment were bayoneted to death in the mess-room, and three of the officers who escaped heard their cries as they passed! Poor boys, who had never given offence to any native, nor caused dissatisfaction to the sepoys. Five officers were shot belonging to the regiment, besides the nine poor boys. Birch and Innes, with the sergeant-major, in all seventeen military men, many merchants, and others were most cruelly butchered,—in all fifty Europeans fell that night by the hands of the murderous sepoys. The Treasury was plundered, the prisoners released from gaol, and the work of destruction commenced. The whole station was destroyed, house after house plundered and fired. What a night! Each moment we expected the Seikhs would turn on us, and then! But the Almighty mercifully decreed otherwise. We disarmed the 6th guard, at the main gate, and found the villains with loaded and capped muskets, ready to turn out!

What an escape we had! Five officers came in, all having escaped in a wonderful manner—three naked, having had to swim the Ganges. We were all night under arms, and in the morning lay down on our cots sad and weary, each moment

expecting to be called up. The streets of the city are about half a mile from the fort, and during the four or five following days troops of the rioters were to be seen rushing from place to place plundering and burning. Day and night we manned the ramparts in the hot blazing sun, and day and night the guns and mortars belched forth, throwing shell and grape-shot, tearing down houses, and scattering the demons wherever they were seen.

The Youthful Martyr of Allahabad.

When the wretched 6th regiment mutinied at Allahabad and murdered their officers, an ensign, only sixteen years of age, who was left for dead among the rest, escaped in the darkness to a neighbouring ravine. Here he found a stream, the waters of which sustained his life for four days and nights. Although desperately wounded, he contrived to raise himself into a tree during the night for protection from wild beasts. Poor boy! he had a high commission to fulfil before death released him from his sufferings.

On the fifth day he was discovered, and dragged by the brutal sepoys before one of their leaders to have the little life left in him extinguished. There he found another prisoner, a Christian catechist, formerly a Mahommedan, whom the sepoys were endeavouring to torment and terrify into a recantation.

The firmness of the native was giving way as he knelt amid his persecutors, with no human sympathy to support him. The boy officer, after anxiously watching him for a short time, cried out, "Oh, my friend, come what may, do not deny the Lord Jesus!"

Just at this moment the alarm of a sudden attack by the gallant Colonel Neill with his Madras fusiliers caused the instant flight of the murderous fanatics. The catechist's life was saved. He turned and blessed the boy whose faith had strengthened his faltering spirit. But the young martyr not long after had passed beyond all reach of human cruelty. He had entered into his rest.

When this incident became known through the medium of the public journals, the father of the young officer, town clerk of Gresham, told how brief had been the career thus cut short. Arthur Marcus Hill Cheek had left England so recently as the 20th March, proceeding to commence the life of a soldier, he arrived at Calcutta in May, was appointed to the 6th native regiment, reached Allahabad on the 19th of the same month, and was shot down by his own men eighteen days afterwards.

Narrative of the Outbreak in Allahabad, and of the Destruction of the Mission Property; extracted from the Journal of the Rev. J. Owen, Missionary of the American Board of Missions.

9th June 1857.

Here I am in the fort, living in a small tent, with all the property I have left in the world, comprised in a few changes of clothes, my Hebrew Bible, Greek Testament, 'Turretine's Theology,' 'Witsius' Economy of the Covenant,' and a few other odd volumes. All my furniture, my splendid library, and most of my private manuscripts and papers, have been consumed. Our Jumna house has been burned, the church has been robbed, and the whole place completely sacked. The native Christians have been scattered I do not know where. We feared they were all murdered, but hear that their lives have been spared. The whole station and cantonments of Allahabad are in ashes. Mr. Hay's house has been burned, and we fear that the press has also gone. We have had a terrible time here—far worse than I ever imagined could be allowed, even if an outbreak should occur. Last Friday morning we heard that Benares was in a blaze. The post that came in from Calcutta was obliged to make a detour and avoid Benares, where the coachman said heavy firing was going on. It was then expected that the mutineers, when driven from Benares, would make a dash at Allahabad. Consequently the magistrate and colonel sent round a circular ordering all the residents to be in the fort on Friday evening. No baggage, only 'light kits' allowed. I assisted in watching the fort, with a company of volunteers, for we had no European troops, and were quite at the mercy of the sepoys and Seikhs; so of couse got no sleep on Friday night, and went home to our bungalow on Saturday and got a good rest under the punkah. All then was so quiet, that I felt strongly inclined to remain there that night. I volunteered to assist in guarding the fort, but was told that I had better remain with the ladies and comfort them. They seemed to be expecting something that night, and were all on the alert. The volunteers, amounting to some eighty, were divided into three squads—one to protect the flag-staff, where it was supposed an enemy might attempt to scale the walls; another to protect a weak point on the Jumna; and the third to be with the main-guard at the gate. At nine o'clock the volunteers met, and were told off to their respective duties for the night. The moon was full, and shining beautifully. It was impossible to realise, when coming through the bazar, that danger was near. The shops were open, and the people quietly at their occupations. A

detachment of the 6th Bengal Native Infantry were stationed at the Daragunj bridge, with two nine-pounders and a complement of native artillerymen. Sowars were placed on the Benares road, to watch the approach of men from that direction, and on their coming fall back at a gallop, and give notice to the officer commanding at the bridge. Lieutenant Alexander, with his irregular cavalry, was at Alopee Bagh. It was therefore hoped, that if the mutineers came, they would meet with a warm reception, and soon be overcome. I had little confidence in the regiment, and in this feeling was far from being alone. All the officers, however, placed implicit reliance on the sepoys. They appeared to me the worst set of sepoys I ever saw; their countenances seemed equal to any amount of barbarity and brutality. My imagination had probably been tinged by recent occurrences elsewhere. On Saturday evening, about nine o'clock, I came up and joined in worship with Hays and Munnises, and was on my way back to the tent when we began to hear a rattling of musketry in the cantonments. The alarm was immediately sounded, and all the volunteers rushed to their posts. I immediately ran up and gave notice to our friends, who were undressing for bed. They were soon out on the balcony, and in a few minutes all the women living in the tents were collected on the balcony. Hay, Munnis, and myself, closed all the doors leading from the stairways, and stood with loaded pistols ready to shoot down the first native who might attempt an assault on the ladies and children. The rattling of musketry continued about half-an-hour, the sound reaching us from various points between cantonments and the bridge. We thought the mutineers had probably got in, and made a combined attack at these various points, and hoped they were getting a good cutting-up. The ladies of the regiment were constantly reiterating their firm conviction of the sepoy's loyalty. A few days previously they had caught two men, and delivered them up to the authorities, who, they said, had come from the city to incite them to rebellion. They had also expressed *very deep regret* that the ladies of the station had not all assembled in one building, and placed themselves under *their* protection, instead of coming into the fort. On the previous Monday they offered their services to Government to go and fight the rebels; and on Saturday at six o'clock, on parade, they received the thanks of the Governor-General, and acknowledged it by three hearty cheers.

Some time after the firing ceased, we saw a gentleman coming from the main gate to the barracks; hitherto we knew nothing of what had occurred. I went and opened a door and

called him. His first words were, 'Alexander is lying dead outside the fort, but tell Mrs. Harwood and Mrs. Simpson that their husbands are safe here in the fort, although Colonel Simpson's horse has been riddled through with bullets. The 6th are in open mutiny.' In a few minutes Colonel Simpson came up, with his trousers covered with blood, and gave an account of his almost miraculous escape. I must however mention what occurred at the gate before the Colonel came up to his quarters, which was the turning-point with us in the fort. The hundred sepoys at the main gate who were mounted on the main-guard were commanded by Lieutenant Brasyer to give up their arms. Two nine-pounders were brought close to them, and the torches ready to touch them off in case of disobedience. The volunteers were also before them with loaded muskets cocked and fingers on the trigger. At the command to pile their arms, there seemed a slight hesitation, but they at once gave them up, then partly rushed back to them, but finding themselves overpowered eventually yielded; this was the critical moment for the four hundred Seikhs to join them had they been so disposed. Had they done so, not one of us could have escaped. The massacre would have been universal, and then the Allahabad fort, with its vast magazine and armoury, would have been in the hands of the natives, and the whole of the North-western Provinces must have gone from under British rule.

I was not then aware that a train of gunpowder was laid, and an officer with torch in hand ready at the appointed signal to blow up the fort in case the Seikhs turned. You may therefore imagine our relief and joy when the word was quietly passed, 'the Seikhs are staunch.' The sepoys were all ready to start an outbreak in the fort, for their muskets were loaded and, contrary to orders, *capped!* and in this condition were taken from them. But the two guns ready to sweep them, the volunteers ready to pour a volley into them, and the Seikhs ready to pitch into them, quite overawed them. It may, however, safely be said, that under God we owe our safety, to Brasyer especially, and to the volunteers. Most of these are railway people, and for securing them we owe all thanks to Mr. Hodgson, who sent out train after train, and brought them in from the distance of more than twenty miles on the railway. Their presence doubtless did much to turn the scale on our side, for I have no confidence in the Seikhs any further than their own interest may take them. * * * * *

But I must give a more particular history of last Saturday night. Harwood and Hicks were at the bridge with the guns. The only Europeans with them were two young ensigns, just

come out from England. Birch sent down an order, on Saturday evening, for Harwood to bring the guns back into the fort, under an escort of sixteen sepoys. The order reached Harwood about eight o'clock, while they were sitting in their tent after dinner, and were preparing to have their tea. Harwood sent out word to make ready for starting off the guns. When the havildar went out to give the order, the sepoys refused to give them up. He ran in and told Hicks that the sepoys had all gone wrong, like the other mutinous regiments. Hicks went out and tried to reason with them; but instead of listening to reason, one man levelled his musket at him, which, however, was immediately knocked down by his neighbour. About this time, the sepoys at the bridge sent up three rockets, as a signal to those in cantonments that they had commenced. These were seen from the fort, but were supposed at the time to be fire-works connected with some native wedding. The outbreak in cantonments instantly commenced. The sepoys at the bridge took the guns, and started off towards cantonments. After they left Harwood walked up to Alopee Bagh, where Alexander was stationed with his irregular cavalry. Alexander immediately had his horse ready, and gave one to Harwood, and got several men into the saddle as soon as possible, and started. They approached the party with the guns near the large tank, just before Mr. Lowther's, on the fort road. There Alexander made an attempt to charge them in the rear. He rushed on at a gallop, and had just raised himself in his saddle to strike a man down with his sword, when the same man raised the muzzle of his musket to Alexander's breast, and shot him through the heart. He instantly fell from his horse. Most of the native cavalry deserted and joined the mutineers; and Harwood, finding himself alone and very near the parade-ground, fell back to the fort, which he reached in safety. The guns were taken to the parade-ground, which they reached about nine o'clock. Colonel Simpson, soon after leaving the mess, heard an alarm on the parade-ground, and rode over. As he passed each guard, he was saluted with a shower of bullets. The other officers had gone over, and some of them had already been shot down. The sepoys sounded an alarm on purpose to call out the officers, and shoot them all down at once. Seven were shot down on the parade-ground. Colonel Simpson left the parade-ground, and rode to the treasury, where he was met by another shower of bullets; and as he passed the mess-house, the guard there gave him another volley. His horse was almost riddled, yet had sufficient strength to bring his rider to the fort. The Colonel heard the bullets flying about his head

one hit the top of his cap, and a spent bullet hit his wrist, which was slightly lamed. The Colonel's clothes were thoroughly sprinkled with the poor horse's blood. Lieutenant Currie had his horse shot from under him, but managed to escape. Captain Gordon was concealed by some of the sepoys until the firing had ceased, and then quietly taken by them to a safe place, and requested to flee to the fort as fast as possible. Out of seventeen officers who sat down to dinner at the mess on Saturday evening, only three are *known* to survive. It is possible, however, that others may yet turn up, for we have received some vague native rumours of Europeans hiding themselves in the jungles in a most destitute state. When the guns left the bridge, about twenty sepoys took Hicks and two young ensigns prisoners, and conducted them through Daragunj, along the bund on the Ganges, up to the station, and left them there at Birch's house, and went on to join the main party, who were robbing the Government treasury at the Collector's kutchery. Hicks and the ensigns then walked over to Haig's bungalow (by the 48th parade); took Hicks's horse and buggy, and, instead of driving directly down the fort road, where they would doubtless have been intercepted, drove over the 48th parade-ground towards the Ganges; left the buggy there, and went on through the ravines till they reached the river, where they stripped and plunged in. They swam down the stream about a mile and a half, crossed to the Ghoosee side, made a detour of two or three miles through the country, having blackened their bodies with mud, and reached the bank of the river opposite the fort. Again plunging in they came out by the fort near the flag-staff. They then crept round close under the fort, till they reached the entrance of the main gate, where the volunteers, having disarmed the sepoys, were, with the Seikhs, keeping guard. They came in entirely naked, and were furnished at the gate with a slight covering. Morning came, such a dismal morning I have seldom seen. I walked out to the main gate, and there saw a dooley, in which were the remains of poor Alexander, lying in the riding-dress in which he was cut down. The muzzle of the musket was so near his breast, that his shirt was singed. Besides the musket-wound, he had two deep sabre-cuts on his face proving that his own men of the irregular cavalry had been treacherous. Indeed, out of two hundred that he had, only twenty-five remain staunch: all the rest have bolted with the 6th. Alexander was a very amiable young man, and we all deeply lament his loss, just in the bloom of life. His body was buried in the evening in the trenches. The morning passed on; and, until eleven o'clock, our bungalow appeared

from the top of the barracks all safe. In reality, however, it was not so: the Pathans of Daryabad, with some hundreds of low-caste Mohammedans, were plundering all our property and burning our books. Of this I knew nothing at the time. The Rev. Mr. Spry appointed a short service, at twleve o'clock, in the verandah of the barracks. Just before it began, I ran up to the top of the barracks, and saw the smoke rising from the roof of our dear bungalow. The service was very short, and attended by few. Most of the gentlemen were engaged in watching the fort, and several ladies were overwhelmed with grief at the recent loss of their husbands; and *all* of us had just been reduced to a state of beggary. The burning went on during the whole of Sunday, and no effort was made from the fort to arrest it.

June 10.—This morning Major Ryves, Mr. Snow, and several others, came in from about twenty-four miles up the railway. I was at the Jumna watergate on Monday, and took in a letter brought from Mr. Snow, telling us of their danger, and where they were. Mr. Court sent fourteen sowars of the irregular cavalry who had remained staunch, promising them fourteen hundred rupees if they brought the whole party in safe. Ryves and his party were on a tank surrounded by thousands of natives thirsting for their blood. Their bungalows were burned, and their property plundered before their eyes. The sowars reached them yesterday (Tuesday) afternoon. Just as the moment of deliverance came, poor Mrs. Ryves died from a stroke of the sun. They brought the body on to the Ganges, and were just in the act of reading the burial service over it, in a hole which they dug in the sand, when an alarm was sounded that the enemy was upon them. They hastily covered it up, and mounted their horses and started off. They walked their horses all night, avoiding villages, coming on through ravines, and keeping quite out of the way of the city, in their approach to the fort.

Our affairs in the fort are just now in a very bad way. A day or two since some Europeans went out with a body of the Seikhs to the godowns, near the steamer ghat, where large quantities of stores are lying. The Europeans began to plunder. The Seikhs, ever ready for anything of the kind, seeing this, instantly followed the example. The thing has gone on from bad to worse, until it is now quite impossible to restrain the Seikhs, untamed savages as they are.

The day before yesterday a poor man came to me, saying that he had had nothing to eat that day, and had been working hard as a volunteer in the militia. The Colonel happened to be passing at the time. I took the man to him, telling him

that the poor fellow was working hard, and willing to work, in defence of the fort, but that he and his wife were starving. The Colonel went with me at once to the commissariat, and there, notwithstanding many objections on the ground of formality, assisted me in getting for him a loaf of bread. I sent for him also to have his name duly enrolled for rations. One of commissariat officers told me yesterday morning that he did not know how those widows and children who came in on Monday night could be supplied with rations, for they were not fighting men! Everything is as badly managed as can be; indeed, there seems to be no management at all.

June 11.—We have this afternoon been cheered by the arrival of Colonel Neil, who behaved so gallantly in the outbreak at Benares, and to whom, under God, that station owes its safety. The Seikhs there joined the sepoys. Colonel Neil, with his hundred and fifty Europeans, poured into the Seikhs two or three showers of grape, and cut down eighty of them almost in an instant. The Europeans let fly a volley of musketry which dispersed both Seikhs and sepoys, and put them to flight in every direction. The affair was all over in about an hour, and the parade-ground left covered with the bodies of the mutineers. Not a bungalow at that station was burned, only the sepoy lines. But here we had no European soldiers. Lieut. Brasyer had not confidence in the Seikhs, and could not allow the volunteers to leave the fort. Indeed, our escape on Saturday night, considering that the Seikhs *actually wavered*, appears more and more wonderful. My constant feeling is that of gratitude. Our losses are as nothing, compared with the mercy we have experienced.

June 12.—Colonel Neil seems determined not to let the grass grow under his feet. Immediately after his arrival yesterday, he had his staff assembled, and held a council of war, at which he determined to attack Daragunj this morning. In the evening, at the parade of the volunteers, he gave them a suitable speech about their recent disgraceful acts of robbery and drinking, and threatened in future to turn the first transgressor out of the fort. This morning, at day-break, all in the fort were astir. Hitherto nothing has been done except firing shots here and there over the town from the ramparts. The rebels thus far have had it all their own way. Daragunj, a nest of pryagwalas, has been very troublesome in stopping the communication over the Ganges. Early this morning I saw the fusiliers getting ready for their work, and Colonel Neil, their commandant, with them. I had not been introduced to him, but he came and spoke to me. He was in haste, and said he was going to clear away that village out there. The troops

were soon moving away out of the fort, sixty fusiliers, three hundred Seikhs, and thirty cavalry. They marched off in the direction of Alopee Bagh, there to wait for the cannonading to cease. The guns from two batteries opened about sunrise. I stood near the outer battery, and saw where almost every ball struck. The dust rose from Daragunj in clouds, and the buildings must have been pretty well battered before the bombarding ceased. When the firing ceased, the troops moved in, and then we saw no more. They returned about ten o'clock, having killed and wounded all the rebels they could find, and re-opened the communication across the Ganges.

June 13.—This morning Brasyer, with a party of his Seikhs, went out near the old Thomason House, which is garrisoned with the rebel forces. He was almost surrounded, and they tried to prevent his return to the fort. A few of the Seikhs were wounded, and Brasyer had a narrow escape. He told me several bullets just missed his back. This evening the Seikhs and a party of the volunteers went out into Kydgunj. They rattled their musketry for about two hours, and burned a large portion of a bad district. Lieutenant Taylor, the adjutant of the Seikh regiment, was wounded this evening, shot through the leg. The wound is said to be a bad one. * * *

June 15.—Early this morning the steamer *Jumna* went up the river Jumna with a party of fifty or sixty fusiliers, and a twleve-pounder howitzer. On their way up they fired into Pryagwaltolah several times, and set fire to some of their buildings. The pryagwalas, seeing the shot and shells coming at them, fled in every direction. The steamer then went to Balwaghat, above our house, where they landed the fusiliers. The steamer then went to Daryabad, and took up a position whence the howitzer played upon the Pathans a while, and set fire to some of their buildings. The fusiliers went up from the ghat, and suddenly came amongst thousands of the enemy. Three were shot dead, and five men and one officer wounded. The Seikhs who went up by land soon came to their relief, and fought bravely. Ever since two or three of their number were killed the other day by the Mohammedans, they have been impatient to get revenge, and this morning they had an opportunity. The firing and burning continued about four hours. We heard the firing very distinctly, and the dark columns of smoke rising from the city marked the course they were taking. A few of the Seikhs were wounded. The loss among the enemy must have been upwards of two hundred. While they were at work, a battery from the fort was throwing shot and shell upon Pryagwaltolah. Colonel Neil is much cut up at losing so many of his brave men. I omitted men-

tioning a very interesting circumstance of yesterday—the arrival of fifty-nine fugitives from Oude, under Lieutenant Grant, Assistant-Commissioner. Most of them were from Sultanpore. About the time of the out-break here, they heard alarming rumours, and started for Purtaubghur, where Lieutenant Grant was stationed. There they heard that Allahabad had fallen, and that *all* the Europeans had been massacred. Ajeet Singh, a powerful zemindar, professed to protect them several days, though in reality they were his prisoners. Grant managed to send a letter to Court, who immediately sent out some native cavalry to escort them in. When Ajeet Singh heard that the Europeans at Allahabad were still safe in the fort, he at once became most loyal, and came in with the party himself, bringing with him a native escort of two thousand men. About ten o'clock yesterday morning they arrived. * * Nearly the whole party were put on board the steamer at once, without clothes, without anything, and pushed off to Calcutta.

June 16.—We have been most anxious regarding our native Christians; only two or three have found their way into the fort. From the accounts we received, we apprehended the worst regarding Gopinath and his family, whom I left in my house on Saturday the 6th. Judge, then, of my agreeable surprise this morning, on receiving from him a short note, written from our school building, assuring me of the safety of all his family, and requesting me to get a party to go up and bring them, Conductor Coleman and family, and Ensign Cheek of the 6th, down to the fort. I went to Mr. Court, who had just received a similar note, and was preparing to go.

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Ensign Cheek, who was wounded the night of the outbreak, and had been wandering about—hiding sometimes in the jungles, sometimes on trees, sometimes standing in the water—was suffering most excruciating pain while with Gopinath in the sarae. Not the least of his sufferings was from thirst, and all night and day he was calling out for water. In the midst of all his sufferings, he exhorted Gopinath to stand firm, saying, 'Padre Sahib, hold on to your faith; don't give it up.' When the Mohammedans saw Gopinath trying to shew kindness to Cheek, they put him at a distance, and tried to prevent all further intercourse between them. Poor Cheek died in the fort this evening from exposure, and the long neglect of his wounds.

June 19.—Rose early this morning, and began to set my house in order, cleaning and sweeping the rooms. I have neither table, nor knife, nor plate, nor cup and saucer, to my home, nor bed.

MIRZAPORE.

Mirzapore is situated on the southern bank of the river Ganges, within thirty miles of Benares, forty-nine miles of Allahabad, forty miles of Juanpore, forty miles of the Oude frontier, fifty miles of Rewah and Bundelcund, one hundred miles of Banda, one hundred and fifty miles of Culpee, and one hundred and seventy miles of Cawnpore. Its position, therefore, was one of peculiar peril, in which it was exposed to the tempest of rebellion from every quarter. Its safety was mainly dependent on the safety of Benares and Allahabad. Had the sepoys taken possession of Benares and retained possession of Allahabad, Mirzapore must of necessity have been destroyed. When the news of the revolt at Meerut and the fall of Delhi reached the residents in Mirzapore, they soon began to perceive the danger into which such events and their consequences had thrown them. The spirit of rebellion spread with wonderful rapidity. City after city fell. The insurrection was coming nearer and nearer. No human hand, apparently, could prevent it from closing us in on all sides. The whole station was on the alert, and the city too. The latter numbered eighty thousand souls, most of whom, I can honestly say, from my own observation of their conduct for several months, were thoroughly staunch to the Government, although many persons thought otherwise, and myself among the number, in the first stages of the rebellion. Watch was kept continually at night by the Europeans, but without method and mutual combination. In the mission compound the native Christians were on guard by turns throughout the night; and myself and Mr. Mackintosh, the head-master of the Free School, patrolled the compound also. At that time, three hundred and fifty Seikhs of the regiment of Ferozepore were encamped in the cantonments. Some deserted them, some others did not. On the very week in which we heard of the massacre at Delhi, the entire station was suddenly aroused in the dead of the night by the double discharge of the nine-pounder gun kept in the Kutchery compound. In a short time, all the residents were on the move from their houses and were seeking refuge in the large building known as the Judges' Kutchery, or Court of Law. The Seikhs were called out; the gun was loaded with pice, or copper coin, in default of grape; the Europeans armed themselves with guns, swords, revolvers, and so forth; and all was ready for the expected attack. In the course of the morning, it was discovered that we had been misled by a false rumour; and therefore, in the middle of the day, the party broke up, and all went to their homes. * * * * * * *

On the afternoon of the 4th of June, the native troops in Benares mutinied. The news came in directly, by telegraph, at the commencement of the battle; but as it was the last message which arrived, there was no doubt on the mind of any one of what was transpiring there. I considered it prudent to send my wife, sister, and child, on board a steamer, then lying off Mirzapore, for safety. The head-master of the school and his family also went on board. It was not known what the result of the fight in Benares would be. If on the side of the rebels, it was thought they would doubtless send a detachment to attack Mirzapore, in which they would be assisted by the scum of the city; and if on the side of the Europeans, the station would probably be visited by the defeated fugitives; so that it was manifest we were apparently in danger from either issue. During that night and the following day, which was Friday, not a scrap of intelligence was sent from the authorities in Benares to those in Mirzapore as to the result of the mutiny. The suspense among us all was frightful. As the steamer was about leaving the ghat for Allahabad, I thought my family had better accompany it, and I would remain behind to take charge of the mission and the native Christians. Mr. Mackintosh (the teacher), his wife, who was exceedingly ill, and his children, were also in the steamer.

Mrs. Sherring's Narrative.

In the evening of the 4th of June, we heard of the outbreak at Benares, and not being able to ascertain the result, as the telegraphic communication had been destroyed, we became very anxious for the safety of the station. A steamer being at the ghat, it was thought advisable that we should go on board for the night; consequently the school-master, his family, and ourselves, consisting of my sister, my baby, and myself, spent the night on the steamer—my husband returning to the mission, but coming on board again in the course of the night. Next morning, or during the day, it was rumoured that the Seikhs had joined with the mutinous 37th in Benares. This caused great uneasiness, as we had at the time about three hundred and fifty Seikhs in the station. It was therefore agreed that it would be better for us to remain on board, going with the steamer to Allahabad, in the hope that, on our return, it would be safe to remain in Mirzapore. On Sunday morning, the 7th of June, we were within a few miles of Allahabad, when we received information from boats on the river, and eventually from the pilot, that the sepoys in Allahabad had mutinied. The captain strongly advised us to go on board the flat (a large boat towed by the steamer), urging that he thought it would

be safer, and assuring us that in a few hours after his departure he would return. The flat was thrown off, and we saw the steamer depart. We were then dropping down the river very slow, and were soon much alarmed at seeing the villagers arming themselves. In the course of the day we saw three or four boats containing refugees pass down. We saw also the smoke of houses burning in the direction of Allahabad, and eagerly looked for the steamer. We received information that the steamer was busy crossing English troops for the relief of the fort. At last we heard that the villagers had an idea that treasure was on board our flat. Evening came, and yet the captain had not fulfilled his promise. We began to be afraid of an attack, and the captain of the flat made all necessary preparations for defending the vessel, and, in case of defeat, leaving in the jolly-boat, which was lowered and got ready for that purpose. As it became dark, we saw a large fire towards Allahabad, which continued for some time. We expected an attack every moment. About twelve o'clock at night we saw (for it was bright moonlight) a small boat coming stealthily down the stream, keeping in the shadow of the bank. It stopped opposite us, and the men inside got out, and lit a small fire. Presently we saw several men on the bank, which on that side of the river was very high. They came creeping down to the men in the boat, and after a short time re-ascended, crouching on the bank; for they saw, I think, that we were all awake, and ready to receive an attack. Watching them, we were quite unconscious that a much larger boat was running down upon us. The alarm was given, and that also was carefully watched. It anchored even with us, only on the opposite bank. A small boat with a native was sent to inquire the reason of this movement, and an answer was returned which seemed unsatisfactory in the extreme.

There were on board, the captain of the flat, the schoolmaster, two young men, six ladies, and four children. There were also two refugees, all the lascar crew, and our servants. Soon after the return of the messenger, the alarm was given to fly, for about two hundred sepoys were seen on the bank making for the large boat. It was utterly impossible to defend the flat, and therefore we deserted it for the jolly-boat, as we had arranged to do, if necessary. We were now in great peril, for the sepoys had entered the large boat, and as they had provoked the boatmen, the latter would not steer. The current was very strong, and it will be remembered that the large boat was even with the flat; therefore the sepoys, in steering, instead of making for the flat, were borne past it by the current, and so were coming fast down upon us. Our only plan now

was to push on, which we did; but the boat was so heavily laden with people, that we were in great danger of capsizing. The first thing was to get rid of the servants, whom we put on board one of the refugees' boats, and at the same time with them the two refugees left us. Their boat now became top-heavy, so that they were obliged to make for the land in order to lighten it. My servant, with two others, commenced his journey homewards, and was attacked and robbed—his sword and other things being taken from him. Another man, the servant of the captain, made for Allahabad, where he gave information of our dangerous situation to the captain of the steamer. The refugees, I believe, pushed on, but they fell into the hands of the enemy, and I hear, were on the point of being murdered, when they were most opportunely rescued by the steamer, when on her way down in search of us. It is impossible for me to say how we in the jolly-boat escaped from the sepoys, but through God's mercy we were spared, and pursued our way down the river. Once in the night we were called to from the bank, and ordered to come on shore. We gave no answer, but our hearts sank within us as we thought that now we were sure to fall into the hands of the enemy. We offered up prayers to God aloud; our heads were all kept down, fearing that they would see us. I believe they abused us, and threatened to go quickly by land, and meet us a little lower down, at Sirsa. Whenever we passed boats we kept our heads as low as possible, for travelling at night on the river in India is so unusual, that it at once excites suspicion. We reached Sirsa, which is half-way between Allahabad and Mirzapore, at sunrise. Lower down, we saw a man on a small boat brandishing a naked sword, and calling to us to stop: and very near by a good number of men running down the bank armed with great sticks, but who providentially were without boats, and therefore were prevented from reaching us. We at last came to a ferry, where the people had been plundering some large boats. The men in one boat pointed out the offenders who were in a boat about the size of ours. The men were very ill-looking, and the boat was full. We did not venture to attack them, but a shot was fired, and a man on the bank fell. My servant, on arriving at this place, heard that the man had been shot in the breast. The villagers wished to kill him, therefore, in revenge. The heat was now intense, and we had nothing to eat. The wind was very favourable, so we put up the sail, and relieved the poor rowers. A piece of matting was discovered, which the ladies put over their heads. Some also applied net handkerchiefs as a protection from the rays of the sun. My little baby, not quite five

months old, suffered very much from hunger. About eleven o'clock we came up with a boat of refugees which had passed us on Sunday, and which was now under the protection of the Ranee of Gya, who was on a religious tour. The refugees invited us to take food and shelter with them in their boat, which was a covered one—an offer which most of us gladly accepted, as now the heat had become so great, that unless we had come up with this boat, I fear the children, and even ladies, could not have endured it much longer. Mercifully and lovingly the Lord spared us. We heard firing several times in the day, but, as we were quite shut up, it was impossible fully to ascertain its cause. The day before this boat had been much fired on, so that the people within feared they would be shot. The Ranee had with her about three hundred sepoys with matchlocks, and one hundred with swords. Such was the report; how far it was accurate I cannot say. At four, the Ranee sent word that she intended to anchor, and we were obliged to do the same, as we were now under her protection. I do not know what her real feelings were towards us, but at the time we much feared treachery, especially as she sent her head man to inquire how many people there were in the boat. It was her especial wish that we should remain shut up in our room, and on account of this none of us saw that the steamer had returned. It was nearly on us, when a servant gave us the information of its approach, and our joy was extreme. Oh, thanks be to God who has delivered us out of the hands of the enemy! I was so glad to see a glass of milk for poor baby. The next day we left for Mirzapore, and arrived in the morning. We stayed there the day, and left with the residents on Wednesday about two o'clock, reaching Chunar that night. The next morning I met my dear husband, and we went on together to Benares. Here we remained until August, when we left for Calcutta, as it was thought advisable that we should do so.

Captain Hayes's Expedition.

Towards the end of May (23rd) in consequence of communications between Mr. Colvin, Sir Hugh Wheeler, and Sir H. Lawrence, it was resolved that a party of Galle's horse, upon whom it was believed every reliance could be placed, should be detached to clear the road between Cawnpore and Mynpore, and thence re-open communications with Allygurh. As this was a service of an important and delicate nature, Sir Henry Lawrence selected his Military Secretary, Captain

Fletcher Hayes, an officer of great abilities to perform it. He took two troops of irregular cavalry and was accompanied by Lieut. Barber, Adjutant of the regiment, Captain Carey, and Mr. Fayrer; the party reached Cawnpore safely, and, on the evening of the 31st of May, had progressed by forced marches as far as Bowgong, about a hundred miles north of Cawnpore. Here they heard that Mynpore had been re-occupied by our troops, but that a rajah in the neighbourhood had set our rule at defiance. As Mynpore was only eight miles distant, Captains Hayes and Carey cantered in to consult the magistrate about attacking this miscreant. They remained there the entire day (1st June,) the cavalry being halted at Bowgong. Orders, however, were transmitted to them to march on the following morning to Kurrowlie, sixteen miles on the road to Allygurh, at which place Captain Hayes would join them by a cross road. On the evening of the 1st, one of the native officials came in from Bowgong with the intelligence that the men were bent on uniting. But as the small detachment which formed Captain Hayes's escort, and which arrived very soon after, merely complained regarding the length of the marches, no importance was attached to the previous information. In the morning, the two officers started by the cross roads, and after riding eleven miles, came in sight of their men proceeding in an orderly manner towards Kurrowlie. They crossed the plain to meet them, but as they approached, a native officer rode up and bade them fly for their lives. The words were scarcely out of his mouth before the two troops, yelling like demons, and discharging their carbines, made at them. They had nothing for it, but to wheel their horses round and make off. Captain Carey was fortunately untouched, but Captain Hayes, who was riding next the troopers, had not gone many yards before a native officer rode up to his side, and cut him down; they then made after the other, but by judicious riding, and being a light weight, he escaped after a two miles' chase and eventually arrived safely at Mynpore.

It subsequently transpired that Lieut. Barber and Mr. Fayrer had been murdered about ten minutes before Captain Hayes came up. Mr. Fayrer was drinking at a well when a dastardly sowar came up behind him and nearly cut off his head. Lieut. Barber seeing this fled up the road pursued by the whole body; he shot one horse and two of the sowars when he was himself hit; the mutineers immediately after came up with him and cut him down. The sowars, after plundering the property of their officers and securing all that they wore on their persons, went off to Delhi.

Captain Carey's Escape.

Mynpore, June 2.

Thank God I am at this moment alive and well, and am able to write and tell you so, for last night we buried in the churchyard here my three poor companions, who were ruthlessly murdered by the sowars, we were taking with us to assist in suppressing the mutinous spirit rising in these districts. I wrote to you from Camp Gosangunje three or four days ago. On our arrival at Bowgong about half-past 7 P. M. on Saturday, Hayes determined upon cantering in to Mynpore, about eight miles, to consult with the magistrate about attacking the Elah Rajah, who had set himself up as king, and set our rule at defiance. All Sunday we remained at Mynpore, sending poor Barber, the Adjutant of the 2d irregular cavalry, directions to proceed up to Kurrowlee, and that there we would join him on Monday morning. The thanadar came in from Bowgong, saying our men were mutinying, and begged us not to trust them; but when Hayes's escort came in the evening, and said their men had been complaining about the long marches, &c., we thought it was nothing. Well, we cantered along, all merrily, in the morning, talking of how we would open the road to Allyghur, and carry all before us; and after riding about eleven miles we came up in sight of the men apparently going along the road and quite orderly. They were on one road, we on another. I said, 'Let us cross the plain and meet them.' As we approached they faced towards us and halted, and when we had cantered up to within about fifty yards of them, one or two of the native officers rode out to meet us, and said in a low voice, 'fly Sahibs, fly.' Upon this poor Hayes said to me as we wheeled round our horses, 'well, we must now fly for our lives,' and away we went with the two troops after us like demons, yelling and sending the bullets from their carbines flying all round us. Thank God, neither I nor my horse was hit. Hayes was riding on the side nearest the troopers, and before we had gone many yards, I saw a native officer go up alongside of him, and with one blow cut him down from his saddle. It was the work of an instant, and took much less time than I have to relate it. On they all came shouting after me, and every now and then "ping" came a ball near me. Indeed, I thought my moments were numbered, but as I neared the road at the end of the maidan, a ditch presented itself. It was but a moment I thought, dug my spurs hard in, and the mare flew over it, though she nearly fell on the other side; fortunately I recovered her, and in another moment I was leaving all behind,

but two sowars, who followed me and poor Hayes's horse tearing on after me. On seeing this I put my pistol into my holster, having reserved my fire until a man was actually upon me, and took a pull at the mare, as I had still a long ride for it, and knew my riding must now stand me a good turn; so I raised the mare as much as I could, keeping those fiends about 100 yards in rear, and they, I suppose, seeing I was taking it easy, and not urging my horse, but merely turning round every now and then to watch them, pulled up, after chasing me two good miles. Never did I know a happier moment, and most fervently did I thank God for saving my life. Hayes's Arab came dashing along, and passed me; I still continued to ride on at a strong pace, fearful of being taken and murdered by some who had taken a short cut unknown to me. Thus up to the sixth mile from home did I continue to fly, when, finding my mare completely done up, and meeting one of our sowars, I immediately stopped him, jumped up behind, and ordered him to hasten back to Mynpore. After going about a mile on this beast we came up to poor Hayes's horse, which had been caught, so on him I sprang, and he bore me back safely to cantonments. It was, indeed, a ride for life or death, and only when I alighted at the magistrate's Kutchery, in which all the Europeans were assembled, did I feel at all comfortable. Men were immediately sent out to look for the body (Hayes's) and bring it in, and ascertain the fate of Barber, the Adjutant, and young Fayrer, who were known to have left their last encamping ground with the men. In the afternoon poor Hayes's body was brought in, his head most frightfully hacked about, his right hand cut off, and his left fearfully lacerated—his watch, rings, boots, all gone, and his clothes, all cut and torn to pieces. Poor fellow! it was a sad fate for such a good and clever man, and deeply do I feel the loss of one who was ever a kind friend to me, anxious to serve me by every means in his power; gladly would I have assisted him, had I had it in my power, but what could I do against 200 infuriated fanatics? Poor Hayes was not eight yards from me when he fell, and one instant's delay would have been certain death to me. One old Seikh Sirdar with two followers, who stood aloof from these acts of murder, and one of Hayes's servants brought in his body, and from them I learned that poor young Fayrer's and Barber's remains were also being brought in. A dastardly villain of a sowar stole behind poor young Fayrer, as he was drinking at a well, and with one blow of his tulwar in his neck killed him; he fell back, his head half severed from his body. The old Seikh rushed forward to raise him, and ordered them to seize he murderer,

when another man said, 'what! are you with these caffres; take care of yourself.' On raising poor young Fayrer's head, the poor man breathed his last. Barber fled up the road, several giving chase; he shot one horse, and two of the sowars, when he was hit with a ball and then cut down, his property taken off, his horse seized, and then they all rode off towards Delhi. Fayrer was killed about ten minutes before we came up, then they killed poor Hayes, and then Barber. Thus you see, through the mercy of God, I escaped sharing these poor fellows' fate.

The murder of Major Gall.

It will be remembered that, early in June 1857, Major Gall, with a small detachment of his corps, the 2nd Oudh irregular cavalry, was despatched by the late Sir Henry Lawrence to Allahabad with despatches for the Governor General. On his way he put up in the surrai at Roy Bareilly—about forty miles S. E. of Lucknow. Previously to him there had arrived there some 200 Seikhs of the mutinous Seikh corps at Benares. It would seem that he was not aware of this, or it is likely he would have taken another route. About midday, however, there was a general rise of the inhabitants, instigated, as it was presumed, by the Seikhs. The rebels proceeded to the surrai, and one of them named Hoormut Khan was the first to fire and shoot down the unhappy Major in the room in which they found him. The shot was soon followed by sword cuts, after which they threw the body into the ditch outside the surrai, not however, before stripping it of every thing on it. Gall's own men would appear to have had no hand whatever in this sad affair, nay, it has transpired in evidence that they were themselves subjected to very gross ill-treatment and plundered of all their property. The villains whom justice has at length overtaken were all apprehended within a few days of each other in February 1859, and stood charged thus:—

1 Shumsoodeen Khan, Seikh, 22 years of age. 2 Wuzzeer Khan, Patan, 30 years of age.	Murder.
3 Meer Hadee, Syud, 65 years of age. 4 Furzoond Hussein, Syud, 32 years of age.	Instigators and accessories to murder before the fact.
5 Manoollah, Syud, 24 years of age. 6 Meer Khan, Patan, 25 years of age.	Accessories to murder before the fact.

Hoormut Khan, the leader, was also captured about the same time, but, through the culpable negligence or connivance of the guard which was escorting him, he managed to escape,

and now carries the reward of Rs. 2,000 for his apprehension, dead or alive.

It would be tedious to go into the details of evidence. All the witnesses for the prosecution testify more or less to the same facts—some from occular demonstration, others from hearsay. From their several depositions it would, however, appear that after getting Major Gall into the surrai, Meer Hadee (3) and Furzoond Hussien (4) caused the gates to be closed—that Hoormut Khan fired the first shot at the Major, who fell—that Wuzzeer Khan (2) and Shumsoodeen Khan (1) struck him with their swords—that afterwards Shumsoodeen Khan appropriated a pistol, and Wuzzeer Khan a pistol and a sword belonging to the Major—Hoormut Khan cut off the Major's finger to take off a ring—that Meer Khan took the Major's horse, and Meer Hadee two camel-loads of his property.

The prisoners all pleaded "not guilty," and according to their statement, the Sikhs would appear to have commenced the outrage. One of them, Shumsoodeen, states that he was sitting at the surrai door when some 2 or 300 Sikhs, with some 4 or 500 of the inhabitants, assembled and entered the surrai—that they demanded his weapons from the Major, and that upon Hoormut Khan shooting him, a row began and the crowd increased; that he had heard that Wuzzeer Khan had struck the Major with a sword—also that the Major's property had been conveyed to Meer Hadee's house—that all the town had gone to plunder the Major's property, and that "bad luck" had also taken him there. The rest follow almost in the same track, each, however, trying to excuse himself at the expense of the rest—all affording very conclusive proof of the guilt of one another.

Mutiny at Lucknow.

The city of Lucknow, built on the right of the river Goomtee, and extending for four miles along its banks, lies about fifty miles to the north-east of Cawnpore. All the principal buildings, including the Imambarah, the king's palace and the adjoining gardens, are between the city and the river bank. Here also is the Residency, a large walled enclosure, comprising not only the palace of the Resident, but other houses and outhouses as well as underground buildings or vaults on a large scale. It is situated on higher ground than the rest of the town, which it may be said to command. Near this, and higher up the river, almost on its bank, is a strong turreted, castellated building called the Muchee Bawun, very well adapted for defence against native troops. To the south, and

covering an immense space, lies the town, intersected by a canal which falls into the Goomtee close to the Martiniere, about three miles south-east of the Residency. A little to the south of this is the Dilkoosha, a hunting hut or palace within an enclosed park. To the north-east of the Residency, and on the left bank of the Goomtee, is the cantonment, communicating with the right bank by means of two bridges: one of stone near the Muchee Bawun; the other of iron close to the Residency. Re-crossing by this to the right bank, we come to the space between the Residency and the Martiniere. This is filled up principally by native palaces, amongst which the Motee Mahal Shah, Secundra Bagh, and Furrahbuksh-ke-kotee, are the most conspicuous. To the south of the town, about four miles from the Residency, on the Cawnpore road, is the Alum-bagh, a very strong defensible position. The troops at Lucknow, in the month of May 1857, consisted of H. M.'s 32nd Foot, about 370 strong; between fifty and sixty European artillerymen; a native battery of the artillery; 13th, 48th and 71st regiments; and the 7th light cavalry. They had previously been disposed in the ordinary manner; the Europeans being preserved as much as possible from exposure, and the natives entrusted with the charge of several important buildings.

Sir Henry's first object was to remedy this error. He commenced by reducing the number of posts from eight to four, three of these he greatly strengthened, and so arranged the composition that none of the natives on duty could effect anything against the buildings, of which conjointly with the Europeans they were in charge. All the magazine stores hitherto under the charge of sepoys, he caused to be removed into the Muchee Bawun, and entrusted that building to a company of Europeans; thirty guns were also placed in position there, and supplies for European troops rapidly stored in. At the treasury, within the Residency compound, he stationed 200 sepoys, 130 Europeans and six guns; the treasury tent was actually under the charge of sepoys, but the guns were so disposed that at the first alarm they could be brought to bear upon them.

In the centre, and between these two positions, was a strong post of four hundred men with twenty guns, some of them eighteen pounders, commanding the two bridges leading to cantonments. The fourth post was at the dâk bungalow, between the cantonment and the Residency, and consisted of six guns and two squadrons of the 2nd Oude cavalry.

In the cantonment on the left bank of the Goomtee were the head-quarters of the three native regiments, 340 of the

32nd foot, fifty artillery men (European) and six guns and a battery of native artillery.

In consequence of a pressing requisition from Sir H. Wheeler, on the 21st May, the European force in cantonments was reduced by about fifty men. The 7th cavalry were stationed at Mootkapore seven miles distant from the infantry cantonment.

That the precautions above detailed were necessary, was proved by the fact, that during the night papers were constantly posted up in prominent positions in the town in which all good Mahomedans were called upon to rise *en masse* and massacre the Frank infidels. The city police from their inability to discover the perpetrators of these insurrectionary invitations, showed either that they connived at them or that they were incapable. From their subsequent conduct it may be assumed that they were at this time in league with the conspirators.

About the 24th, in consequence of a report that the regiments would rise that night, between 8 and 9 o'clock all the ladies were moved into the Residency compound; here also the sick and families of the 32nd were placed, and it was appointed the general rendezvous in the event of a rise. At the same time the uncovenanted assistants comprising clerks, copyists, section writers, &c., were embodied as special constables and took night duty. One great source of strength was the entire confidence which Sir Henry Lawrence inspired on all around him. He never for a moment underrated the danger, but beholding its approach, he did not fear to look it in the face. Every precaution that man could take he adopted. He improvised a fortress in the Muchee Bawun, seized and held the bridges, strengthened the Residency, conveyed into it all the ladies and invalids, and then having his European force well in hand prepared for any alternative. All this time so far from betraying any of the anxieties which he felt, he went freely amongst the people, rode constantly about the city, endeavoured to calm men's minds, to reason with them, to show them their folly, their fool hardiness. The designs of the men who were duping them he laid bare. But all was in vain. There was the same servility of manner on the part of the natives; but their hearts were shut to reason and arguments. They thought that they had caught us in a trap, and should find us isolated and unable to assist one another. They felt in fact sure of their game, and no persuasions or reasoning would at that hour have induced them to forego the attempt to win it.

At length after nightly alarms, on the night of the 30th May at 9 o'clock, the insurrection broke out. At that hour

suddenly a few shots were heard from the lines of the 91st N. I.; the men of this regiment had been told off into five parties, to fire their bungalows, and murder their officers; and these shots were the signal. They were joined at first by only a few of the 13th and 48th; but, nothing daunted, they commenced at once their murderous work. Bragadier Handscombe, a meritorious and much respected officer, who commanded under Sir Henry Lawrence, and who lived in the cantonment close to them, had hastened to their lines on the first sound of their firing; he was received with a volley and shot dead. Lieut. Grant who was out on picket duty, was wounded by a random shot. Unable to stir, the subadar of his guard concealed him under a *charpoy*, and told the mutineers that he had escaped. But a havildar of the same guard, merciless in his intense bigotry, pointed to the *charpoy*, whence Lieut. Grant was at once dragged, and brutally murdered. All this, and the firing of every bungalow they came near, lasted only a few seconds,—less time than I have taken to describe it. Sir Henry Lawrence had on the first sound, ridden to the scene of action. It was his great object to prevent all communication between the insurgents and the mutinously disposed in the city. Accordingly, he at once moved off two guns and a company of Europeans to the corner of the only road by which the mutineers could approach the bridges, and disposed of the rest to meet the attack of the enemy. This was not long waited for; the insurgents came on infuriated with *bhang* and excited by their own deeds; but as they neared the guns they were received with such a volley of grape, that they at once retreated into their lines, whence they continued for a short time to carry on a desultory fire. As, however, the Europeans and the guns moved on, although only for a few hundred yards, they abandoned even these defences, and as they moved off, the irregular cavalry was sent in to cut them up. But their hearts were not in the contest, and although they followed the gallant commandant, Lieut. Hardinge, who greatly distinguished himself, it was but with little effect. Still pursuing their retreat, the insurgents reached the cavalry lines at Moodkipore, about 4 A. M. on the 31st. Finding they were not pursued, they determined to return, persuaded that they would be joined by others of their creed and colour. Firing the cavalry lines to encourage themselves they started back for Lucknow. But Sir Henry was ready to meet them. Having secured the safety of the Residency he marched forward with two hundred Europeans, two guns, the 7th light cavalry and a handful of Daly's, Gall's and Hardinge's irregular regiments. As he

passed the native lines, he was joined by the men of the three native regiments, who had not joined the insurgents, about five hundred in number. The 7th light cavalry were sent in advance; but on nearing the enemy, two troops went bodily over and joined them. Seeing our force still advancing the enemy then turned and fled, although still about a thousand yards distance. Our artillery at once opened upon them, and quickened their flight; they were pursued by the Europeans as far as Moodkipore, and by the native cavalry for twenty miles further in the direction of Seetapore. Their loss in killed, however, was only two or three, but sixty were taken prisoners. At Moodkipore was found the body of a young officer, Raleigh, quite a boy, who had but lately arrived. Left from ill-health at Moodkipore, he had been surprised and murdered by these assassins.

Unable with a city full of men plotting our destruction to pursue the mutineers further, with his Europeans Sir Henry returned to cantonments, and leaving therein two hundred of the 32nd foot and four guns, he moved the remainder of his force into the Muchee Bawun and the Residency, distributing two of the battery guns to each. He at once proclaimed martial-law. The city guards he strengthened with a hundred Europeans and four guns. The city indeed was surging with excitement; an insurrection was threatened that night, and but for the bold attitude assumed by Sir Henry (who with Colonel Inglis, H. M.'s 33rd slept in the town) and the hold which his character had obtained on the minds of all with whom he had been brought much in contact, it would have undoubtedly broken out. As it was, a good deal of firing took place between the more riotous of the city people and our police. The latter, however, aided by the Europeans beat them off on each occasion. It is gratifying to add that the havildar who so basely betrayed the place of Lieut. Grant's concealment, was caught and hanged; six or seven of the mutineers shared the same fate. Amid the all but universal disaffection, it is always pleasing to record that the officers of the 48th owed their lives to the fidelity of their men. They were at mess when the insurrection broke out, and were consequently in very great risk from the detached parties of the mutineers. But about an hundred of their own men rallied round them and escorted them in safety to the Muchee Bawun. Of the 3,500 comprising the four native regiments less than one-fourth remained true to their colours, and these gradually dropped off as the rebellion progressed.

On the 30th of May the troops broke out. It commenced

at 9 P. M. or a little after; we were seated at mess smoking, &c., when the sound of cannon and volleys of musquetry reached us; no time was lost in getting under arms, and when the European officers came on the parade, about fifty scoundrels galloped straight off to the Lucknow cantonment to join the mutineers. Owing to so many detachments being on command, we did not muster more than two hundred; however, on reaching Lucknow station the whole place was in a blaze. We then marched to the city and patrolled between the iron and stone bridges, and about 1 A. M. returned to the cantonment and dismounted outside the Residency, where we remained till daylight, and then marched to the parade ground where the Europeans and guns were. The 71st seems to have been the most disaffected, the 48th next, and the 13th least; indeed the last have lost not more than 250, and a good number of them are returning. There is no doubt about the 13th being well disposed for the present, but there is no faith to be put in any of them. About 5 A. M. after the outbreak, the cavalry were ordered off at a smart trot towards our own lines at Moodkipore, and when we arrived near the race course the whole *maidan* was covered with rascals, at least fifteen hundred. They commenced firing and shouting and threw out skirmishers; and at the same time a fellow, dressed in white and mounted, waved his hand and called out something, when nearly half of our scoundrels deserted —we, of course, were in a great fix and sent back for guns which after some delay arrived, but not before they had burned and *looted* all our bungalows at Moodkipore. I have lost everything to my name except the suit of clothes on my back: viz., horses, buggy, tents, books and every other sort of property. The troopers who were on guard actually burnt and *looted* their own officers' property, and what is worse, killed a poor unfortunate boy who had just joined his regiment, named Raleigh; he scarcely looked fourteen years of age, could not ride, and remained behind; and just before we returned in the morning, he made an attempt to get away, and was sabred and pistoled by a trooper and a trumpeter of the corps. Two troops are now in command under Staples, Boulton and Martin, and we are most anxious regarding them. At present we are holding on in Cantonments and encamped close to the 32nd Foot and guns; they tried very hard to persuade us to remain at Moodkipore last night, but we knew better than that; had we done so, in my opinion they would have cut our throats.

Mutiny at Seetapore.

On the 27th May, about noon, the vacant lines of the 10th

regiment military police were fired by some miscreants, the men were put under arms, with some other irregulars, as a rise was anticipated, but all remained quiet, and the fire was speedily extinguished. The corps which enjoyed much confidence, was the 10th regiment. Three or four anonymous letters written in the Hindee character were brought by some men of this regiment to their officers. The letters stated that it was the intention of the 41st N. I., and the 9th Oudh irregular infantry to make a simultaneous rise and murder all the European and Christian community, but no hint was given as to time or date.

On the 2nd of June, the 10th Oudh irregular infantry rejected some cart loads of flour, which had been sent for the use of the regiment by the kotwal of the city; the men said the flour was adulterated and would destroy their caste if they used it; they also insisted on the whole of the flour being thrown into the river, which was done.

It is well to notice here how by little and little the sepoys tested their power and felt their way to open mutiny; the rejection of the flour was no doubt a preconcerted plan.

On this same day, some men of this regiment plundered the fruit in the garden of the Commissioner, Mr. Christian, and of some others. Lieut. Greene, of the 9th Oudh irregular infantry, and Mr. Bickers, late superintendent of Mr. Christian's office, went out and endeavoured to stop the sepoys, asking at the same time, the cause of their irregularity. The answer was, they did but what many others were doing, and if wrong, they were very sorry.

Mr. Christian, it is said, paid little heed to this very remarkable and insubordinate proceeding, and some private accounts lament his doing so.

A little reflection will show that it was but true wisdom. He had not the power to prevent it, he would not willingly hurry the bursting of the storm, and therefore to take no notice, was simply the real wisdom of necessity. Preparations for flight evidently held no part, however justifiable they were or might be in Mr. Christian's counsels, and in his high position, forgetting wife and children, he labored as much to quell the but too natural fears of the European community, as to suppress by every means in his power, that impending danger, the more dreaded because unseen, which gave rise to the fears of those around him.

At 8 A. M., of the 30th June, a Mahommedan, subadar of the 10th regiment, Oudh irregular infantry, called on Mr. Bickers, the superintendent of Mr. Christian's office, and after reprobating all the mutineers as cowardly wretches—

professed himself a most faithful servant of the state, and declared that his regiment would be found faithful to the last. He then enquired Mr. Bicker's reasons for sending his family to the Commissioner's house, and stating that the act implied a suspicion of the loyalty of the 10th which was not fair; urged him to bring them back again, and that if danger occurred, he, the subadar, would protect them. So earnest was the man, that he very nearly lulled all Mr. Bickers' suspicions to rest, but an all-merciful Providence defeated this diabolical attempt, for such it can only be designated, as future events too clearly showed.

Colonel Birch, commanding the 41st at Seetapore, up to the last minute of his life, trusted his men. If confidence was wanted they had it in abundance. He had led his men out in person against the Lucknow mutineers, and in every way always shown *he* did not doubt them.

The attitude then of Seetapore was one of expectation; the ladies were collected in two communities, one in the Civil lines and the other in the military. The gentlemen of the Civil lines being located in Lieut. Lester's house. On the 2nd of June, Colonel Birch, commanding the 41st regiment N. I., returned from the position he had held for a short time at Baree on the Lucknow road (to prevent the Lucknow mutineers coming to Seetapore).

On the 3rd of June, at sunrise, Major Apthorp, of the 41st, informed Mr. Christian that the men of the 41st were disaffected. Mr. Christian immediately went to see Colonel Birch, who as yet did not believe the disaffection general. The guns were at once loaded and primed, the 9th and 10th ordered to be ready, the police and irregular levies distributed here and there, and all felt some kind of confidence as the only apparent danger was from the 41st. About 8 A. M. Major Apthorp came to Mr. Christian, and said that the men would not be guided by him or listen to his exhortations, they had determined to mutiny. One company soon afterwards marched from their lines, and taking the Lucknow road, went towards the treasury, whilst the rest of the regiment formed up and advanced in a threatening attitude on the local regiments, the 9th and 10th. It must be noted here that the gunners were all natives.

About this time Colonel Birch, Lieuts. Greene and Smalley, with the Serjeant Major, went to the treasury also. The building was about one mile from the 41st lines, and about half a mile from the Commissioner's house. Mr. Christian had previously ordered the late Lieuts. Lester and Dorin, with Captain Hearsey to take every precautionary measure.

He desired Captain Hearsey to increase the strength of the guard at his house where all the ladies and children were. Captain Hearsey accordingly sent a strong party of the military police and some twenty of those hastily raised irregular mercenaries called "Nujjeebs," thus unwittingly rendering, but too certain, the destruction of those victims by the very men who had solemnly sworn to protect them.

About an hour after the first act of mutiny, the march of the companies of the 41st to seize the treasure, Captain Hearsey was passed by Mr. Christian and Mr. Thornhill, both on horse back, going towards the treasury; they had hardly passed him a minute when Captain Hearsey heard firing in that direction, and those gentlemen cantered back to where Captain Hearsey was standing, and informed him that Colonel Birch and Lieut. Graves had been shot by their men, and that he might presently expect an attack from them. Nothing clear is known of the fate of Colonel Birch, except that his men shot him at the treasury, whilst he with a noble confidence, utterly lost on such wretches, continuing to point out to them the madness of their folly, and exhorting them to listen to his words, died trusting them to the last.

Just before the Colonel was shot, Mr. Bickers, the superintendent of the Commissioner's office, had galloped over to the 41st lines, found all quiet, the sepoys said the Colonel had gone to the treasury with some men.

Mr. Bickers also visited the house of the Quarter Master Sergeant of the 9th regiment Oudh irregular infantry; all was quiet there according to Sergeant Abbott's account, who entirely trusted his own men.

Lieut. Graves was not shot as Mr. Christian had supposed, but only wounded;—he was providentially able to gallop back to his lines and give warning to all his brother officers and their families, who at once started off for Lucknow.

Very soon after the shots were heard at the treasury, musquetry was heard in the lines of the 9th Oudh irregular infantry, and a sepoy running from the regiment to Captain Hearsey, informed him, in breathless haste, that the men had shot Captain Gowan and Dr. Hill. This appears to have been the signal for the concerted rise of all the irregulars. Quarter Master Sergeant Abbott escaped from the 9th Oudh irregular infantry to Lieut. Lester's house with a severe flesh wound in the arm; this was bound up for him by Mr. Bickers. Some of the Christian community, with Sergeant Abbott, now crossed the stream in rear of the position before the troops in the garden, and on its banks, had themselves joined in the mutiny, and thus escaped into the jungles.

Mr. Christian on hearing the musquetry on the 9th Oudh lines, took his rifle and advanced towards the military police, commanded by Captain Hearsey. Mr. Christian and also Mr. Thornhill had a short time previous been begged by Captain Hearsey to hurry home and get the ladies and children across the stream in their rear, their only remaining chance of safety. They did go quickly home, but could scarcely have had time to make any arrangements, when Captain Hearsey saw the 10th regiment Oudh irregular infantry give a shout and charge right into Mr. Christian's garden; that instant all the irregular lines joined in the hellish massacre—all was lost, and flight only remained. To give a connected account of the events of the next twenty minutes in this part of the station, cannot be expected, but the following is all that can be ascertained with apparent truthful evidence to support it.

Mr. Christian, finding all were turning against him, walked deliberately down towards the river, preceded by his wife, with an infant in her arms, their other child being already across the river with the nurse or being taken across by Sergeant Major Morton. It is not quite certain whether Mr. Christian had with Mrs. Christian reached the other side of the stream or only reached the bank on this side. I think Lieut. Lester, when in the Baillie Guard, told me he had seen Mr. Christian on the other side, if so, as evidence shews they were together, they had just crossed, and that would be all; when Mr. Christian fell dead, pierced by many balls, nobly had he braved the storm, nobly he died. His poor wife, from the evidence elicited, appears to have been a little in advance of him, and as he fell on his face shot from behind by the traitors around his own house, she had sat down besides him with the little babe in her arms. At this moment the infernal din is portrayed as baffling all description, and yet a more exquisitely touching scene can hardly be conceived than the one before us. Her own house behind her in flames casting its lurid glare on the little stream between them, which, already copiously stained with the blood of her race, offered but a temporary obstacle to some 1200 fiends, who with an incessant yelling, shouting, firing, rained from their musquets death on all around her; still there sat that Christian mother with her babe, a little moment, unheeded and unheeding, for, before her, *he* lay dead. It was *but* a moment; the savages knew no mercy, in the full swing of passions unrestrained, they found a lower depth amidst the lowest hell, all sexes were alike to them, and age brought no exemption—the infant and its mother were numbered with the dead.

Of Mr. and Mrs. Thornhill, the account is unsatisfactory;

but all concur in showing that they met their death either in crossing or across the stream; their little girl Cathy Thornhill is supposed to have been temporarily rescued by some one of the parties who did escape, but to have died under subsequent fatigue. little Sophy Christian, who is mentioned to have previously crossed the river with her nurse, was eventually taken care of by Sergeant Major Morton, as the nurse was shot by one of the million bullets flying about.

Sir Mount Stewart Jackson and one sister, with Sergeant Major Morton and little Sophy Christian—who died afterwards in captivity in the Kaisur Bagh, at Lucknow, escaped to the Mithobe Raja, where they found Captain and Mrs. Orr, who had escaped the massacre of the Shahjehanpore fugitives. It is not on record how Sir M. Jackson and his party managed to reach Captain Orr, as the Shahjehanpore fugitives were massacred in Oudh.

Lieut. Lester told me that he succeeded in reaching the jungle in safety, and there met Quarter Master Sergeant Abbott, with him he wandered for some hours; and strange to say, either on that or the next day, a native told them of an European woman and child being in the jungles hiding. The man on being requested took them to her, and Sergeant Abbott saw before him his wife and child, Mr. Bickers, the Superintendent of Mr. Christian's office, got safely across the river under a shower of bullets with his wife and three children, one only eight days old.

Mrs. Morton, wife of Serjeant Major Morton, and one child, also Mrs. Brown, (wounded) sister-in-law of Serjeant Keough, 9th Oudh irregular infantry, and one child and Serjeant Anderson, 10th Oudh irregular infantry, all crossed safely.

Mr. Bickers and family reached Lucknow on the 8th June, after experiencing great hardships, and Lieut. Lester, with the others named above, reached two days later.

To Lieut. Lester's admirable knowledge of the country and the people, may be attributed very greatly their safe arrival. Lieut. Lester was killed very shortly after the seige of Lucknow began.

Another party consisting of Mrs. Dorin, widow of Lieut. Dorin, 10th Oudh irregular infantry; Mr. Dudman, his wife, mother, mother-in-law and four children; Mr. Morgan and wife; Mrs. Horan and five children; Mrs. Keough, widow of Sergeant Keough, 9th Oudh irregular infantry and child; Mr. Birch, son of Colonel Birch, commanding at Seetapore, Miss Birch, daughter of ditto, and Mrs. Ward, all reached Lucknow on the 28th June, having been protected by a zemindar of Ramkote, who was liberally rewarded by Sir Henry Law-

rence. Mrs. Cranenburgh, Mrs. Owen and her two sons, and Mr. Scott, preferred, it is said staying with the zemindar at Ramkote. Another account states that Mr. and Mrs. Cranenburgh were shot as they endeavoured to escape from their own house. Mr. Phillips, a clerk, and his wife escaped by native disguises and actually, after various escapes, succeeded in reaching the column, which went from Lucknow in April towards the position of the rebels on the Gogra, thus having been ten months in concealment. The list of killed at Seetapore is as follows:—

Mr. and Mrs. Christian, 1 child and an European nurse,		4
Mr. and Mrs. Thornhill, ditto,		4
Lieutenant-Colonel Birch, Lieutenant Smalley, Sergeant-Major Middleton,	41st N. I.,	3
Lieutenant Graves, wife and child, Dr. Hill, ... Sergt.-Maj. Keough and 2 children, Lieutenant Greene, ...	9th Oude Irr. I.,	8
Lieutenant Dorin, ... Ditto Snell, wife and child, ...	10th Oude Irr. I.,	4
Mr. Cranenburgh, clerk,		1
	Total persons	24

The officers of the 41st at the other end of the station, we have noticed, escaped safely into Lucknow, some few of the sepoys escorting them a little way.

Captain Hearsey's Escape from Seetapore.

The cruel work of carnage in the civil part of the station had been commenced by the 10th Oude irregular infantry, but all others as they arrived in succession, joined in the ruthless slaughter without exception or distinction. The din created by continued discharge of musketry for some time, the shouting of men and general conflagration of the houses and buildings, baffles all description—in fact the whole place appeared like one pandimonium.

About 2 P. M. we were removed from under the tree to the late Captain Barlow's house, which had not been burnt till that time. Whilst there, my kitmutgar came in and informed me that he had seen poor Miss Jackson and another lady concealed in a bush on the other side of the river; I instantly started up, but Subadar Rugnath Singh and the men would not allow me to leave the house; however, I earnestly begged, since their intentions appeared friendly, and to save

my life, either to enable me to effect the rescue of these ladies or perish in the attempt, on which some men ran out in the direction pointed, and in a very short time brought Miss Jackson and Mrs. Greene, the latter wife of Lieut. Greene, second in command of the 9th Oudh irregular infantry.

Towards evening I obtained a covered cart called a *bhylee*, belonging to one of my servants; in this I put the two ladies, Sergeant Major Rogers, his son and wife, and assuming a native disguise, accompanied by some of the men, I marched towards the camp of the mutinous troops, which was pitched on the parade ground and topes adjoining. Owing to the confusion which prevailed, I succeeded in reaching the neighbourhood without detection, and put up under a tree near the military police. This measure, I was obliged to adopt by the advice of Subadars Rugnath Singh and Madho Misser, who represented, that any attempt on my part to escape at that critical moment, would be fraught with imminent danger, as numberless parties of marauders from the regiments were out in pursuit of fugitives and plunder, to wait till it was dark, and that they would arrange about my departure.

The native officers of the 41st N. I., and the other regiments, notwithstanding the precaution above related, having by some means received information that my life had been spared, sent a deputation, saying, 'that as *they* had murdered all their officers, it was imperatively necessary that the military police must either follow their example, or deliver me up a prisoner to them.' On this being refused, the mutineers, apprehensive of causing dissension at so early a period, directed that the point in dispute should be settled by punchait, or arbitration, of a certain number of native officers from each regiment at 9 P. M.

Subadars Rugnath and Madho Misser came and informed me of the circumstance, recommending an immediate departure, it being very near the time, and the night perfectly dark; before the assembling of the council, I was enabled to leave. Placing the two ladies, Mrs. Rogers and her son on my elephant, the Sergeant Major and myself mounted on horseback, we left for the north about 9 P. M.: Madho Misser Subadar and fifteen men accompanied as an escort. My arms which had been taken away at the commencement of the massacre by Subadar Rugnath and six men, were restored, but the rest of my property, to a very considerable amount, fell into the hands of the mutineers.

We travelled all night, and by sun-rise arrived at the village of Oael: I was refused admittance into the fort by Raja Unrood Singh's people, but as the ladies were suffering much

from fatigue and want of sleep, I sent a man begging permission to be allowed to rest ourselves for a couple of hours. Even this request, though trifling enough, was refused; with much difficulty I obtained two of his followers, in order to secure us a safe passage through his district; accompanied by these (the subadar and men having left us here) we pushed on towards the north, and reached a small fort near the Chowka river late in the evening. After a night's rest, we crossed over and marched to Baragaon. During the night the elephant broke loose and disappeared; in consequence of which accident, I was obliged to halt for two or three days. Whilst at this place, I received a letter from the late Mr. H. Gonne, who had been informed of my flight, mentioning that himself and Captain Hastings had been joined by Messrs. Brand and Carew from Shahjehanpore, and that they were going down to Calcutta—he wished me to meet him at Mullapore without delay, as he had boats in readiness for the trip.

A day previous to this, I had written to Raja Aunut Sing, uncle to the Dhouraira Raja, who sent down his elephant, a native palkee and two tats, these were found awaiting our arrival across the Oorra river; and we continued our march to Mutteera village, the place of residence belonging to the Raja. We remained here about 10 hours, and in the evening accompanied by Raja Aunut Sing, went down by the river Kowreeally and reached Mullapore next day, where we met the late Mr. H. Gonne.

The party now consisted of eleven persons, as marginally noted, including myself.

Miss Jackson.
Mrs Greene.
Mrs Rogers.
Mr H Gonne.
Captain Hastings.
Mr. Brand, of Shahjehanpore.
Mr. Carew, of ditto.
Sergt. Major Rogers, 2nd military police.
Mr. Brown, writer in Mr. Gonne's office.
J. Sullivan, step son of Sergeant Rogers.

Boats having been kept in readiness, we got on board during the night on our way for Calcutta. Arriving at Rampore on the second day, we were kindly received by Thakoor Gooman Sing, who after giving rest and refreshment in his place, informed us a passage down by the river would be very unsafe, owing to the ghâts being narrowly watched by the mutineers. Mr. Cauliffe and others, who were going on to Lucknow from Byraitch, had been murdered whilst crossing at Byram ghât only the day previous. This disheartening news made us retrace our steps by land towards Mutteeara. On arrival, Fukerooddeen Khan, the Government agent, received us in the name of the Ranee and the young Raja, gave every assurance of safety and protection, telling the late Mr. Gonne, that on the approach of any danger, we should have

timely notice, and boats would be kept in readiness to send the party across into the jungles, where we would be perfectly safe from pursuit.

We remained at this place for nearly two months; at the end of the period, in the early part of August, about 300 men of Girdharra Sing's regiment arrived from Lucknow, sent by the rebels, then surrounding the Garrison in Baillie Guard, to take us in. For two days we remained armed, and kept watch the whole night refusing to go, but finding that Fuckerooddeen Khan and the Ranee would neither assist nor allow us to escape, we began to suspect treachery. At last seeing no other alternative and as a last resource, a sort of compromise was made with the leader of these mutineers, Bunda Hussun, of Tumbour; and the party after nearly a week's delay, marched towards Lucknow, Fukerooddeen Khan with 400 men of the Ranee's was also sent. On our second march from Mutteeara, Takoor Dabee Singh, a respectable zemindar in the Dhouraira Raja's service, came in the evening and confirmed our former suspicions, saying 'the Ranee and the Government agent had formed a collusion with Bunda Hussun, and deliberately sold us to the rebels; that the agreement signed by the latter, allowing us to retain our arms, would be violated on arrival at Esanuggur.'

This alarming piece of intelligence put the party on their guard. We held a consultation and flight was decided upon. Next evening finding an opportunity, a few valuables were secured, amongst the number I carried my diary and some other papers; we placed the two ladies and the Sergeant Major's wife on the late Mr. Gonne's elephant, and mounting our horses, fled towards Khyreegurh, en route to Raja Koolraj Sing's place, Kullooapore. Travelling all night and till 2 P.M. the party reached Bunbeerpore, a village in Raja Rundhooj Sahaee's district. Here we dismounted to have refreshments and give our jaded animls some rest. Whilst at meals several villagers came in running to give notice about 300 men of Dhouraira, sent in our pursuit by the Ranee, were within a short distance. Instantly leaving the village and proceeding further to the north, we arrived on the banks of the Mohan river, about an hour before sun set, but could not get the ferry boat. The late Mr. Gonne proposed going up the stream two miles to the west where he said the Kewakhaira ghât might be found fordable; this also proved a failure, owing to the river having risen much. In the midst of a dense high grass, and tree jungle, drenched to the skin from the pouring rain, since leaving Bunbeerpore, the position of the party, especially of the poor ladies, was uncomfortable to an extreme.

Whilst deliberating how to get across, suddenly a shout was raised, our pursuers under cover of the brushwood had gained upon us; fastening the horses in a neighbouring hollow, we took up position behind trees; presently the enemy opened a fire of matchlocks and commenced advancing, but very cautiously, as they knew we were all armed with good double barrelled Rifles—when within fifty yards, I obtained glimpse of the leader and fired; the shot took effect, which checked their further proceeding. Meanwhile the ladies who had continued mounted on the elephant, and Mr. Carew with them, went off towards the west when the firing commenced, the rest of the party also retired—the late Captain Hastings and myself remained back to bring up the rear. We followed the tracks of the elephant for a considerable distance, but from the nature of the ground and the approaching darkness, the traces became more indistinct every moment. The late Captain Hastings suggested, 'it is more than probable that Mr. Carew has taken the ladies to Raja Rundhooj Sahaee's place,' for he always used to speak of him as a very great friend, therefore it was useless our following, as owing to the cause above mentioned, we should never be able to overtake them, but very likely fall a prey to tigers or wild elephants. This made us decide upon taking shelter in a patch of grass on the banks of the river.

The houses and property left in the hollow, were of course plundered when the enemy came up to the spot, as for safety's sake we were obliged to abandon all.

The late Captain Hastings and myself, not being able to overtake either the elephant or the other members of the party, swam across the river at 8 P. M. and remained under a tree during the night: next morning we pushed on towards the direction of Kullooapore, bare-footed, and with scarcely any clothing, we reached the village of Sonapatha. This place belongs to Raja Koolraj Sing, of Pudnaha. His karinda, or head man, supplied us with food, and gave the loan of two tats, which enabled us to prosecute our journey. Here we met Mr. Brand and Serjeant Major Rogers; these also had swam the river in company with Mr. Brown, the writer; but unfortunately before the latter could gain the shore, an alligator pulled him in. Exhausted and foot sore we reached Kullooraporc late in the evening, where the late Mr. Gonne joined us on the day following.

Having learnt from Sergeant Major Rogers, that the two ladies, Mr. Carew, Mrs. Rodgers and her son were still in the forest, we got Raja Koolraj Sing's uncle to send out parties in that direction. In the evening they came back after a fruitless search. Although disappointed in the first instance,

we halted for two days, sending out men well acquainted with every part of the jungle, but these also, I regret to observe, returned without gaining any satisfactory information.

The Dhouraira Ranee's followers, meanwhile, having learnt of our being at Kullooapore, came across the river, and were within a mile of the place, when intelligence was brought us during the night. We fled towards the forest of Seeshapanee, and remained concealed there for a couple of days. On the third, a Jemadar of Raja Koolraj Sing took us to Bulchoura, and from thence to Dholee Kote in the Nepal Hills. From the effects of the deadly climate and recent sufferings the whole of the party, now reduced to five persons, was laid up with jungle fever. The Raja showed every kindness and attention; he furnished us with clothes, food and shelter, the latter,—though merely a grass hut, was prized as the greatest comfort, for during the past week, our only canopy had been the heavens, and this during the most inclement part of the season.

Some days after our arrival at Dholee Kote, we heard a report about the ladies and the others who had got separated on the banks of the Mohan, from the party, of their having fallen into the hands of the Dhouraira people, and taken back to Mutteearra, from whence they had been forwarded to Lucknow; further particulars regarding the fact, or of their fate, we did not hear, nor had we the means to ascertain. The late Mr. Gonne, after twelve days' sickness, died of the jungle fever at this place. For upwards of three months, our party, now diminished to four, continued to reside in these hills; after which we came down to Bulchoura with the Rajah and his family, and lived in the Turaee. To avoid observation or inquisitive enquiries of the people belonging to the plains, our reed hut was constructed in a very remote part of the forest, far from any habitation. It is needless to add, our sufferings, both mental and physical, notwithstanding the Raja's kind attention during our stay in this unhealthy place, were very great; here, the late Captain Hastings died on the 28th of December 1857. About the latter end of this month, the Raja received an order signed by Shurfood Dowlah, saying that the Durbar had received authentic information from the Ranee of Toolseepore, that he *still* gave protection to five Europeans in his district, and 'that he must either send them in or their heads without delay.'

Moreover, a letter which I had received from Mr. Wingfield, Commissioner of Goruckpore, sent through the Raja of Bulrampore, made us decide upon leaving our retreat for that place, the road being now practicable through the Nepal Hills. Mr. Brand and Sergeant Major Rodgers being still weak from

continued illness, were sent by the Raja to the nearest military post in Nepal, called Dyluck, and from thence to be forwarded by the authorities to Bootwell.

Being myself anxious to reach in time to accompany Jung Bahadoor's force into Lucknow, I made a short cut, travelling along by the bed of the Bubye, I managed to reach Sirreegounth, which is three marches from Lulleeana. On arrival, a party of hill men just arrived, informed me that the pass of Bootwell was blockaded by 20,000 rebels, led by Goorooper-shad of Nepal, and several relations of Jung Bahadoor, who were in command at Palpa and Pewthana, had been put in confinement by the Goorkha Regiments. This startling news was confirmed by the karinda of the Ranee of Sirreegounth, which induced me to return to Bulchoura.

Oude and Rohlicund being still in possession of the rebels, I was unable to make my way direct to Lucknow; therefore assuming the disguise of a native trooper in want of service, I marched towards Burrumdee; pasing through a great portion of the Oude Turaee, and undergoing many hardships, I ultimately reached the place in twelve days, where I met General Krishndooj of Nepal. He received me most kindly and enabled me to proceed. On the 29th of January 1858, I arrived at Looboo ghát, and from thence, after a tedious journey across the hills, viâ Nainee Tal, Mussooree and Meerut, I reached Lucknow.

Escape of Lieut. G. H. Barnes, 10th Oude Irregular Cavalry.

Mitawlee, Sunday, Sept. 13.

I fear that for many months you must have mourned me as dead, and my escape has indeed been wonderful, very wonderful; for since the 3rd of June (the date of the mutiny and massacre at Seetapore) I have been prowling in the jungles, exposed to sun and rain, and pursued by sepoys and a small party of irregular cavalry, but I have hitherto escaped, and hope yet to get off, as I am protected by a friendly Rajah, who has fed me and those with me to this hour, and now that things seem bettering, I trust he will increase his care for us; so cheer up! God has been very merciful to me, and I yet hope to see you, dearest brother, again. Much have I to write and but little space to put it in. On the 3rd of June the Seetapore troops, consisting of the 41st Bengal native infantry, 9th and 10th regiments Oude irregular infantry, and 2nd regiment Oude military police,—in all about 3,300 men broke out into open mutiny and shot their officers, and every European, man, woman, and child they could lay their hands on. More of

this hereafter. I cannot now dwell on the horrible scenes that ensued; so will relate briefly the part more immediately affecting myself. The 41st commenced the mutiny by shooting their colonel, one of the three lieutenants, and the sergeant-major; and the 9th irregulars followed suit by shooting their commanding officer, doctor, and sergeant-major. The 10th were drawn up to protect the civil lines, and on their left was the military police. The latter immediately mutinied and commenced shooting the civilians, but the 10th showed a disposition to stand fast, until the 41st and 9th approached them, when they likewise joined the mutineers, but did not attempt to shoot their officers. I was standing in front of the centre of the left wing, exhorting the men to be faithful to their salt and to the colours they had so lately and so sacredly sworn to defend. They listened with the utmost respect, and evinced no signs whatever of disobedience until the 41st and 9th came within 120 yards, when the light company broke their ranks, and, seizing me, took me to the rear, begging of me to turn and save myself, as they wished me no harm. Seeing my commanding officer and second in command going, I followed with a heavy heart, little caring what became of me, and not taking much notice of the volleys the troops were treating us to. I went to the house of Mr. Christian, the Commissioner, where all the remaining people of the station had assembled. Behind the house flowed a small deep river, and beyond was a jungle of thick cypress and brushwood: all agreed to cross and hide in the jungle; the house was now being surrounded, the police were in the garden, and had occupied a small temporary bridge across the river, where they shot a number of men, women, and children. Some escaped by a ford: as for me, I followed in the rear, and came up with Mrs. Christian, the Commissioner's wife, struggling to get on with her little child in her arms—a girl two and a-half years old, and her husband with her, carrying a boy about six months old. The nurse had run away, and the *sauve qui peut* feeling seems to have been too strong on the fugitives for any of them to help her. I took the child from her arms, and with the aid of Quarter-master Sergeant Morton, of my regiment, got it away safe and sound, all three escaping unscathed through the fearful shower of bullets sent after us as we crossed the river, and hid ourselves in the friendly jungle. We went some twenty miles that day, taking the child by turns; next day we met Sir M. Jackson, Assistant Commissioner, and his sister in the jungle; we went on together, and on the morning of the 5th reached Mitawlee, the fort of Rajah Loonee Singh, with whom we have since been. I entered his fort by force, and claimed protection for the whole

party, which was granted. I have since heard that Mr. and Mrs. Christian and the little boy were killed, so my poor little ward is an orphan; she is a very nice little child. I send this through an officer with whom I am totally unacquainted, but we sent in a French letter by a Brahmin to Cawnpore, and received an answer from Captain Gordon this day which enlightened us as to what is going on in India. I could not communicate before, or, of course, should have done so. I lost all I had in the world, but regret most my poor mother's jewels. I thought of them, and tried to go into my house after leaving the parade, but the mutineers were there and fired at me, so I went off without an article to my name. God bless you, my father, and brothers; write and tell them about me.

Mutiny at Fyzabad.

The following account by Captain Reid, Deputy Commissioner of Fyzabad, gives considerable information regarding this mutiny:

By the beginning of June, in the absence of any decisive news from Delhie, it became evident that Fyzabad, with all the out-stations (in none of which were any European troops) must fall though as usual, the troops consisting of a horse battery, 22nd N. I., 6th local infantry and a squadron, 15th irregular cavalry, were most vehement in their protestations of loyalty to the last.

We at first intended to endeavour to hold the city against the mutineers, with the aid of the friendly zemindars and native pensioners; and with this view, Captain Thurburn, Special Assistant Commissioner, laid in supplies, and partly fortified the walled enclosure in which his residence was situated, but we were compelled to abandon this intention, as we found that the zemindars, however well disposed, would not fight against disciplined troops with guns.

On the 5th June, I think, the late lamented Colonel Goldney, Commissioner of the division, told me he had received instructions to direct me to send all the ladies and children into Lucknow. I replied that it was too late, as they could not be sent with safety through the Duriabad district, which was in a very disturbed state; a Tuhseeldar having already been murdered, and that besides, I was in hourly expectation of hearing of the mutiny of the Duriabad troops.

Prior to this, Talookdars, Raja Maun Sing, Oodres Sing, Thakoornaryun Rughnath Koonwur, Meer Baqur Hoosain and Nadir Shah, had sent to offer an asylum to one or all of the civil officers' families; they all spoke of the mutiny as a certainty.

The Mahunts too, of the famous Hunooman Ghurree, from the first exerted themselves to keep the troops steady, assuring them that the outbreak was but a puff of wind which would soon pass away, and warning them, that if they proved false to their salt, they would have reason to bitterly regret their treachery. They now offered to receive any Europeans who might seek their protection, and at the suggestion of Colonel Goldney, I sent them a thousand rupees to meet any necessary expenditure. These men, as well as the Talookdars above mentioned, have all, I fear, since turned against us.

Of the above, Raja Maun Sing was by far the most influential, and he alone had the power to afford protection to all the ladies and children of cantonments and the city—he was then in close but honorable confinement, having been placed under arrest by the Commissioner in obedience to orders from Lucknow. I was much opposed to this step, as whatever may have been Maun Sing's conduct since, I had every reason to believe that he was then well affected to our Government.

Believing that Maun Sing was both able and willing to protect the ladies and children, and seeing no other means of ensuring their safety, I proposed to send them to his fort of Shahgunj, twelve miles south of Fyzabad. The Commissioner agreed to this proposal and authorized me to release Maun Sing from arrest, and also to provide funds for the payment of men to garrison his fort.* I therefore proceeded, accompanied by Captain Orr, Assistant Commissioner, to the building—a house of his own, where Maun Sing was; he reiterated his offers of protection to the officers of the civil offices, but made some demur about those of officers in cantonments, as receiving them would render futile any attempt at secrecy, and greatly increase the hazard of the undertaking.

Of course we told him we could not accept this limited offer, and after some discussion, he agreed to receive all, on condition that the move from cantonments should be made quietly and secretly, not only because he doubted whether the troops would allow the officers' families to go, but because he required time to collect men and mature his own arrangements.

Captain Orr and I then repaired to cantonments where all the officers were assembled, and communicated Maun Sing's offer, with the condition attached to it. We suggested that

* *Note by Captain Hutchinson.*—I must remark here that Maun Sing was in confinement on a revenue question, when Captain Alexander Orr, the Assistant Commissioner, who had known him for several years, begged his release, and it was entirely owing to Maun Sing's former long acquaintance with Captain Orr under the old "regimé," that Maun Sing first offered to save Captain Orr's wife and children, and afterwards was induced to extend his protection to the large number he saved."

the ladies should go out as usual in the evening for a drive, and instead of returning, proceed direct to Shahgunj.

The officers doubted the practicability of the scheme, and also urged that it would have a bad effect in exasperating the men, as we had no immediate apprehension of an outbreak; it was agreed to defer the departure of the ladies for a day, to give time to consider the matter, and to sound the troops.

Next morning Mrs. Mills, wife of Major Mills, of the artillery, determined to join our party, and came to Captain Thurburn's house in the city, but afterwards changed her mind and returned. All the other ladies having some distrust of Maun Sing, decided on remaining in cantonments.

Arrangements were thus made to send our, *i. e.*, the civil officers' families to Shahgunj on the night of the 7th, and in the evening I rode down to cantonments to communicate our plans to the officers, and to ask their final resolution. All declared they would retain their families in cantonments, except Captain Dawson, Executive Engineer, who, with his wife and four children, accompanied me home. They, with their families, went off as arranged, during the night, and reached Shahgunj in safety.

On the morning of the 8th, Corporal Hurst, of the sappers, with his wife and child, and all the staff sergeants' wives and children came to my house, and I sent them also off to Shahgunj, under escort of a party of trusty Zemindars.

The crisis was now rapidly approaching: the district was full of mutineers from Azimgurh, Benares, and Juanpore; their emissaries reached the lines in the forenoon and called on the troops to declare for them. I was told they had previously received a perwana from the King of Delhi, setting forth that he had possession of the whole country, and summoning them to join his standard. On that day, 8th June, I wrote my last report to Lucknow, stating that I had no hope that the outbreak could be staved off any longer.

During the day, I issued a month's pay to the Zemindaree Levies, about 400 strong, and about 100 native pensioners, and sent 14,000 rupees to Shahgunj; I also had the most valuable records secreted in the Waseeka buildings, a walled enclosure occupied by female relatives of the ex-king, subsisting on the interest of money invested in Government papers, the safest and most convenient place I could think of at the time.

Colonel Goldney, Commissioner and Superintendent, remained in the city throughout the 8th, but in the evening returned to the lines of the 22nd regiment N. I., which he had formerly commanded, and I never saw him again.

The troops broke out in open mutiny on the night of the 8th June; they did not go through the form of pretending a grievance, but said they were strong enough to turn us out of the country, and intended to do it. The 15th irregular cavalry, particularly the ressaldar in command, left no means untried to induce the other regiments to murder their officers; but the artillery, 22nd N. I., and 6th local infantry, not only refused to injure the Europeans, but even gave them money and assisted them in procuring boats to proceed down the Ghogra.

The following officers embarked on four boats, and dropped down the river on the 9th, a little before sun-rise. (Vide detailed account of Sergeant Busher.)

In No. 1 *Boat.*

Colonel Goldney, Commissioner of Fyzabad.
Lieutenant Currie, Artillery.
Lieutenant Cautley, } 22nd N. I.
Ensign Ritchie, }
Lieutenant Parsons, 6th Oude Local Infantry.
Sergeant Major Matthews, ditto.
Sergeant Edwards, } Artillery.
Sergeant Busher, }

No. 2 *Boat.*

Major Mills, Commanding Artillery.
Lieutenant and Adjutant Bright, 22nd N. I.
Mrs. Hollum.
Quarter Master Serjeant Russel, 22nd N. I.
Bugler Williamson, Artllery.

No. 3 *Boat.*

Colonel O'Brien, Commanding 6th Oude Local Infantry.
Lieutenant Gordon, 2nd in Command, ditto.
Assistant Surgeon Collison, ditto.
Lieutenant Andersen, 22nd N. I.
Lieutenant Percival, Artillery.

No. 4 *Boat.*

Lieutenant Englis, }
Lieutenant Lindesay, } 22nd N. I.
Lieutenant Thomas, }

The officers in No. 3 Boat all reached Dinapore, though not without encountering great danger and difficulties. Of those who embarked on Nos. 1, 2 and 4, Sergeant Busher alone escaped. Colonel Goldney, Lieutenant Bright, Sergeant Major Hollum and Quarter Master Sergeant Russel were all

murdered by the 17th N. I. mutineers. Major Mills, Lieutenant Currie, and Lieutenant Parsons were drowned. Lieutenants Englis, Lindesay, Cautley, and Thomas, and Ensign Ritchie, and Sergeant Edwards, Artillery, were murdered by the villagers of Mahadubbur, in Goruckpore.

On a 6th boat embarked Captain Morgan, 22nd N. I., and his wife and child, Lieutenant Fowle and Ouseley, and Assistant Surgeon Daniel, of the 22nd N. I., they suffered great hardships and privations, were plundered and maltreated on their voyage down the river. They all, however, eventually reached Gopalpore and thence to Chupra.

Mrs. Mills with three children attempted to conceal herself, I believe, in the city of Fyzabad, in the house of a havildar of the battery, but as he refused to supply her with food, she was obliged to disclose herself to the leader of the mutineers, who gave her some money, and sent her across the Ghogra into the Goruckpore district. Here she is said to have wandered for eight or ten days, from village to village. She appears to have received no assistance whatever from the police, who might easily have either sent her into Goruckpore, or have given information to the magistrate there. Mrs. Mills was a very delicate lady and her sufferings must have been terrible—her youngst child died from the exposure. At last Raja Maun Sing hearing there was an English lady in distress, sent for her, provided for her wants, and after a few days' rest, sent her with the European Sergeants' wives into Goruckpore.

The mutineers of Fyzabad first plundered about two lacs and twenty thousand rupees of treasure, and then followed the usual practice of releasing the prisoners in jail, among them was Sikunder Shah, a fanatic Moulvi, who had endeavoured to excite rebellion in the city of Fyzabad in February, and who had been captured by a party of the 22nd N. I., under Lieut. Thomas. This officer and some sepoys were wounded on the occasion, and some of the Moulvi's followers were killed, and himself and others wounded. This Moulvi was chosen by the mutineers as their leader; he is even now a man of some note among the rebels.* The ring-leaders of the mutiny were the ressaldar of the 5th troop, 15th irregular cavalry, and Duleep Sing, Soubadar of the 22nd N. I., a Chowbhan Rajpoot of Burragaon, in the Fyzabad district. I have heard from different quarters that the Ressaldar was killed at Lucknow, while leading one of the attacks on the Residency.

All the civil officers dined at Captain Thurburn's on the

* *Note by Captain Hutchinson.*—This Moulvi was lately killed near Mitholee' on the Shahjehanpore frontier.

evening of the 8th. After dinner, Mr. Bradford returned to the kutcherry in the belief, which the result proved well founded, that the men of the 22nd N. I., on treasure guard would protect him. Captains Orr and Thurburn spent the night at my house in the city.

During the night, the guards on duty in the city left their posts; towards morning various alarming reports were brought in, and I sent Mr. Bradford a note (which never reached him) requesting him to join us immediately. The city is a mile and a half from cantonments. All communication had been cut off, but we suspected what had happened, and our suspicions were soon confirmed. A little after sun-rise the mutineers—artillery, cavalry and infantry, moved down upon the city, and as we had no means of resistance we were compelled to seek safety in flight.

As we rode off, I gave out that we were going to Shahgunj, and such was our original intention, but a little reflection convinced me that, with so many Sowars thirsting for blood, it would be dangerous to attempt a road where we were certain to be pursued, if not, indeed forestalled.

As soon therefore, as we got out of sight, I turned off in another direction, and after riding twelve miles, we entered a village called Goura, of which I knew the zemindars well. We were very kindly received, and having sent intelligence of our safety to Shahgunj, we remained here till dark when, as so many people had seen us approaching Goura, they thought it advisable to remove us to a solitary building two miles off, occupied by a pundit, a very fine old man, who had agreed to take us in.

While here, a sepoy of my regiment (late 37th) passed by and told the Pundit that the native troops at Benares had been disarmed, and then massacred by artillery and a regiment of European infantry; that afterwards the Raja of Benares, who was in league with the native troops, had come with a great host and killed every European in the place. The Pundit repeated this to us, but on being questioned, admitted that the sepoy appeared to have come in a great hurry; that he had no money, only his musket and regimental pantaloons, and was altogether in a miserable plight. This fully convinced us that the sepoy's story was false; but we failed to pursuade the Pundit that had his ally won the day, the sepoy would not have beat so rapid a retreat or have come away empty handed, neither could we undeceive him regarding the disarming and massacring at Benares.

The disarming and massacring story, which was industriously promulgated all over the country, was almost universally

believed and may have had most injurious effect. A native in whom I placed considerable reliance, assured me that it was the immediate cause of the mutiny and cruel murders at Allahabad. The news of the capture by the mutineers of the Fort of Allahabad was also circulated through Oude, and even we believed it for a time.

On the night of the 10th, the zemindars of Goura, who were most friendly and forward in their offers of assistance, came and escorted us, partly disguised, to Shahgunj. I would earnestly solicit that a suitable reward be granted to the Pundit abovementioned and to Baireesal and Juskura Sing, nunberdars of Goura, for their good service, which was the more meritorious as they all shared in the common belief that our expulsion was final; the Pundit even went so far as to predict that we should be succeeded by a "king from the west."

At Shahgunj we found Mr. Bradford who had escaped from the city with some difficulty, owing (he believed) to the attempts of the criminal and revenue serishtadar to cause his destruction, and had reached Shahgunj on the 9th in disguise on foot, having been unable to get to the horse I had left for him. Subsequent information proved that the criminal serishtadar was not implicated in the attempt on Mr. Bradford.

The officiating head clerk, Mr. Martindell, with his son and two daughters, took refuse in the Waseeka buildings; every one supposed the mutineers would respect these buildings, as females of the royal family resided in them; however they were broken into, and all the money carried off, though I have been told it was afterwards returned. They robbed Mr. Martindell, and took him and his family prisoners; of their fate I am quite uncertain, but fear the worst. As far as I know, they were not murdered at Fyzabad.

We had calculated on remaining at Shahgunj, as Maun Sing assured us he had no immediate apprehension of attacks, and that during the rainy season, just about to set in, the fort, surrounded by low ground, was almost unapproachable.

The very morning, however, after our arrival, Maun Sing, who was at Adjoodheea, sent to say that the mutineers had promised not to molest the women and children, but insisted on his delivering up all the officers; and that as he was not prepared to resist, and they threatened to search the fort the next day, we must prepare for instant departure, and that we should start, as soon as it was dark, for a ghât on the Ghogra where he would have boats waiting for us.

In the evening, I distributed a thousand rupees among the officers of the party, and the arrangements having been completed, we got off a boat at 11 P. M., escorted by a party of

Doalbunds, and travelled across country as rapidly as possible, hoping to embark before day break, but the wheeled vehicles were much delayed by the difficulties of the route, and morning dawned long before we had reached the river.

Our situation was now very critical; with such a numerous party, concealment was out of the question, and we were in broad day light within seven or eight miles of Fyzabad, which was swarming with mutinous sowars, who, we knew, would have been only too glad of an opportunity to murder every one of us.

As we approached the river, a false alarm was given, and one or two shots were fired, which increased our uneasiness, but we reached the boats without any opposition; there we were greatly distressed to find that the carriage with the Staff Sergeants' wives and children had broken down close to Shahgunj, and they had been obliged to return to the fort.

To have waited and sent back for them would most undoubtedly have occasioned the destruction of the whole party; we believed too, that our departure, which must become known to the troops in two or three hours, would prevent the threatened search of Shahgunj. After therefore, repeatedly exacting from Maun Sing's Karinda the most solemn promises (which were faithfully kept) that they should be protected, we embarked and pushed off.

The party consisted of the following persons :—

Captain Reid, Deputy Commissioner, wife and two children.

Captain Orr, Assistant Commissioner, wife and five children and sister-in-law.

Captain Thurburn, Special Assistant Commissioner, wife and child.

Mr. Bradford, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and wife.

Captain Dawson, Executive Engineer, wife and four children.

Corporal Hurst, Sappers, wife and child.

Mr. FitzGerald, Nazool writer, wife and child.

Twenty-nine in all.

We were accompanied by a Karinda of Maun Sing's and thirty Doalbunds, who were never of the slightest use, but invariably disappeared on the slightest approach of danger.

The prevailing wind of the season is easterly, but fortunately on that day it was from the west, and we made rapid progress on our downward voyage. We kept out of sight as far as possible, and, and beyond occasional challenges from villages on the banks, no notice was taken of us till about midnight, when a boat came off with four or five armed men, making a great noise and uttering threats. Some of our party, who were nearest, were going to shoot these men, but I called out

not to fire unless they attempted to come on board—they changed their tone as soon as they saw who we were, and asked for two or three rupees, which we gave and they went off.

We proceeded without further molestation for two or three hours, when another boat came off, and the Karinda went to meet it, all of us remaining concealed; he told us the men in that boat were retainers of Baboo Mabhopersaud of Birhur, who was a friend of Maun Sing's, and for whom he had brought a letter recommending us to his care. We were not altogether satisfied, but did not oppose his taking our boat to the bank in compliance with their request, at a fort called Nouruhnee.

On looking out, I saw there were two forts thirty or forty yards distant, and that we were moored between them, right under the fire of both; still though uneasy, we did not become alarmed, till not only the Karinda and his Doalbunds walked off, but the boatmen, each with his little bundle followed their example.

Shortly after several armed men approached very close. I went out and spoke to them, threatening them with the anger of Maun Sing and Madhopersaud if they molested us; but they paid very little heed to my threats, their numbers continued to increase, and their demeanour to become more and more violent, till we had every reason to fear the worst. We were evidently in extreme danger, and as a last resource, Captain Orr and I went into one of the forts to see the leader of the ruffians, Ooditnarayun. I tried to frighten him, but at once saw the attempt was fruitless, he said he did not wish to murder us, but must have our arms, money, and valuables.

Two of our party had guns and most of us had revolvers, (without the means of reloading them) but situated as we were, with eight ladies and fourteen children in an unwieldy boat quite immovable, owing to the absence of the boatmen, and the head wind then blowing, and immediately under the fire of the two forts, resistance was hopeless, and we had no alternative but to accept the conditions, hard as they were. The robbers showed so much respect, for us, that they did not attempt to enter the boat, but took the things as they were handed out to them.

Our boatmen now returned and we attempted to proceed, but the head wind was so strong, that the boat was quite unmanageable, and after whirling round once or twice, struck fast. We spent there a most miserable day, feeling by no means safe from attack, and the sufferings of the ladies and children aggravated by the pangs of hunger.

About midday, a sepoy of my late regiment came to the boat; he affirmed he had been on leave when the corps mutinied, if not, he must have gone to his home immediately after —he appeared to be much affected, and said he would go and fetch Madhopershad, the Baboo above referred to.

The sepoy never returned, but at sun-set Madhopershad made his appearance and promised to do every thing in his power for us. He also sent us food, which was very acceptable. The wind having now somewhat abated, we started, but towards morning moored again, having made very little progress. A large party of sepoys with their arms passed us here in a fast boat; our boatmen and theirs interchanged enquiries, but they appeared not to know who we were, and pulled steadily on, the sepoys were said to be bound for Azimgurh.

After some hour's halt, we went on to a considerable village called Chihora, belonging to Madhopershad, where we remained five or six days, till we could make arrangements with some of his clan further down the river, with whom he was at feud, for our proceeding unmolested.

We were quartered here in a sunken fort, in which was a small shed with a very thin thatched roof; the heat was most trying, and most of the ladies and all of the children were attacked by opthalmia, from which their sufferings, which we had no means of alleviating, were most acute and protracted.

Our departure was put off from day to day, and it was not till the 19th June that we started for Gopalpore, which we reached without further adventure by midday of the 21st.

The marked loyalty of the Raja of Gopalpore, as well as the aid which he rendered to sevral parties of fugitives are well-known to Government; we were here comparatively safe, and made our way by water without difficulty to Dinapore, where we arrived on the 29th June.

Statement of Colonel Lennox of the late 22nd Regiment N. I. stationed at Fyzabad.

July 1, 1857.

On the evening of the 8th June intimation having been received that the 17th regiment native infantry were to march into Fyzabad on the following morning, every officer was at his post, myself at the quarter guard, the troops by their arms. Two companies were told off for the support of the 13th light field battery. Every precaution taken for defensive operations. At ten P. M. an alarm was sounded in the 6th Oude irregular infantry lines, and taken up by the 22nd

regiment native infantry. The battery prepared for action and the two companies in support of the guns immediately closed in and crossed bayonets over the vents preventing the officers of artillery from approaching the battery. This was reported to me by Major Mill, commanding the artillery. I then went to the guns and explained to my men that the bugle sound was a false alarm, and ordered them to return to their respective posts and leave only one sentry over each gun. I then returned to the lines of the 22nd Regiment with the view of dismissing the regiment. I found the light company had surrounded the regimental magazine with a view as they said of protecting it. It appears this was a concerted scheme for the troop of 15th irregular cavalry. Sallied and instantly planted patrolls all round the lines. I again visited the guns and was refused admittance; the subadar (the prime leader of the mutiny) Dulleep Singh telling me it was necessary to guard the guns, and requesting me to go to the quarter guard and take my rest, and that nothing should happen to myself and officers so long as we remained with the regiment. A guard with fixed bayonets surrounded me and escorted me to my charpoy in the quarter guard; the officers also of the regiment were not allowed to move twelve paces without a guard following them. Several officers asked me leave to quit the station. I told them I had no power, and was a prisoner as themselves; but I had been assured by the subadar Dulleep Singh that if they would remain quiet in the lines till daybreak, he would give them an escort to the boats at Meerun ghaut, and send them off down the Gogra. Two officers trying to escape were fired at by the cavalry patrolls and brought back into the lines unhurt. About sun rise of the 9th, the officers were allowed to take to the boats, myself and family alone remaining in cantonments. At 10 A. M. subadar Dulleep Singh visited me having previously placed sentries all round my bungalow, he stated he was sorry for what had occurred, but such was his fate, and he could not prevent it: that the Ressaldar of the 5th troop, 15th irregular cavalry, was the leader, but that not a hair of our heads should be touched, and that he (the subadar) had come to order us about and have it prepared for us, and he hoped we should pass down the river in safety, for he could not be answerable for us when the 17th regiment arrived at Fyzabad. We remained in cantonment till 2 P. M., and in the course of the morning the Moulvie (who created a disturbance in the city of Fyzabad, and afterwards was confined in our quarter guard until released by the mutineers) sent the assistant apothecary of the dispensary to say that he was sorry for what had happened, but if myself

and family would stay a few days in cantonments, he would take care of us. However the sepoys guarding our house becoming riotous and insolent for plunder, we deemed it prudent to leave. We started by boat at 2 P. M. not knowing that the Fyzabad mutineers had sold us into the hands of the 17th regiment, which fact we learnt from two sepoys, who accompanied us, namely Thakoor Missur, grenadier company, and Sunker Singh, No. seven Company. On arriving at Adjoodhea, we were held by a cavalry picquet, who after looking into the boat suffered us to pass on. We had not proceeded far when another scout hailed us to bring to, or we should be fired on; he also suffered us to pass; the sepoys with us explaining to the scouts that we were sent off by the Moulvie. At about half-past 10 at night we passed the camp of the 17th regiment, but on rounding a sand bank came upon a picquet of the mutineers, and we were advised by our sepoys and boatmen to leave the boat and creep along the side of the bank, and that the boat should be brought round to meet us. We accordingly left the boat and crossed the sand bank being out nearly two hours. When the boat came up we crossed over the river to the Goruckpore district. In the morning about day break some men coming down to bathe told us that there were on the look out for Europeans, and advised us to leave our boats as soon as we could; and follow some six or seven sahibs, who the day before, had gone on towards Goruckpore. We were about leaving the boat when a party of men came and enquired who was in the boat: being satisfied by the boatmen they went away. We then immediately quitted the boat, leaving every thing in it, and starting off to march on foot towards Goruckpore, with only the clothes we had on: our *ayah* and khitmutgar accompanying us.

We stopped often at wells and under trees, and had proceeded about six miles, it being 10 o'clock when we halted at a village, and having got a draught of milk prepared to rest during the great heat; but we were soon disturbed; for a horseman advancing over the country armed to the teeth, having a huge horse pistol in his hand, which he cocked and levelling it at my head, desired me to follow him to the camp of the 17th regiment, and make no delay, for he was to get a reward of 500 Rs. for each of our heads.

We had not retraced our steps more than a mile when a lad joined us, who was known to the horsemen, which determined the latter to make us quicken our pace; the lad however prevailed on the horsemen to let us drink water and rest near a village, and whilst so doing he sent a boy to call men to our rescue. It appeared that Nazim Meer Mahomed Hussain Khan, and his nephew Meer Myndee Hussain Khan had a small fort close

by about three quarters of a mile off. The Nazim immediately sent out ten or twelve footmen armed, who directed us to follow them, and also led the horsemen by the bridle, having disarmed him. One of the men, however, sent out for our rescue, greatly abused me, and looking to his pistol and priming, swore he would shoot those Englishmen who had come to take away their caste and make them Christians.

About mid-day we reached the fortified dwelling of the Nazim, and were ushered into the place where he was holding a council. He bade us rest and take some *shirbet*, assuring us that no harm should happen to us; and he rebuked his insolent retainer for hinting that a stable close by would do for us to dwell in, as we should not require it long, it being prepared to kill the dogs. However the Nazim rebuked him and told us not to fear, for he would not suffer us to quit till the road was open, and we could reach Goruckpore in safety.

On the second day the Nazim fearing the scouts of the 17th regiment would give intelligence that Europeans had hid in his fort, made us assume native dresses. The Begum clothed my wife and daughter and the Nazim clothed me; he then sent a party dressed up in our English clothing out with an escort about nine at night to deceive his outposts, and also the villagers, they returned about midnight in their proper dresses, and it was supposed by all except the confidential persons of the Nazim's household that he had sent us away. We remained in captivity in rear of his zenanah in a reed-hut nine days, treated very kindly and considerately, having plenty of food and a daily visit from our keeper. After we had been in captivity seven days the Nazim came to me and said, he had just heard that the Collector of Goruckpore was at his station, and if I would write a letter to him he would get it safely conveyed. On Thursday, the 8th of June, an alarm was given that an enemy was in full force coming against the fort. My wife and daughter were immediately hid in the zenanah, myself hid in a dark wood godown. The horsemen however on nearing the fort were found to be a party sent by the Collector of Goruckpore for our rescue. The Nazim furnished my wife and daughter with palkees, and the rest of us on horse, left the considerate and noble Nazim's at 11 A. M., and, passing Amorah reached Captaingunge at 4 P. M., where I found Farrier, Sergeant Busher of the artillery, who also had been rescued by the same party that came to our rescue. The next day we arrived at Bustee and were hospitably received by Mr. Osborne, the opium agent, and his family, who gave us European clothing. After remaining there three days, we proceeded to Goruckpore, Azimghur and Ghazeepore.

Throughout this severe trial I have found the promise fulfilled to me and my family—"And as the day so shall thy strength be."

Another Account.

I remember the officers in the two boats; I accompanied Lieut. Bright, 22nd native infantry; Lieut. Parsons, 6th Oude irregulars; Lieut. Cautley, 22nd native infantry; Serjeant Busher, the Serjeant-Major, the Quartermaster-Serjeant, 22nd native infantry, and myself were in one boat; Colonel Goldney, Lieut. Currie, artillery; Lieut. Ritchie, 22nd native infantry; Serjeant Edwards and Serjeant-Major Matthews in the second boat; three other boats followed behind. We waited two hours for them, but as they did not come we pushed off. As we were getting into the boat we saw the sepoys of the 22nd rushing towards the Treasury; there were about two lakhs and 40,000 rupees in Captain Drummond's house, where the treasure had been placed. On reaching a place called Begumgunge, about ten miles below Fyzabad, we met some mutineers encamped; at half-past one these men fired on us; there were 800 or 900 of them; about 100 men fired on us when we were 600 yards off. Colonel Goldney advised our pushing off to the opposite bank of the Gogra; we got on an island among some jhow fields. The mutineers got into *dinghees* and followed us; we made for the main boat from the island; there were about forty or fifty yards of water between. Major Mills was drowned. The Sergeant-Major, Lieut. Bright and I were taken prisoners, and taken to the camp of the mutineers, who were men of the 17th and 37th native infantry, and the 17th irregular cavalry. We were taken before the Soubahdar commanding the rebels. I don't know his name; he was a Hindoo, and belonged to the 17th native infantry. He was an old man, slightly made, about five feet eight inches high, with gray hair, no hair on his face, and dark complexion. He asked us who we were; we replied. He then appealed to the Mussulmans on the Koran, and to the Hindoos on the cow, not to injure us, and told us to go away. Two men of the 17th then stepped out and shot the Sergeant-Major and Lieut. Bright. I was rescued by an artilleryman, and was hid in a Serai at Begumgunge, and sent off in disguise. While we were talking to the Soubahdar some fifteen or sixteen of the irregular cavalry, and ten or twelve sepoys, went after the remainder of our party. We heard firing across the river; the party returned, and reported they had killed Colonel Goldney and six other officers, and that three had escaped.

On arriving at Tanda, on the 10th instant, I heard people in the Serai saying that six or seven officers had been killed, and two or three were sheltered by some zemindar in Goruckpore district. After this I came *viâ* Mattoopore, Shahgunge, and Juanpore. Captain Reed, Deputy-Commissary; Captain A. P. Orr, Assistant-Commissary; Mr. E. O. Bradford, ditto; and Captain Thurburn, reached Rajah Maun Sing's house, and he promised shelter and protection. When I was at Mattoopore I heard that the above officers were going down in boats, with their families, escorted by some of the Rajahs' guard. At Tanda I heard that a Mr. Fitzgerald, clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's office and Overseer Sergeant Hurst, who were escorting the families of some sergeants to Allahabad, *viâ* Sultanpore, were killed, and the women and children also murdered. I do not know what has become of the officers who were in the boats behind us when we left Fyzabad.

Statement of Farrier Sergeant Busher of No. 13, *Light Field Battery, regarding the mutinous outbreak at Fyzabad.*

On the morning of the 8th of June, news was brought into the station that the 17th regiment N. I., mutineers of Azimgurh, were encamped a day's journey from Fyzabad, and intended marching into the station the following morning.

I received orders from Major Mill, commanding the battery, to send my family without delay to Shahgunge, and leave them under the protection of Rajah Maun Sing of that place. I accordingly did so, sending along with them the families of four other non-commissioned officers. In the evening, by the order of Colonel Lennox, commanding the station, two companies of the 22nd N. I. were ordered to support our guns, and take up their position over on either side of the battery, or a company on each flank; this they did. The officers and men both Europeans and natives remained with their guns all ready for action; when about 11 o'clock P. M. the alarm was sounded in the lines of the 6th Oude irregular infantry, on hearing which the golundauze, or native artillery men, immediately loaded their guns with grape; whilst the port-fire men were in the act of lighting their port-fires, two companies of the 22nd regiment that were placed on either side of the guns rushed in with loaded muskets in hand amongst the artillery, and pointed them at the heads of the golundauze. Colonel Lennox and the other officers, 22nd regiment, were on the spot almost immediately after the occurrence, and tried by every persuasion to get their men from the guns, but to no purpose. About this time the whole of the 22nd regiment left their lines and advanc-

ed towards our position shouting; on coming up they ordered us (the Europeans) to quit the place, and said the guns were no longer ours, but theirs: we were then escorted by a portion of the 22nd to the quarter guard of that regiment, and kept there under restraint till the following morning, when at break of day we were escorted to the river side, and directed to enter some boats that had been provided for us by the insurgents and proceed down the river.

Whilst at the ghat, intelligence was brought to our escort that the mutineers were helping themselves to the treasure; this caused the escort to hasten back to the lines as quickly as possible. Here I will take the liberty to mention that the ressildar of the 5th troop, 15th irregular cavalry, appeared to be the moving man in the mutiny, and undertook the general direction of affairs.

When the escort left us we took to the boats, four in number, but found them without boat-men: however as there was no time to proceed in search of boat-men, it was resolved that the boat should be manned by ourselves; so we got in and as far as my memory serves me, in the following order:—

In No. 1 or the first boat—

1 Col. Goldney, Commissioner.
2 Lieut. Currie, artillery.
3 Lieut. Cautley, 22nd regiment N. I.
4 Lieut. Ritchie, 22nd regiment N. I.
5 Lieut. Parsons, 6th Oude irregular infantry
6 Sergeant-major Mathews, 6th Oude irregular infantry.
7 Sergeant Edwards, 13th light field battery.
8 Sergeant Busher, 13th light field battery.

In No. 2, or second boat—

1 Major Mill, commanding 13th light field battery.
2 Adjutant Bright, 22nd regiment N. I.
3 Sergeant-major Hulme, 22nd regiment N. I.
4 Mrs. Hulme.
5 Quarter Master Sergeant Russel, 22nd regiment N. I.
6 Bugler Williamson, 13th light field battery.

In No. 3 or third boat—

1 Col. O'Brien, 6th Oude irregular infantry.
2 Capt. Gordon, 6th Oude irregular infantry.
3 Assistant Surgeon Collison, 6th Oude irregular infantry.
4 Lieut. Anderson, 22nd regiment N. I.
5 Lieut. Percival, 13th light field battery.

In No. 4, or fourth boat—

1 Lieut. Thomas, 22nd regiment N. I.
2 Lieut. Lindsay, 22nd regiment N. I.
3 Lieut. English, 22nd regiment N. I.

In the above order we dropped down the river on the 9th a little before sunrise. Whilst dropping a sepoy of the 22nd regiment, Teg Allie Khan, who had not joined the mutineers, was observed following in a canoe; he hailed us and requested to be taken with the party, he was accordingly taken in No. 1 boat. An hour or so after he was taken up, he made himself useful in procuring boat-men for Nos. 1 and 2 boats, near a village.

After a little delay, which proceeded from getting boatmen, we again proceeded, and in a short time boats Nos. 1 and 2 passed the town of Adjoodhea; this was between 8 and 9 A. M. Boat No. 3 was observed to put in at Adjoodhea, and No. 4 was lost sight of, having dropped far astern.

Nos. 1 and 2 proceeded on, and after leaving Adjoodhea, about three miles in rear, put to, to await the arrival of Nos. 3 and 4. After waiting two hours and seeing no signs of the boats coming, we again proceeded on for about nine coss, or eighteen miles, down stream, when we observed what appeared to us to be scouts, running along the right bank of the river, and giving notice of our approach. We then suspected all was not right—that we had been duped, and purposely led into danger; on proceeding a little further, we distinctly observed a regiment of mounted cavalry, and another of native infantry in a body at the narrowest part of the stream, awaiting our approach. We had no alternative but to proceed on. When Nos. 1 and 2 boats arrived opposite to them, they opened a brisk fire on us. Serjeant Matthews, who was one of the rowers, was the first who fell, a ball having struck him at the back of the head; another ball struck my hat and knocked it into the stream, sustaining no injury myself: those in No. 2 boat about 100 yards behind, seeing our hazardous situation, put their boat to at a sand-bank entirely surrounded by water; we in No. 1 boat then put to also and went ashore, when Colonel Goldney requested us to lay down our arms and wait to see if we could come to terms with the mutineers, they directing their fire on us, Nos. 1 and 2, the whole time. Some boats with mutineers pushed off from the opposite shore and came towards us; when about the centre of the stream they opened fire on us, Colonel Goldney observing this, directed that those who could run, should without any further loss of time, endeavour to escape, remarking that there was not even a shadow of a chance of our meeting with mercy at their hands, and at the same time added that he was too old himself to run; we now, seven in number, including Teg Allie Khan, took Colonel Goldney's advice, and gave leg bail, taking a direction across the country. I may here mention that from this period we remained in ignorance of the fate of Colonel Goldney, and those of No. 2 boat. We now started and continued running, but did not do

so long, before meeting with an obstacle which precluded our further advance in the direction we marked out, and this was the junction of two streams of considerable width; whilst at a stand still and deliberating as to our future course, we saw a number of men coming towards us, and whom we took for sepoys. All but Teg Allie Khan and Serjeant Edwards jumped into the stream, and thought to escape by swimming to the opposite bank; after swimming a short distance, Teg Allie Khan called out and told us to return as they were only villagers. I, Lieutenant Ritchie and Lieutenant Cautley returned, but Lieutenant Currie and Lieutenant Parsons got too far into the stream, and in endeavouring to return were both, I regret to say, drowned; I myself narrowly escaped having twice gone down, but through the timely aid of one of the villagers, was safely got out. We had no sooner got out of the water than we were again alarmed, at seeing a boat full of people rounding a point, and thought they too were spies, we now ran and continued our course along the bank, not missing sight of the stream until we were fairly exhausted. We then entered a patch of high grass, growing at the river side, or at a short distance from it, and rested ourselves. We missed Teg Allie Khan at this time; whilst in our place of concealment, a boy herding cattles caught sight of us, and ran towards the river, and with his herd crossed over, himself holding on by a buffalo's tail. On crossing over, it appeared he informed the jemadar of the village of our situation, for shortly after the jemadar came down and called out to us, and told us not to be alarmed, and that he would bring a boat for us; this he did, and on reaching his side of the river, he informed us that Teg Allie Khan had reported all particulars to him, and requested that a party be sent in search of us, and that the boy who had been herding cattle brought him information of where we were. This jemadar very kindly took us to his hut and entertained us as hospitably as he could, supplying us with provisions and cots to lie on; we remained under his protection till twelve o'clock, and as we had the light of the moon we recommenced our journey and took the road for Amorah, the jemadar himself accompanying us to the next village, a little before entering which we were surrounded by a party of freebooters who demanded money, we told them we had none, but this did not serve them, and they satisfied themselves by searching our person: when satisfied we possessed nothing, they offered no molestation, but allowed us to prosecute our journey. On entering the village the jemadar who accompanied us, made us over to a chowkedar and directed him to take us to the next village, and make us over to the chowkedar of it; and thus we proceeded on from village to village till we

arrived at Amorah; here we were rejoiced to meet the party that belonged to No. 4 boat, who told us that as they could not get their boat along, they deserted her and proceeded across the country. We were glad to find these gentlemen had arms, for we, who had joined them, had not even a stick. I must not forget to mention that Teg Allie Khan again formed one of our party, for we lost sight of him before crossing the river, where we experienced the kind treatment at the village Jemedar's hands; we did not remain more than a few minutes at Amorah, as we were anxious to renew our journey. The tussildar who at this place gave us protection, further aided us by giving each a couple of rupees, and one pony to Lieut. Ritchie and another to Lieut. Cautley, for the journey; we again started (now at 7 A. M. of the 10th) taking the road to Captaingunge, under the guidance of a couple of thannah burkundazes.

We reached Captaingunge safely and inquired at the tussildaree if there were any European residents at Bustee, a place of some note, and were informed by the Jemadar that there were not, but were told that he had received information that a party of the 17th native infantry with treasure had marched down from Goruckpore and were *en route* to Fyzabad, and had halted at Bustee, and advised us not to take the road to Bustee, but to go to Gye Ghat where he said we would meet with protection and get boats to take us to Dinapore. The Jemedar furnished us with five tattoos and fifty rupees, and put us under the protection of three burkundauzes, giving them directions to proceed with us to Gye Ghat. We accordingly started, and after making about eight miles, sighted a village (Mohadubbah) which one of the Burkundauzes invited us to go to, telling us that we could there rest ourselves for a short time, and that he would refresh us with *sherbet;* we agreed, and this burkundauze, who gave the invitation, started off ahead with a pretence of getting ready a place of accommodation and the *sherbet.* Nothing doubting that all was right, we proceeded on, as we thought, in perfect safety; on nearing the village the burkundauze again found us, and had some conversation apart with the other two men. On our reaching it we observed, to our horror, that the whole village was armed; however we made no remark, but passed on through it under the guidance of the three burkundauzes. On getting to the end of it, we had to cross a nullah waste deep in water; whilst crossing this, the villagers rushed on us, tulwar and matchlock in hand; seeing that they were bent on our destruction, we pushed through the water as quickly as possible, not however, without leaving one of our number behind, who unfortunately was the last, and him (Lieutenant Lindsay) they cut to pieces; on reaching the

opposite bank, the villagers made a furious attack on us literally butchering five of our party.

I and Lieutenant Cautley then ran, and most of the mob in full chase after us. Lieutenant Cautley after running about 300 yards, declared he could run no longer, and stopped; on the mob reaching him he was also cut to pieces. After despatching poor Lieutenant Cautley, they continued the chase after me, but after running a short distance, and finding that I was a long way off, they desisted. I was now the only one left, not having even Teg Allie Khan with me. I proceeded, and in a short time came to a village, and the first I met was a brahmin, of whom I begged a drink of water, telling him I was exhausted; he asked me where I came from, and what had happened to me; I told my tale as quickly as I could, and he appeared to compassionate my case. He assured me that no harm would come to me in his village, and that as the villagers were all brahmins, others would not dare to enter it to do me harm. He then directed me to be seated under a shady tree in the village, and left me. After a short absence he returned bringing with him a large bowl of *sherbet;* this I drank greedily and was hardly done, when he started up and bid me run for my life as Baboo Bully Sing was approaching the village; I got up and attempted to run, but found I could not, so walked. I tried to get to some hiding place; in going through a lane, I met an old woman and she pointed out an empty hut and bid me run into it; I did so, and finding in it a quantity of straw I laid down and thought to conceal myself in it; I was not long there when some of the Bully Sing's men entered and commenced a search and used their lances and tulwars in probing into the straw; of course it was not long before I was discovered; I was dragged out by the hair of my head and exhibited to the view of the natives who had congregated round him, when all kinds of abusive epithets were applied to me; and then commenced a march leading me from village to village exhibiting me, and the rabble at my heels hooting and abusing me. After passing through each his men used to stop and tell me to kneel and then ask Bully Sing if they were to decapitate me; his usual reply was "not yet; take him on to the next village." I was led into the court-yard and put in the stocks, this was about night-fall. During the night I heard angry words pass between Bully Sing and his brother; I could not exactly make out the particulars, but I remember his brother telling him to beware of what he was doing, and that his acts of the day would perhaps recoil upon himself; however the result of the quarrel proved in every way beneficial to me, for about 3 o'clock in the morning Bully Sing came to me himself and directed my release from the stocks, and asked

me if I should not like to have some thing to eat and drink; and his bearing towards me was entirely changed, and wholly different to what it had been.

The following morning a party made their appearance, headed by a villain named Jaffer Ally, whom I recognized as the person who shot poor Lieutenant Ritchie the previous day; and who fired at me; of this he made a boast at Bully Sing's when he saw me and asked Bully Sing to make me over to him and that he would burn me alive; he was told in reply that I would be delivered over to no person, and to quit the place. This rascal then said my kismut was very good. I remained at Bully Sing's ten days during which time I had no reason to complain of the treatment I received; but this I mainly attribute to the interference of his brother in my behalf.

On the 10th day a Mr. Peppy sent a daroga with an elephant and an escort to take me to him. I was glad of the opportunity and willingly accompanied the party; but it was not without some trouble and a good deal of persuasion that the daroga induced Bully Sing to let me go. Anterior to this a Mr. Cook, Indigo planter, and Mr. Patterson, Collector of Goruckpore, made several attempts to get me away from Bully Sing, but to no purpose. I here offer my best and most grateful acknowledgments to all three gentlemen for their kind consideration and endeavours in my behalf. On joining Mr. Peppy I proceeded with him to Captaingunge, and there to my joy I met Colonel Lennox and his family. Here we remained for the remainder of the day and the night. The next morning I accompanied Colonel Lennox and family to Bustee escorted by a party of sowars; here we were most hospitably entertained by Mr. Osborne of the Opium department. I shall not soon forget this gentleman's kindness nor that of Colonel Lennox to me, and here offer to both my hearty and sincere thanks.

At Bustee we were joined by Teg Allie Khan, who managed to effect his escape from the onslought at Mohadubbah. At Bustee we halted two days, and in the evening proceeded to Goruckpore, thence to Azimghur, and from Azimghur to Ghazeepore, without any thing further of note occurring. At this station I arrived on the morning of the 26th June, thankful to Providence for bringing me safely through all my difficulties.

SULTANPORE.

It appears from various accounts that the mutiny at this station was commenced by the Military Police Regiment, on the 8th or 9th of June, firing at the late Lieutenant-Colonel

S. Fisher, whilst he rode past their lines after an interview with Mr. Block, the Deputy Commissioner.

Colonel Fisher, who commanded the 15th Irregular Cavalry, managed to reach his own lines, where he was met by his two Officers, Captain A. Gibbings and Lieutenant C. W. Tucker. They succeeded with difficulty in getting him into a dooley; feeling himself mortally wounded, he begged them to leave him and provide for their own safety.

Very soon the men of the regiment attacked them, killing Colonel Fisher and Captain Gibbings, but Lieutenant Tucker succeeded in escaping across country. Lieutenant Tucker's escape is thus related by his wife:—

On the Sunday before the mutiny at Sultanpore (which was on the Tuesday morning, June 9th) Charlie went out some distance to meet the wing of his regiment which he commanded at Seetapore, and which was inclined to mutiny, to see if he could pacify the men; and he apparently did so, and brought them, with the second in command, into Sultanpore on the Monday night late. About eight o'clock on the Tuesday morning poor Colonel Fisher, while out, was shot through the body by the native police. Charlie directly went to him, and, after much trouble, persuaded some of the men to get him into a dooley. He said he was dying; but Charlie took out the ball, and gave him some water. He then tried to persuade the regiment to come near their Colonel, but no one would obey any order. They were all under some trees close to our house. A party of them then made a rush at Captain Gibbings who was on horseback at a little distance, and killed him; and then the men shouted to Charlie to go away. He found it was all over then, and so rode off. Three men rode after him about a mile, and then returned. He rode some distance, and then got into a jungle, where he stayed a great part of the day; but he had first gone into a village with one of his grooms who had got his mare, and who said he would take care of him; but Charlie found out that he meant to betray him; so he rode off.

Only fancy how dreadful it was for him to be wandering about in the heat of the day, not knowing where to go, and getting people to give him water to drink at wells, and at last drinking it out of little streams—he was so terribly thirsty. At last, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he asked a man whom he saw for some water, and also if he could protect him, for he and his horse were both getting knocked up. The man said he would, and took him into his village and afterwards to his master, who lived in a native fort, and who was the principal person in the place; and there Charlie stayed until the party from here went to fetch him.

Deposition of Sheikh Emambux, late Jailor in Sooltanpore, district of Oude, taken on the 3rd September, 1858.

On the 10th May 1857, I was ordered by Mr. Block, Deputy Commissioner of Sooltanpore, to proceed to Chandah (ten coss east of Sooltanpore,) with Luchmun Pershad, Kotwal of Sooltanpore, with a view of instituting enquiries regarding a quarrel that had lately taken place in the vicinity of Chandah, amongst some zemindars. Whilst at Chandah, about the 5th of June 1857, I received information that the troops at Juanpore had mutinied and had plundered the station, and that the mutineers had, shortly after the outbreak, been joined by troops from Benares. I immediately despatched an urzee to Mr. Block (on the 5th) informing that gentleman of what I had heard; I also sent spies towards Juanpore, and on their return, they informed me that the mutinous troops at Juanpore, after having plundered the treasury, houses, &c., &c., were marching towards Sooltanpore. I again wrote to Mr. Block, and immediately collected all the Chowkeedars and Gooraits of the neighbourhood, and ordered them to remain at the Thannah and Tehseel at Chandah, both of which had been previously strengthened by a party of forty Rajkoomar Rajpoots sent there by Mr. Block. These arrangements had hardly been made, when I heard that the insurgents had actually reached Koeripore, which is about three miles east of Chandah—not receiving, through the Chowkeedars whom I had sent out for information, correct accounts of the advance of the rebels, I determined upon going myself to Koeripore. On my arrival there, I saw 500 or 600 men, sepoys; they had evidently been marching in great haste, they wore their native clothes, and had converted their uniform broad cloth pantaloons into bags, having filled them with rupees. They had their belts and muskets. The Buneeahs at Koeripore had fled, and the sepoys succeeded with difficulty in obtaining sugar for *sherbet*, by paying one rupee per seer for it. As I was disguised as a common ryot, I easily mixed amongst them, and asked them if any other troops were coming in the same direction. They told me that a few more would join them, and that one regiment of infantry and one of cavalry had gone from Juanpore towards Fyzabad, and one regiment of infantry towards Pertabgurh, and they themselves were en route to Sooltanpore. They also said that they had killed some officers at Juanpore, taken possession of the treasury, &c. &c., adding that Benares and Allahabad were both in the hands of the sepoys, and that it was now the '*Telinga Raj.*' They said that the 8th Regiment Oude irregular force at Sooltanpore had

turned '*Christian*,' (*i. e.* made use of the cartridges,) but that the 1st regiment military police, 15th irregular cavalry, were true to the cause. Hearing all this, I returned speedily to Chandah and once more wrote to Mr. Block. This was the second urzee I had despatched this day (6th June) to Sooltanpore.

I was now in hourly expectation of the arrival at Chandah of the rebel troops, and had sent spies to give immediate notice of their approach. One spy returned after a long delay and told me that the rebels at Koeripore had asked him how many men were at Chandah. The chowkedar answered that taking into account chowkedars, Gooraits, Police, &c. &c., there were at least 500 men at Chandah. They then gave him three rupees (which he showed me) to conduct them by an indirect road, so as to avoid Chandah, towards Sooltanpore.

I again dispatched this chowkedar with two or three others, and on their return was informed that the rebels had, on their arrival at a village three miles south of Chandah, separated into two parties, one party was to cross the Goomtee at Dhuppass ghat (about twenty miles east of Sooltanpore) and the other party was to proceed towards Meerapore-Kuturat, eight miles south of Sooltanpore. The spy could not discover the reason for this separate move. I again forwarded this information to Sooltanpore. On the 7th, I received a perwannah from Mr. Block, ordering me back to Sooltanpore, as he was anxious that I should return to my post at the Sooltanpore jail. I remained a short time at Chandah to wait the arrival of a thanadar to whom to make over charge, and at about 12 o'clock I started for Sooltanpore. On the road I heard the sound of musketry, and shortly afterwards I received information that a fresh body of rebel troops from Juanpore had reached Chandah and had completely plundered it. Further on near Lumbooah, which is fourteen miles south-east of Sooltanpore, I saw large bodies of troops proceeding towards Sooltanpore; these halted at Lumbooah. I continued my road and reached Sooltanpore at four o'clock P. M.,—before reaching the station, I met successively several sepoys of the 8th Regiment Oude irregular force and of the military police, who each told me that things had gone wrong, and that on the following day (9th June) 'whatever was to happen would happen' ('*jo kooch hona hai, hoga*') I proceeded quickly to Mr. Stroyan's (Assistant Commissioner's) house, where I also found Mr. Block, Mr. Stroyan was ill and in bed; I now mentioned all that I had heard and seen. Mr. Block immediately wrote a note to Colonel Fisher, Commanding Sooltanpore, whose

lines were at Badshahgunge, two miles from the station. He shortly after arrived, and I was again told to repeat what I had already stated. Colonel Fisher asked whether I thought it would be advisable for him to take a body of horse and foot and attack suddenly the rebels at Lumbooah. I at once answered that his own men could not be depended upon, and I again repeated what the sepoys had told me as I was approaching the station that morning. After a long consultation carried on in English, Colonel Fisher returned to his lines at Badshahgunge. After his departure I begged of the gentlemen to leave the station, but they refused to do so. Early next morning, Colonel Fisher again came to the station, and, after speaking to the gentlemen, started in the direction of the cantonment of the military police, near Badshahgunge, where some disturbance had taken place; a short time after his departure I heard the sound of musketry. I mounted one of the bastions of the jail and saw that the bungalows of the officers of the 15th irregular cavalry had been set on fire, and was soon told that Colonel Fisher had been killed by the men of the military police. I ran and gave notice of this to Messrs. Block and Stroyan, who at length made preparations for flight. By this time some of the sepoys and sowars from Badshahgunge had entered the station. The two gentlemen accompanied by a Hindoo writer boy and myself walked towards the river which runs under Mr. Block's garden. Here Mr. Stroyan, who was, as already stated, ill, mounted Mr. Block's horse; we went along the river side under the high bank, and crossed it a little to the eastward of Captain Bunburry's house. After crossing, we were guided by one Mowla Buksh, jemadar of chuprassees, who, it appeared, promised Mr. Block to conceal him. He took us to a small house, close to the town of Sooltanpore and to its eastward near the river—it was a very small place. Arrived here, Mr. Block urgently asked me to return to the station and see what was going on there. I did so and found that the prisoners had been released, the bungalows all in flames, and the property being plundered. I endeavoured to persuade Gungadeen, a jemadar of chuprassees, with some of his men, to accompany me back to the spot where the gentlemen had taken refuge. I now returned to Sooltanpore (town); on reaching the small house where I had left Mr. Block, I saw one Yaseen Khan, resident of Sooltanpore, seated before the door, but *no one in the house*. I asked Yaseen Khan where the gentlemen were. He answered in a ferocious manner, abusing me at the same time; he would doubtless have murdered me, had not a friendly person, by name Soobhan Khan made me a sign to move on. I did so,

and hiding as much as possible in the high grass, moved along the bank of the river, eastward. At a short distance, I met a boy of about ten years of age, who told me that the people of Sooltanpore had murdered the gentlemen. I asked him to show me the place where the bodies were. He did so, and at about a mile from the town (to the north-east) I found them. The body of Mr. Block was in deep water, I saw the mark of a ball on his right temple. Mr. Stroyan's body was on the dry ground at some distance from the bank of the river, it was dreadfully marked with deep sword cuts. He had evidently advanced from the river side to face the enemy, one of whom he had succeeded in wounding. Whilst I was looking at the bodies, a Mahomedan zemindar came up to the spot, and I begged him to assist me in bringing Mr. Stroyan's body. He consented and called out to some men, who were working in a field hard by; with the assistance of these men, I dug the ground deep enough to admit of the body being placed within, I covered it with as much earth as circumstances would allow me to scrape together. I would also have buried Mr. Block's body, but owing to the depth of the water in which it was floating, I could not reach it.

From the boy, who had guided me, I learnt that Mowla Buksh, shortly after the arrival of the gentlemen in his house, cried out "the people of Sooltanpore are threatening to attack me, because I have given refuge to Europeans, but I shall defend them with my life." This ruse of the wretch succeeded, for on hearing this boast more than once repeated, Messrs. Block and Stroyan thought naturally that it would be advisable now to leave the place, which was no longer one of concealment. They consequently marched in an easterly direction, along the bank of the river which is excessively high and deep. They were soon followed by Mowla Buksh and others running along the top of the bank and firing upon the fugitives: the latter were however protected by the high bank; at length the bank slopes into the plain, and here with nothing to protect them from the balls of the assassins, they soon fell. It would appear that Mr. Block on receiving his first wound rushed into the river, hoping to cross, but a second ball deprived him of life.

After burying Mr. Stroyan, I returned once more to Sooltanpore (town) where I was kindly received by one Rujjub Khan, commandant, to whom I related what had happened; he abused Mowla Buksh, saying that from his very birth he had been a '*dugga baz*' (full of deceit). I now crossed the river and proceeded *viâ* Durriabad to Lucknow, which place I reached several days before the affair at Chinhut. My deposition was taken by Mr. Gubbins, Financial Commissioner.

Mutiny at Selone.

Up to the 1st June, the district was not much affected by the mutinies, and judging by the collections which were then going on for the Rubbee Kists, the talookdars and large zemindars had at this time no intention whatever of joining in rebellion, for without exception they paid up.

On the morning of the 8th June, I received positive intelligence from the Deputy Commissioner, Sultanpore, that mutinous troops were marching on Selone, Sultanpore, and Fyzabad. Probably these reports were made to the Deputy Commissioner to cause a panic, for on the same day the troops at that station mutinied;—I attached no importance to this or other reports which were constantly being made, evidently with a view to get rid of us.

On the night of the 8th, Captain Thompson's regiment, the 1st Oude, requested permission to have their arms with them in case of an attack.

On the morning of the 9th, reports were made to me that both the Sultanpore and Fyzabad regiments had mutinied. A troop of Captain Harding's ressalah arrived at Selone without any orders. The ressaldar stated the Sultanpore officers had fled through Pertabgurh, and that place being abandoned, he had come to Selone. I discovered that some of his party had been engaged in the plunder at Pertabgurh, and that others were fugitive sowars from Allahabad, where a portion of the regiment was stationed.

During the day whilst at kutcherry, for the usual appearances were still kept up, and I had every confidence in the 1st Oude regiment, several Police fugitives and others arrived from Sultanpore and Pertabgurh, two officers' horses were brought in, and several Jail fugitives from Allahabad were caught on the 8th and 9th.

About 1 P. M. of the 9th, some sowars came in and reported the troops from Allahabad were en route, and another party intimated the troops from Sultanpore were at Attayah, about eight miles off, both reports no doubt were spread to create a panic.

I proceeded to the officer commanding, who had already given orders for his regiment to turn out. I accompanied him to the parade, and sent off parties of sowars in the directions intimated. After about two hours, nothing further occurring, Captain Thompson ordered his men to pile arms. On being ordered to re-assemble, they paid no attention. It was evident they intended to mutiny, but we took no notice whatever; extra sentries were put on, and the men were still under some control.

I paraded the troops of cavalry which had no European officer, and in reply to my address, they one and all declared they were faithful and would stand by me. The ressaldar privately told me, out of the eighty-five men, he could only depend on twenty.

All the officers assembled this night at my house. My wife and two children were the only officer's family present; there were the wives and children of two sergeants and one apothecary, besides the writers of my office.

The night passed quietly. Early in the morning, I proceeded round the station, and observed the men of the Oude regiment carrying off their property to the neighbouring villages.

About 6 o'clock A. M. the guard of the Jail released the prisoners, Captain Thompson still thought he could bring his regiment round, and I determined to hold on as long as possible, but they clearly intimated at last that we had better leave, if we did not, they would not answer for our lives. No native officer even would now obey his call, and the regiment would furnish no guards for our protection.

At 2 P. M., my house was surrounded by all the budmashes of the place, including several of my own police Chuprassees, &c., clamouring for pay; they crowded close round it and looked hostile. I got out where the sowars were stationed, and induced twenty of them to mount and come to my house, when throwing out a bag of rupees to get them away from the verandahs, into which they had pressed, the sowars rode in between them and the house and drove them off, so far behaving well.

Whilst this was going on, preparations were made for the whole party to leave: a few sepoys of the regiment stated they would escort us through the lines (our course laying through them) but that they could not undertake to do so at a later period. The men as we passed through were all outside with their arms in their hands; some were respectful, others loaded their muskets as we passed them.

The sowars were on the right flank of the infantry, mounted, watching what was going on.

I was followed from the station only by my jailor, with some twenty men and a private of the 33rd regiment with some fifty new levies; but ten of all ranks accompanied Captain Thompson. My Police sowars and every one had deserted with the above exception.

I had previously arranged with Humwunt Sing, of Kala Kunkur, that he should get together as many men as he could, and meet me on the other side of the station; this he did, and escorted our whole party to his fort at Dharoopore, where we

remained some fourteen days, when with the aid of other Talookdars, the Thakorain of Bhudree and Sheodyal of Duheyaon, we succeeded in reaching Allahabad.

Mutiny at Pershadeepore.

Captain Thompson to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Allahabad, June 25, 1857.

I have the honor to report for the information of Government, that the 1st regiment Oude irregular infantry lately under my command, mutinied at Pershadeepore, Oude, on the 10th instant.

The conduct of the regiment up to the 9th instant continued to be most exemplary, notwithstanding the trials to which they had been put by the false accounts of their friends and relatives from different disbanded and mutinous corps. They made use of their cartridges, and ridiculed the idea of there being anything to be objected to in their composition, and on the occasion of some evil-disposed person having caused bones to be placed in the *attah* sold in the Sudder Bazar, they showed no excitement, but said they had perfect confidence in the good faith of their officers.

Matters went on thus smoothly until the 9th instant, on which date a troop of the 3rd Oude irregular cavalry arrived from Pertaubgurh. On the afternoon of that day a sowar, pretending to have escaped from a party of mutinous troops galloped into the station and reported, that an irregular cavalry regiment, a wing of an infantry regiment, and two guns were within two miles; and at the same time a report arrived from the direction of Sultanpore, to the effect that the mutinous troops from that station were also advancing to attack us.

On the receipt of the above intelligence, I immediately paraded my regiment, and detached a duffadar's party to ascertain the truth of the matter. They returned in a short time, saying that the story was altogether false. I accordingly turned my men in again, and after some time returned to my bungalow.

In the evening the native officers urged the European officers to keep in the lines, where, in case of an attack, they would be safer than in their bungalows, and their request was complied with.

The next morning I found the whole of the men dressed and accoutred, which caused me to suspect that all was not right, and on asking the native officers what was the matter, I was informed that the regiment had mutinied.

I shortly after heard that Captain Barrow, the Deputy

Commissioner of Salone, was aware of the mutiny, and had decided upon leaving the station.

I was anxious, if possible, to save the good men of the corps of whom there were many, and suggested that they should separate themselves from the bad men, and march with the European officers and columns into Allahabad. After a short time had elapsed the native officers came to me and said, that the treasure must at any rate be abandoned, and would then be plundered, the men therefore hoped that I would give them each six months' pay, and they would march with the European officers to any neighbouring stations. This proposal was agreed to, and the money disbursed; but I regret to say at the last moment the temptation of the remainder of the treasure was too great, and it was evident that the men had an intention of fulfilling their engagement.

When I discovered that the mutiny was complete, I proceeded to Captain Barrow's house, and arranged to leave with all the other Europeans at 4 P. M., but before leaving I went to the lines of the regiment, called upon all men who wished to accompany me, and directed them to assemble on the road for that purpose. I then returned to Captain Barrow's house, and the whole of the European residents started, passing through the centre street of the lines, apd in front of the quarter guard. The men were all assembled with their arms loaded, but no threatening words or jesture were used.

On getting clear of the station our party was escorted by Rajah Hunuwant Singh, talookdar, and his followers, to the fort of Daraopoor, where we were treated with every consideration, and on receipt of satisfactory accounts from Allahabad, we were safely brought into that station on the 22nd instant by the Rajah in person.

I beg to state that up to the 9th instant the regiment was as well conducted as could be wished, but it appears that the sowars above alluded to, and those were the 15th regiment irregular cavalry, which had mutinied at Sultanpore, represented to them on the night of that date, that if they remained faithful they would be overpowered by the corps that had mutinied in the surrounding stations. These representations, added to the false reports spread by men of the 37th, 45th and 57th regiments of native infantry, that they had in the first place been disarmed, and then fired upon by the European troops brought about the ruin of the regiment, which had always been remarkable for good conduct.

Had there been only a small sum in the treasury, the mutiny would probably never have occurred. The quiet conduct of the men throughout shows that they had no cause of disaffec-

tion; indeed, it is owing to the personal attachment of the men to their officers that the whole of the Europeans in the station were allowed to leave without molestation from the troops.

Fifty or sixty men joined our party on leaving the station, but their numbers gradually decreased, and only one jemadar, one havildar and six sepoys accompanied us into Allahabad.

Baraitch.

Mr. Wingfield, the Commissioner, thus describes the events of Baraitch.

An untoward event occurred on the night of the 8th June, which may have precipitated, by a few days, the final outbreak. Since the departure of the ladies, all the remaining officers slept at my house, and four European sergeants kept watch by turns. About midnight, we were awakened by two of the latter, who declared they had heard the men arming in the infantry lines, which were not above 250 yards from my house, and had even seen them forming up outside. They protested they had been close up to the lines; the night was very dark and the view intercepted by trees. We could distinguish nothing, but believing the Sergeants' report we went over to the encampment of the artillery, brought out the guns, and turned them on the lines of the infantry. No advance was made from that direction, nor was any movement discernable there. At the expiration of half an hour, we returned to the house. I believe it was a false alarm, but there are officers who hold the contrary. I cannot forbear observing that on this occasion the best spirit appeared to be evinced by the artillery.

However that may be, it brought matters to a crisis. The sepoys declared we had tried to murder them in their sleep, and only been prevented by the refusal of the artillery men to become the instruments of our cruelty. Heretofore there had been a coldness between the two arms, now they fraternised warmly. Captain Boileau sent for his native officers in the hope of explaining matters to them, but soon found he had lost all authority, and had to endure severe lectures and animadversions on his conduct from some of them who affected to be the spokesmen of the sepoys. Finally they dictated their own terms, and a parade of the regiment was ordered for that evening.

This took place in my house. Some old servants who had been with me ever since I have been in India, had that day and the previous one told me that some of them had been warned to quit me, or they might lose their lives; and now Captain Boileau came and told me he no longer commanded

the troops, and that he was going on parade in compliance with the intention he had expressed to that effect, but did not expect to leave it alive.

So evident was it for some time past that the troops were fast hurrying into revolt, that I would have left Secrora, which was not a civil station, or my legitimate place of residence, for Gonda before, had not Captain Boileau urged me to remain, alledging that my departure would shew want of confidence in them. I now saw that my remaining any longer would be imperilling my own life, and therefore taking the advantage of the habit of an evening ride mounted my horse, and rode over to Gonda, distant eighteen miles, where the 3rd Oude irregular infantry apparently remained loyal. Sir H. Lawrence had previously written to Captain Boileau and myself in these words—"Should a mutiny break out or appear inevitable, you are at liberty to consult your own safety." It had broken out. The troops had thrown off all authority, and the question was, how long they would leave us alive. In the lines, (for they refused to parade that evening,) Captain Boileau and his Adjutant were grossly insulted by their men who broke open the magazine, and conducted themselves in the most insubordinate manner. But their lives were not attempted. During the night, however, the house in which they slept was surrounded by the soldiery, who used threatening gestures, and kept them close prisoners till the following morning, when profiting by the interval between the departure of the night guard, and the arrival of the relief, they mounted their horses and rode away to Gonda and Bulrampore. The artillery officer, Lieutenant Bonham, who had slept in his battery, remained till 9 A. M., when he was expelled by his own men; he then took the road to Lucknow, which he reached in safety.

GONDA.

I will now describe the course of events at Gonda to the date of my arrival there. There too the attitude of the troops consisting of the 3rd Oude irregular infantry, remained unaltered, and the civil business went on as usual, no falling off in the number of petitioners and other attendants in the Court was noticeable till the beginning of June, when it was manifest that confidence in our power was fast departing, and Zemindars who had recovered their villages from Talookdars at settlement, were writing to propitiate the latter or making preparations for flight. The tehseeldars had reported that the sepoys had been overheard to express their determination not to allow the treasure, which there had been some talk of

sending to Lucknow, to be removed; but the officers would not believe this, and certainly the behaviour of the men was most exemplary to the eye. Though I did not believe it possible they could withstand the force of example so close to them, still less soldiers who had lately served the king of Oude, I suffered Captain Mills to introduce his officers to me, when I told them what had occurred at Secrora, and listened to their professions of loyalty, and of determination to oppose the mutineers. I told them that the best proof of their loyalty would be to take the treasure and march with us to Bulrampore or beyond the Raptee, for it was impossible they could oppose the Secrora mutineers, who equally strong in infantry, had a horse field battery, and a hundred and fifty cavalry besides: at first they agreed to this plan with seeming alacrity, but soon began to raise objections.

That night I passed at Gonda, as also the whole of the 10th. In the course of the day, I received a hurried note from Lieutenant Bonham, to the effect that the troops at Secrora meant to march on Gonda, and force the regiment there to join them. We knew several letters had been received by the latter, and it soon became evident that no reliance was to be placed on this corps, and that it would do as its brethren in arms had done.* Having objected to the plan of going to Bulrampore, on some frivolous pretext, they said they would stay and fight the mutineers, and when driven from that subterfuge, next said they would march into Lucknow with the Treasure and European officers.

Just at this time a letter came to us from Lieutenant Clarke, commanding a detachment of the regiment at Baraitch, showing the state of disaffection that prevailed in it; and news of the mutiny at Fyzabad and flight of the European officers on the previous day arrived also. I felt satisfied that to stay any longer was to court destruction unprofitably; and therefore gave the civil officers permission to leave, and about 10 P. M., in company with Mr. Owen, Assistant Commissioner, and two officers of the 2nd Oude irregular infantry, set out on horse back for Bulrampore. Captain Mills and his adjutant thought themselves bound by a sense of duty to remain till their men openly renounced their authority, for though determined to do only what pleased them, their attitude

* Captain Hutchinson notes here that he ascertained from Lieutenant Bonham himself that he remained at Secrora with his two artillery Serjeants after the infantry had mutinied and driven away all their officers, and that he only left when the infantry, some hours afterwards, rushing on the guns drove him away, his men protecting him as long as they could. Both he and his Sergeants reached Lucknow safely, wonderful to relate.

was as yet respectful, and Lieutenant E. Clarke, Assistant Commissioner, determined to stay with these officers.

We reached Bulrampore without hinderance next morning, the 11th, and not many hours afterwards were joined by the officers of the 3rd regiment and Lieutenant Clarke. They had passed the night at Gonda, but at day-break the Havildar Major shewed them a letter from the Secrora mutineers to his corps, bidding it to repair to Secrora with the treasure; he told them the regiment would join the rest and urged them to make their escape while there was yet time. In this advice some of the native officers joined, and even escorted their European officers through the cantonment.

At Bulrampore Captain Boileau and all were most kindly and hospitably entertained by the Raja, though it was not difficult to perceive our presence was not much liked by many of his followers. A letter was shortly afterwards received by him from the mutineers desiring him to make over the treasure in the tehseel, and the bearer, a sowar, reproached him with harboring Europeans. It was evident our remaining there would bring him into trouble, and us into danger. There was no apparent prospect of the rains setting in, the mutineers could have marched with their guns in one night from Gonda, and the Raja's house was not fortified; nor could his people be depended on, to protect us at the risk of their own lives. We accordingly determined on leaving, and on the evening of the 12th, set out under escort of the Raja and 500 of his men for Phoolpore, a place belonging to him, just within the borders of the Goruckpore district. At that time we were uncertain whether Goruckpore was still in the hands of the British authorities, but our intention was at all events to proceed to Bansee, the Raja of which place was a relative of the Raja of Bulrampore, and there, if we found Goruckpore close to us, to decide whether we should make for the Gunduk, and drop down that river to Patna, or seek an asylum in Nepal. We halted this day at Phoolpore, and reached Bansee on the 14th.

Here we learnt the real posture of affairs at Goruckpore, which was critical enough, but the authorities had full confidence in the irregular cavalry, and Captain Boileau and the officers decided on going there and on to Gazeepore and Benares. I resolved to wait for further news from my division, for none of the Talookdars had yet shewn any indication of revolt, and I thought it probable that the mutinous troops would all march towards Lucknow, when I might, with the aid of the well affected Rajas, return and re-establish the British authority. Besides, all communication from other parts had

ceased since the 8th, and I was ignorant how far mutiny had spread in our older provinces, and they were equally so for the same reason at Goruckpore.

But a letter from the Raja of Bulrampore soon showed me how useless it would be to return without British troops, and I therefore resolved to go on to Goruckpore, which I reached on the 26th.

Another Account.

On the 15th June, about 3 P. M., I received a note from Mr. Wingfield, the Commissioner of Baraitch division, and who was residing at Secrora at the time, to the effect that all the ladies at that station were to start for Lucknow in the evening, and therefore the ladies of Gonda had better take advantage of the opportunity to be off and join the party, as in all probability no other opportunity would offer itself, and the road to Lucknow in a day or two would most assuredly be closed by the rebels.

The Assistant Surgeon of the regiment, Doctor Bartrum, and myself being the only married officers in the place, we consulted with the officers of the corps as to whether, in their opinion, the sending away of the ladies would have a bad effect on their men or not, and on receiving a reply in the negative, we determined to start immediately with our wives to Secrora.

This we did, and reached that station about midnight, where, taking leave of our wives and giving them over to the protection of a guard of Captain Boileau's regiment, the 2nd Oude irregular infantry, which was waiting in readiness to escort them to where the Secrora ladies had proceeded, we returned next morning to Gonda.

On receiving the note alluded to, the Sergeant Major of the 3rd, and the married clerks of the Deputy Commissioner's office were informed of the determination, came to beg Doctor Bartrum and myself to go to Secrora, and they were invited to take advantage of the same opportunity, but some circumstances or other, which I now forget, prevented their coming with us; so a day or two afterwards, the married clerks were permitted to take their wives and families to Bulrampore, the wife and family of the Sergeant Major also accompanied the party.

From the 6th to the 9th, all went as smoothly at Gonda, as it had ever done before; when on the evening of the latter date, we were all thrown into a state of anxiety by the arrival of Mr. Wingfield, who informed us that he had just ridden over from Secrora, as Captain Boileau's regiment was all

but in open mutiny, he further informed us that the troops of Fyzabad had mutinied.

We were aware that the troops of Durriabad had already mutinied, and now that the Fyzabad and Secrora troops had followed their example, all roads from the Gonda districts were closed. Captain Miles, therefore, immediately sent to the lines, summoned the native officers of his regiment, informed them of what Mr. Wingfield had told us, explained to them how all egress from the district, except viâ Bulrampore, was now closed, and suggested to them the advisability of the regiment marching off next morning, with all the money in the Gonda Treasury to Bulrampore, a small town about thirty miles off, and the residence of a friendly Raja. This plan they all agreed to at once, and immediately sent sepoys to procure carriages from the city and the surrounding villages, and by the next morning (the 10th instant) most of the carriages were in the lines ready for a start.

The information given us by Mr. Wingfield the preceding evening was painfully confirmed by the arrival, the next morning, (10th instant) at about 8 A. M., of Lieutenant Hall and Assistant Surgeon Kendall who rode in at full gallop, and told us that Captain Boileau's regiment, to which they belonged, had broken out into open mutiny, and that he (Captain Boileau) like themselves had to flee for his life; but they added the gratifying intelligence, that the men of Lieutenant Bonham's light field battery were still firm.

Writing as I do from memory, I am not quite certain why the plan of going to Bulrampore was not carried out the next morning, but I believe the causes were two; first, because of the intelligence given by Lieutenant Hall concerning the state of the artillery at Secrora, which was confirmed by a note from Lieutenant Bonham himself about 12 A. M., of the same day; and secondly, to enable the detachment of the 3rd Oude infantry, which was on command at Baraitch to rejoin the regimental head-quarters, before they marched for Bulrampore, but be the cause what it may, the proposed plan was not carried out.

In the evening of the 10th, we received another note from Lieutenant Bonham, in which he stated, that two hours after writing the first letter, he had been driven out of his battery, and was then on his way with one or two men to Lucknow, intending to cross the river Gogra at Gurkhoeeah ghât.

The note had evidently been written in a hurry, for it was but a scrap of paper and in pencil.

Captain Miles again assembled his native officers and ordered them to prepare to march with the treasure to Bulram-

pore, but this time they demurred, made excuses, and at last coolly said they would go to their lines, and after reflecting upon the matter, would give an answer, in the course of a few hours. On hearing this answer, Mr. Wingfield and the others who had come from Secrora, decided on leaving during the night for Bulrampore.

The few hours expired, the native officers returned. They reiterated their former excuses, and added a few fresh ones, but all to the same purport. Captain Miles explained to them that their excuses were absurd, as there was but one road open, and that was the one to Bulrampore. He argued with them and tried to bring them to a sense of their duty, warning them that their conduct was becoming sensibly mutinous.

Seeing that he could not prevail on them to do what was right, he dismissed them to their lines, directing a strong picquet to be sent to a nulla on the road between Gonda and Secrora, to give notice of the approach of any mutineers from the latter station. He then advised that all of us should sleep in the same house, in case of any outbreak on the part of the men during the night.

Concurring as we all did in the correctness of this advice, we had our beds brought into the open verandah of the Adjutant's house, which was nearest to the lines and treasury; we remained half dressed, and had our horses ready saddled in the compound in case of being obliged to run for it.

The night passed by without any molestation from the sepoys, but more than once a sepoy with a shouldered musket passed close to our beds (I suppose to see if we were there) and more than once we heard a hubbub in the lines; the picquet also which was sent out on the Secrora road returned sometime before they ought to have done, and when they came near the house where we were, the men tossed about their muskets and went into the lines in a most disorderly manner, laughing and talking boisterously.

At day break, the havildar major of the regiment brought Captain Miles a letter he had received during the night from the mutineers at Secrora, in which the men of the 3rd regiment were urged to seize both the treasury and their officers. This determined Captain Miles to make one more effort to bring the native officers to reason, whereupon he summoned them once more, and again ordered them to march to Bulrampore, telling them that if they would not obey him he would leave them. They flatly refused to go to Bulrampore and indeed any where. Captain Miles then sent for his two Sergeants, and when they had joined us, we all mounted our

horses and left the station, at a walking pace, making for Bulrampore, which we reached the same evening.

At the Raja of Bulrampore's house we met Mr. Wingfield and others, and we remained there till the night of the 13th instant, when starting about midnight we reached at about 10 P. M., a village by name Biscanah, which is in the Goruckpore district and belongs to the Raja of Bulcampore. Remaining there a day, we started in the night for the Raja of Bhunsee's house, where after remaining a few days, we went into the station of Goruckpore.

I consider I am here bound to record that the late lamented Sir Henry Lawrence, with his usual consideration and kindness, after the massacre at Seetapore, sent round a circular to those commanding officers whose regiments in Oude had not as yet mutinied, telling them, that if they found they could not keep their men quiet, but that the mutiny of their corps appeared inevitable, they had his permission to leave their regiment.

There is but little doubt that this permission was the means of saving the Europeans of the stations of Gonda and Secrora.

The following is a list of the names of those who received shelter and hospitality from Raja Dirgbijey Singh, Raja of Bulrampore;—

C. J. Wingfield, Esq., Commissioner of Gonda, Baraitch Division.
C. B. Owen, Esq., Officating Deputy Commissioner of Gonda.
Lieutenant E. G. Clarke, Assistant Commissioner of Gonda.

Captain G. Boileau, Commanding, ...
Lieutenant G. Hale, Adjutant, ... } 2nd Oude Irregular Infantry.
B. Kendall, Assistant Surgeon

Captain C. Miles, Commanding, ...
Lieutenant D. Campbell, Adjutant,.....
F. Bartrum, Assistant Sergeon, ... } 3rd Oude Irregular Infantry.
— Lynch, Sergeant Major, ...
P. Carr, Quarter Master Sergeant,.....

Mr. C. Tucker, head clerk, Deputy Commissioner's office, Gonda.
Mr. Yeoward, 2nd Clerk, ditto ditto.
Brother-in-law, wife and family of Mr. Tucker.
Family of Mr. Yeoward.
Wife and family of Sergeant Major Lynch.
Mr. Archer, head clerk, Deputy Commissioner's office, Baraitch.
Another clerk, name unknown, but I think belonging to Commissioner's Office, Baraitch;—19 individuals, exclusive of children, the number of whom I do not now remember.

Mr. W. Connor's Narrative of the outbreak in the City of Coel in the Allyghur District.

When the mutiny broke out at Coel (May 20th 1857) I was at dinner, I immediately left the table and told my wife and children at once to come out. I took with me a small Bible, and Prayer Book—two pairs of spectacles—some medicine for two of my sick children,—four rupees which was all I had in cash, and a box of my wife's ornaments valued at 600 Rs., and four loaves. We went straight to Mr. Watson's house; on the road, my servant cried out that Mr. Hine's family were coming after us, I instantly halted to enable Mr. H. and children to join us. By this time Mr. Watson and the other gentlemen had left the station in company with the Gwalior contingent cavalry for Hattrass, for on our arrival at Mr. Watson's house, we found the place deserted, the doors were all open and chairs placed out; there were four police sowars at the wicket of the compound, but they were insolent, and were seen a little while afterwards with drawn swords, outside the walls, seeking for plunder. Had we not got out of the compound quickly, they would have fallen upon us. We gave up ourselves for the worst now, as every thing seemed to be against us. Large gangs of chumars and other people from the town were running towards the cantonments. I questioned some of them as to the cause of their running, to which they replied, that there was a disturbance in the cantonment. It is evident that these men of the town were in a manner concerned, and had been previously informed by the mutineers, to proceed at once to the cantonments for plunder, and destroy the place, which they accordingly did; for the burning of bungalows and lines, and plunder commenced at sunset. The soldiers after firing some vollies marched towards the Post Office, to empty the loaded hackeries, which they took to the treasury. At 7 P. M. the treasury was attacked, and the thatched verandah, with records and office furniture, set fire to. The plunder of the treasure now commenced, not only by the mutineers, but by the city people; for the treasury was situated near a large bazar, and in front there was a range of native buildings, where a number of men of the worst character resided. A fearful spectacle was now before us. The whole station on fire with crowds of rioters plundering and running in all directions. The mutineers dreaded that the authorities with the Gwalior contingent were somewhere near, and would suddenly fall upon them, they were therefore eager to take what treasure they could carry on the hackeries, and marched at about 11 P. M. for Delhi. An old Mussulman khansamah, who was himself running to the city, warned me under any

circumstances not to enter the city, for we would certainly meet the same fate which the Christians did at Delhi. We went out of the city walls to a little hamlet, inhabited principally by sweepers: a rich and influential Mewatee, had his large house just on the borders within the city walls, and it was so situated, that it had a regular command over this hamlet, as every thing could be observed from his house. It was a sort of astonishment and amusement to the sweepers to see us with our families amongst them in such distressed condition. We failed in our endeavours, even by offering a reward, to get any sort of native conveyance to take our families on to Hattrass. The sweepers one by one gradually now deserted us, our servants had gone away, and at 9 o'clock at night we were left to ourselves, in a hopeless condition, two of our children were ill at the time and under medical treatment. At 12 o'clock at night Mr. Hine told us, that if we went on more towards Sasnee, it would be better, for there was every likelihood of our being attacked by the Mewatees, whose house was close to us, for the sweepers would betray us. We did not know how to act. Mr. Hine and myself, by a great deal of persuasion got five sweepers, who were villagers, to agree to escort us to Mudrock, a distance of ten miles, on promise of a handsome reward. We marched now all in disguise, at 1 o'clock A. M., throwing away our own clothes. On the road to Mudrock we were twice or thrice interrupted by policemen, who all appeared quite inveterate against Christians, and were talking in most disrespectful terms of Europeans. We passed on under cover of the night, as Hindoo pilgrims, and were indulging ourselves with the idea that we would be safe at Mudrock factory before day light, so as not to cause any alarm; when to our great surprise, we were charged by a gang of men, who sprang on us, a little below the walls of Mudrock factory; these men were inhabitants of Mudrock, and were lying in wait to kill and plunder those who came to the factory from Coel, they called out "*Coel ka velatee*," or the Coel Europeans. One of these men aimed a thick iron bound club at my head, which would have killed me, but providentially I happened to slip at the time, and escaped. Another man made a cut at my wife, but missed his blow. I thought she was killed; the men now surrounded us on all sides threatening to kill us. I begged of them to spare our lives and take what we had, they stripped us of every thing we had, and then ran off to the village. Being now left to ourselves we went to Mr. Nichterlein's factory, here the gate was shut, and the guard refused us admittance—we asked of them to give us some water to drink; whereupon they point-

ed to us a trough where cattle drank water near the well to satisfy our thirst. After a great deal of persuasion, the gate was opened, and we were taken before Mr. Nichterlein, who received us very kindly and made us comfortable; Mr. N. himself was labouring under great uneasiness and trouble of mind, for some of the Zemindars of Mudrock, and of the neighbouring villages, whose rights he had brought up at auction sales, bore an enmity towards him; he had from his long residence at his factory, viz. thirty-four years, done every thing which tended to improve the village and make the condition of the people better, but nevertheless their ill feelings were not removed, and they were pleased with the opportunity which the disturbed state of the country had given them. Mr. Nichterlein promised the Zemindars very handsome rewards, and in fact any thing they wanted, if they would give him aid in saving the factory, but the Zemindars believed that the British rule was gone, that every thing the factory contained belonged to them, and that might was right. A sad spectacle was seen throughout the day from Mr. Nichterlein's bungalow, which was on a very elevated spot. Every one along the road was attacked and plundered by the villagers. A party passed the road with a hackery, in which were their women and children and their wealth, some of the men were armed, the villagers threatened an attack, but were repulsed. Shortly after they were attacked by another body, larger in number than the former, the result was, that some of the men were wounded and the property all plundered. Seeing all this, I told Mr. Nichterlein that it would be advisable for him to move on immediately towards Sasnee or Hattrass, where the tahseeldar was, but he seemed to trust in the Zemindars, who however behaved very treacherously towards him. One of my servants, a sweeper of Sasnee, happened at this time to come from Coel, he went to the Mudrock village to purchase some food, there he heard the people talking, that the factory would be attacked in the night, fired and plundered and the Christians killed; he never informed us to put us on our guard, but decamped quietly to Sasnee. The other servants, all who came with us, deserted. Arrangements were now made for the security of the factory during the night; at 9 P. M. we all retired. Suddenly a hue and cry was made that the factory was set on fire. We immediately opened the door, and saw a great blaze where there was a large pile of firewood; as the fire was to windward, it spread quickly throughout and set the whole factory at once on fire. We all got out of the factory, which we did with difficulty as the compound was now full of men with drawn swords. In the

confusion my eldest girl was left behind. I returned to the factory to look after my child, and providentially, I saw her safe, standing in a hut, with another child. I took her out, and we all collected in one body outside in a small garden. The bungalow was now on fire, and the conflagration was so great, owing to the wind being then very high, that the flames spread on all sides, and the hot ashes were thrown to a very great distance in our direction. The villagers now commenced breaking open all the doors, and the factory was surrounded by a host of these bandits who had hitherto benefited by Mr. Nichterlein's kindness. Finding no safety now, and dreading an attack by these men, and Mr. Nichterlein's old and faithful servants gradually deserting him, we resolved to march under cover of the night to Sasnee. I had a sick child on my arms, and my wife had another. Mrs. Hine was so bad with blisters in her feet that Mr. Hine was obliged to take her on his back all the way. On the road, I was very faint from the fatigue, and the ill-treatment I had suffered the previous morning. I asked a man to bring me some water, but he abused me in the most disgusting terms; with much difficulty and persuasion we got some water. We witnessed afar the burning of the overseer's bungalow at Hunooman-ke-Chowkee on the road, and we dreaded an attack from the men who were burning it, but providentially we escaped.

We were quite exhausted, for what with continual fright and wearied by our journey on foot, we arrived a little before dawn at Sawamye where Mr. Joseph Paish resided; a friend of Mr. Nichterlein's and Mr. N.'s son, Samuel, at once resolved to stop there. We went to the village, and after a circuitous route, we were conducted to Mr. Paish's bungalow, standing on a high place; we ascended the steps, and as we all were fatigued, we slept in the verandah on the floor, many armed men watching the house and making a great noise. There was a heavy storm coming up, we all slept for an hour and got up and saw the sky very cloudy. Mr. Nichterlein had an agent named Punahloll at Sasnee, to whom he wrote a letter in Hindee desiring him to send a party to escort us all to Sasnee. At this time the storm had come on, and we all were inside the house. An alarm was now given that people had come to attack the place. Mr. Paish's men with Mr. N.'s son were out at the time, and they fired upon the party, which proved afterwards to be the same, sent by Punahloll to take us to Sasnee. These men after being fired upon, retreated to Sasnee. We did not know what was going on outside, but we dreaded danger. The rain now subsided, and the sky became clear. An alarm was again given that a large body of men had come into

the compound. A man, apparently Mr. Paish's servant, told us from outside, to open the door, and come out, as these men demanded our presence. We all now resigned ourselves into the hands of the Almighty, opened the doors and came out two by two. These men behaved very treacherously, they said that they would not molest us, but directly we had come down the steps, they attacked us; one of the men laid hold of my beard, and was very nearly cutting me down. Another Hindoo stripped me of the clothes I had received from Mr. N. at Mudrock. A third, a young man, threatened repeatedly to cut me to pieces and brandished his sword before me. Every one of us were now stripped of everything. The party also commenced breaking open the bungalow, and plundering all the property. Books were torn, and the fellows amused themselves by offering us some leaves to read; they did the same with the smashed crockery holding out bits of plates to us. Mr. Nichterlein's men before the attack were preparing some breakfast for us, the whole of it was stolen, and some chapattees and doll given to us with the most abusive language imaginable. There was a large granary near the cattle house, in which the whole of us were sitting; a gang of armed Mewattees, the worst set of men of Bhoorah Nuglah, commenced now breaking open the granary. Two persons apparently zemindars, with drawn swords, who it is evident, bore ill-feelings towards Mr. Nichterlein, took me for him, and were bent upon cutting me down, saying, that I was *John Sahib*, a name by which Mr. N. was called by the villagers. I told these men that I was not, but a traveller from Coel; they said, then point out where John sahib is—I pleaded my ignorance.

Poor Mr. N. was sitting near me, stripped of all his clothes. The place was crowded with these ruffians; one of the Mewattees pointed a matchlock gun at Mr. N., and was just on the point of setting the match to it, when a servant of Mr. N.'s pushed it aside and interceded for his master. Just at this time news was brought that Mr. Nichterlein's son, *(the only son he had)* was killed and lying outside on a dunghill. This poor young man was mistaken, it is supposed, for Mr. Paish. Had he remained along with us, he would most likely have escaped, but we do not know how he had managed to get out of Paish's bungalow with his mother, wife, eldest son and servants, this whole party was attacked by the villagers on the road, and young Nichterlein was killed; he received three cuts, one it is said was from a phursah or chopper which cut his head in two and he instantly fell and expired. A young servant who was near his master, shared the same fate—a severe blow from the phursah split his skull also. Mrs. Nich-

terlein received a bad wound over her face, and the rest of the party were more or less wounded. One of these blood thirsty men came to me with a drawn sword and asked where Mr. Paish was. I told him that I had not seen him, I then asked the man what his intentions were, he said why, to kill him, that he would never spare him. In the gang of Mewattees, I must confess, that there were two good old men; they interceded for us with the Hindoo zemindars; but the young Mewattee ruffians were bent on mischief, they talked in our hearing of taking away our females and killing all the males. One of those men, from behind struck me with an iron bound club on my back, from the effect of which I was not relieved for a long time. The Mewattees kept saying that the nawaub's amuldaree had commenced. The Hindoo party said that the Thakoor's thannah was now come in the village.

A negotiation now commenced with the two old Mewattees. Mr. N. offered a thousand rupees for his family to be conducted safely to Sasnee; Colonel Cecil, a retired officer and relation of Mr. N.'s, offered a thousand rupees for himself, the Mewattees wanted a similar amount from myself and Mr. Hine, but as we had no money at command, nor any interest at Sasnee to obtain so large an amount in our present condition, we submitted ourselves to the disposal of divine Providence. The whole of these ruffians were busily engaged in gathering grain, after which they would have disposed of us, for no mercy was expected from their hands. Sasnee was only a quarter of a mile distance, but the road was so infested with plunderers and murderers, that we dared not venture out.

It was now about 2 P. M. we were all sitting quietly when a strong party sent by Punnahloll of Sasnee, made its appearance suddenly. We were much alarmed at seeing another band, and thought they were come to attack us, but it was the mercy of divine Providence alone that had sent these men; they came to escort us to Sasnee. We could hardly be persuaded that these were sent by Punnahloll, till they shewed us a Persian and Hindee letter from him. The jemadar of Thanna Sasnee, named Meer Khan, a resident of Mozuffurnuggur district, commanded this party, he was a very brave and excellent man, he at once attacked the whole body of Mewattees sword in hand, and took us all out from the cattle shed. He behaved very kindly to us, there were several of the thannah burkundazes also, in this party. The whole body amounted to about three hundred men or more, for many of the Sasnee people armed, and came to our rescue. We all were in a miserable condition, though on our reaching Sasnee,

the whole of the town men, women and children were standing on their houses all along the street to see us coming to Punnahloll's house, where we were all received very kindly. In the town we found men armed, going about in gangs in all directions; no authority was regarded, and every one seemed his own master. The thannahdar came to see us and said, that his authority was set aside by the villagers. We were in great dread of an attack from them; for Punnahloll was known to be a banker, and his house was just on the side of the public road leading to Agra; on the other side was a large garden. Reports of matchlocks were continually heard in the city as well as out. In the evening the corpse of poor Mr. Samuel Nichterlein was brought on a charpoy from Sowamye. The dread of an attack from the budmashes, who were hovering about, was so very great, that none of us could possibly venture to come down-stairs, from the house which we occupied, to perform the burial service over the remains of poor Samuel. The aged father borne down by the fatigue and the heavy affliction he sustained in the loss of his only son, was terribly shocked when he saw through a window his poor son laid down on a charpoy; towards sun-set he was buried in the garden near the tombs of Mr. Thomas Bird's son, and another of Mr. Delmedick's son; these monuments, though of a very old date, are still standing.

As our position at Sasnee was far from secure, I, with much difficulty, got a man to take my letter to Mr. W. C. Watson, the magistrate, who was then at Hattrass. I stated the danger we were in, and begged he would send us assistance. Mr. Watson was very glad to receive my letter, he rewarded the man who took it with ten rupees, and sent an escort from the Gwalior contingent under four officers who kindly escorted us to Hattrass the very same evening. We were all overjoyed to see the officers, as we thought in our dangerous situation that we never would see any Europeans again. As we were coming to Hattrass, we saw a number of dead bodies lying on the road side, these were villagers of Rohee, who took a most active part in plundering every one whom they came across. They were attacked by a party of the Gwalior contingent under Lieutenant Cockburn and other officers, and were slain. This attack in a great degree terrified the villagers, and showed the British rule was not totally gone, as these people had supposed. Mr. Watson, Doctor Clarke, and the whole of the officers were extremely kind to us. Mr. Watson advised me to march on towards Agra the next morning, but as it was the Sabbath, I remained there intending to leave it the following morning. On Sunday Mr. Nichterlein

received the *Delhi Gazette Extra* from Agra, in which it was stated that a powerful army was getting ready for punishing the mutineers at Delhi. Many of the bankers and men of Hattrass, who knew Mr. N. happened to come at the time to see him; they enquired about the news, and Mr. N. told them that there was no fear for the Delhi people would be soon punished. A number of sowars of the Gwalior contingent (Mussulmen) were also listening to the news, went and told their brethren, and in a couple of hours after, to our great surprise, a rumour arose that the town was to be attacked; I went out to see what it was, for the noise was great. I found that half of the men of the Gwalior contingent had mutinied and were preparing to go to Delhi. The other half remained with the officers, and we all instantly marched towards Agra. The following morning was the Mahomedan festival of Eed, we dreaded this day as a general rise was threatened by the Mahomedans. I cannot sufficiently describe our situation at this moment, the confusion was so great, in one hackery fifteen of us got in, and in another also about the same number, and thus we moved on towards Agra. Passing the first two villages near Hattrass, we found that the whole of the villagers armed with clubs, spears and swords, were standing at their doors on the road side, purposing an attack, which they would to a certainty have made, had not the Gwalior contingent accompanied us. As we were going on, some of the Mahomedans of the cavalry, well disposed men, entered into conversation with us, and said that they would face any foreign enemy and fight by the side of the British, but in the present case, the Delhi affair was a religious war, or *deen ka luraee*, they could not go against it. They very cooly asked us, what we intended to do, finding no reply was given, they said it was advisable for us to go back to our own country and leave Hindoostan. We marched the whole of the night, and about 8 A. M. in the morning, arrived at the Pontoon bridge. Mr. Watson strongly urged us not to remain on any account, on the road, but proceed on the best way we could to Agra. We had no sort of covering over the hackery, nor hats on our heads; and only a sheet each to hide our nakedness. At the bridge we got the loan of some shirts from Serjeant Pope, the toll-collector, who very kindly gave them to us. Our party now moving on in the heat of the sun in the streets of Agra, drew the attention of all whom we passed, and enquiries were made who we were. I with my poor family, amongst whom were two sick children out of six, went over to Mr. William Porter's house, who very kindly received us, and administered to our wants. Mrs. Porter took my wife and children in and clothed them. The

very same night as we all slept in Doctor D'Cruz's house, my poor little girl, who came sick from Allygurh, got the cholera, and only through the kind attention of Doctor D'Cruz the child was, humanly speaking, restored to us.

Mr. and Mrs. James Rebello, (Assistant Secretary to Government) to whom we were utter strangers, shewed us every kindness in administering to our wants, as also Mrs. Bates, Mrs. Doyle, Mrs. Teyen, and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Blunt.

Futtehpore.

Futtehpore is a small civil station, distant about two-thirds of the road from Allahabad to Cawnpore. It is the centre of a Mahomedan district, and indeed furnishes many of the recruits for the cavalry. The native troops there consisted of a detachment of fifty men from the 6th Regiment, stationed at Allahabad. Besides these, were only the usual hangers-on of a civil station, consisting of burkundazes, chuprasses, darogahs, moonsiffs, and others. The residents comprehended the judge, the magistrate and collector, the assistant magistrate, the opium agent, salt agent, the doctor, and three or four gentlemen connected with the railway; in addition to these, amongst the officials, was the deputy-magistrate, a native and a Mahomedan.*

Although the district had been tolerably quiet during May, yet in anticipation of possible evil the residents had adopted the wise precaution of sending their wives and families to Allahabad. At the same time they made arrangements for all to assemble in the house occupied by the magistrate in case of need. On the 4th they received an account of the events of the 30th May at Lucknow, and an intimation from Cawnpore that the troopers of the 2nd cavalry would certainly rise in insurrection that evening. On the following day (5th June) heavy firing was heard in the direction of Cawnpore, only forty miles distant; the residents accordingly adopted the precaution of all sleeping on the flat roof of their house, with their weapons by their sides, to guard against surprise. On the following day, expecting a party of the 2nd cavalry and 56th native infantry in progress to Cawnpore, they deemed it advisable to make a permanent lodgment on the roof, conveying thither tents, water, provisions, ammunition, &c. On the 7th this detachment arrived, and shortly after, in confirmation of the worst fears of the residents, made

* The name of this man was Hikmut-oolla Khan: on the arrival of Havelock's victorious force at Futtehpore six weeks subsequently, he went out to congratulate him, was recognised, and hanged.

an attempt on the treasury. The "loyalty" however of the 6th repulsed them—this loyalty consisting in an earnest desire to appropriate the treasure to themselves, and to permit none to share it with them. The troopers shortly after went on towards Cawnpore.

Thus far they were delivered, but they were still in a hostile country, and in a dangerous position. That same day they received intelligence of the Allahabad catastrophe; they learned that the deputy-collector and all their subordinates had turned against them, and that some mutinous troopers, accompanied by some released prisoners, were in full march for the place. Still, unable to devise a feasible plan of escape, they determined on remaining; they barricaded the house, and waited the issue.

On the 9th the ruffians came on, and, burning every bungalow, threatened to attack them. But they showed a determined front; and the natives, with their instinctive dread of Europeans, feared to make the assault. During the day they heard that the 6th from Allahabad, and some mutineers from Cawnpore, were marching upon them. In the afternoon, the recreant deputy-collector, attended by a large body of armed men, made his way towards them, apparently on a friendly errand; but our countrymen, suspecting him, made the best of their way to the roof. That night, environed by dangers, they held a council of war, in which it was resolved to fly. Accordingly, at 10 P. M., they mounted their horses, and attended by four sowars who were faithful, all started for Banda, which, after many difficulties and hair-breadth escapes, they reached in safety.

All started—all save one—the judge, Robert Tucker, of the civil service; he steadily and manfully refused to desert his post. He remained as usual in his own house. But the natives who had been deterred from attacking eleven armed Englishmen, felt themselves not unequal to the murder of one. They could not appreciate the sublime rashness which prompted Mr. Tucker to remain alone at Futtehpore; nay, so confident did they feel of "victory" over him, and so determined were they on his death, that, at the suggestion of the deputy-collector, who now openly avowed himself their leader, they resolved upon making him undergo the mockery of a trial, with all the forms of the civil court. Full of this idea they marched against him.

But Mr. Tucker, enthusiast as he was, was not the man to give away his life. The native Christian, who witnessed the attack upon him, asserts, that he killed sixteen men with his own hand before he was secured. Secured, however, he was

at last. He was in mockery, tried, of course condemned; and, as naturally, executed. His hands, head, and feet were cut off, and held up for the inspection of the rabble—the deputy-collector being present, and directing the proceedings.

Narrative of an Escape from Futtehpore.

The frightful tragedies which had been perpetrated up-country, of course made us to a certain extent apprehensive for our own safety, as well as that of the district; and vigorous measures were taken by ourselves and the magistrate for ensuring both. Although the storm raged so fiercely around us, everything in our immediate neighbourhood remained apparently perfectly quiet. And yet there were signs of mischief brewing. Our servants complained to us that *atta* defiled with bone-dust was being sold in the bazar by the orders of the "sircar;" and low-muttered threats were heard, that in a few days there would be no "sahib logh" in the station. On Thursday, June 4th, we heard from a friend at Cawnpore, that the troopers of the 2nd L. C. had openly given out their intention of mutinying the same evening, and the same letter described the emeute at Lucknow on the night of the 30th May, and gave us the names of the officers who had been murdered. We heard no more from Cawnpore. I am wrong, I should have said we received no more letters; for we had terrible *aural* evidence the next day of what was going on in ill-fated Cawnpore. For three or four hours on Friday afternoon, we heard heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore, which was kept up, more or less, through the whole of Saturday. I must digress a little to state that, during the last week in May, after the ladies had been sent off to Allahabad, the gentlemen of the station and district all assembled for mutual protection in the large house occupied by our magistrate. Our good and worthy judge preferred remaining, for some time at least, in his own house. Our "garrison" consisted of the following gentlemen. S. our magistrate and collector; M. assistant ditto; B. H. O. and Co., of the Railway; A. the Opium Agent, G. Salt Agent; and the Doctor. Our forces were subsequently further strengthened by the addition of four European subordinates. We had, moreover, a very fair supply of fire arms and ammunition. On the 5th, we commenced sleeping on the roof, as a precautionary measure, and a regular watch was kept all night. Being fully aware of what had occurred at Cawnpore, we were looking forward with great anxiety to the return from Allahabad of a treasure party, consisting of twenty-five troopers of the

2nd, and a jemadar's party of the 56th (I think); the more so as they had been heard to use very *treasonable* language on their arrival from Banda. Dreading their approach we determined upon barricading the extensive roof, and carrying up there some falls, as well as provisions and water. The tents we fetched on the roof, and they afforded us and our stores, capital shelter. On Saturday, the 6th June, we knew that the scoundrels were only a march distant; on Sunday, the 7th, our sorrows and troubles commenced; we were all on the roof, but none of us slept; all were, more or less, occupied in fortifying our position. During the night we heard firing once, in the direction of Cawnpore; and we also heard that a trooper had rushed through the city, at full gallop towards Cawnpore. Early in the morning (Sunday 7th) we heard that the troopers and sepoys had arrived on the encamping ground, and were quietly fetching their tents. This was good news; and on the strength of it, I descended to try and get a little sleep under the punkah. The *screeching* of a sowar aroused me from a sound nap. He howled out in his excitement, that the troopers and sepoys were making for the treasury, followed by a whole posse comitatus of budmashes from the bazar. We all repaired to the roof, and at once prepared for defence. It was a moment of intense anxiety. Every ear was on the qui vive for the sounds of musketry from the treasury. We were not long in suspense; for, presently, a sowar galloped up and told us that the subadar commanding the treasure guard had warned the troopers and sepoys that they would be fired upon, if they came near. After some hesitation, the whole party moved off, and we next heard that they were two miles off, on their way to Cawnpore. S. and the Judge rode down to the Cutcherry and found that all was true. Here was a deliverance! When least expected too! I am sure that thanksgivings came from thankful hearts that day, as we gathered together for morning prayer. It was not long, however, before we had fresh and greater cause for anxiety. In the afternoon we heard that all was gone at Allahabad. On the first receipt of the intelligence, we determined upon quitting the station at once, and seeking safety in flight; but calmer and more rational thought succeeded; and, considering the intelligence to be somewhat exaggerated, we determined upon holding out for another night. Our situation at the time was anything but pleasant, for we had no external aid to look to. There was the treasure guard of fifty men; but they could not be spared from the treasury; besides, they belonged to the traitorous Allahabad corps, the 6th, and though they had undoubtedly saved the station the day before, yet an unpleasant

little sotto voce remark of theirs had been overheard, which effectually destroyed any confidence we might have placed in them. "You don't come here," said they to the troopers and sepoys, "the treasure is our, and we shall keep it for our regiment!" Again, our worthy Magistrate had for some days past been raising an extra police force, and a redoubtable corps Bashi Bazouks. Every afternoon, three or four horsemen presented themselves for service, and we amused ourselves, and at the same time tested their horses and their powers of managing them, by making them race in our large compound. When the hour of our need arrived, every official had vanished; Deputy Collector, Kotwal, Nazir, all. *They* went, and of course the *Militia* and *Bashis* went too. Four or five Cutcherry sowars remained with us. But I am anticipating. We determined upon holding out, in spite of the bad news which we had received. The night, magnificently moonlight, passed off very quietly, painfully so; for we missed the accustomed challenging of "grand rounds" and the trump of sowars galloping to and fro. The morn of Monday 8th broke upon us, and found us still in suspense and anxiety, on that day we heard that on one hand, the Tehseelee at Kullianpore had been plundered by the retreating troopers, who at the same time had uttered loud threats about their intention of returning to Futtehpore with reinforcements; and on the other, that some mutinous troopers, accompanied by released prisoners, were coming up from Allahabad, and had already burned and plundered Khaga, distant only twenty-two miles.

This intelligence was anything but consolatory, and accordingly flight was again determined upon, and again postponed, for we believed that the reports were as usual, considerably exaggerated; moreover, we had heard that two European regiments had reached Allahabad. Having agreed upon remaining another night, we proceeded at once to strengthen our position upon the roof. We brought up all the furniture and arranged it as a barricade round the parapets. We also cut down all the punkahs, for fear of fire communicating with the roof along their ropes. While all this was going on, we could see, even in the bright moonlight the distant glare of a blazing bungalow which clearly showed us that the scoundrels were coming up the Railway, and were not far off. About 2 o'clock on the morning of the 9th, the troopers arrived in the station, but made a long detour to avoid our house, so that we saw nothing of them. The morning broke quietly, and we all attempted to snatch a little repose after the fatigues of the night. A report of "fire" soon disturbed us, and we saw volumes of smoke arising in the direction of the Mission compound. Another voluminous mass of smoke announced the destruction of the

dâk Bungalow. Fire followed fire. Bands of marauders began to collect, but they were soon dispersed by the assistance of a few nujeebs and sowars. They were, however, very determined in their attempts to burn and plunder, and required a great deal of watchfulness. During the day we heard that the 6th from Allahabad were on their way to our station, and also that a body of mutineers were on the way down from Cawnpore in the afternoon; the Deputy Collector made his appearance, attended by a large body of men armed to the teeth. We requested the latter to remain at the gateway; but no, they gradually worked their way up to the house, and then, into the Verandah, but liking the appearance of our friends, who, to amuse us, were quietly lighting their fuses under our very noses; we all repaired to the roof, and took a bird's eye view of them. An old chuprassee remarked, very significantly, in Hindustanee;—"These are *fine* fellows, why did they not come here this morning when we wanted them, instead of coming *now* when we don't want them." After the departure of the Deputy, we, for the third time, determined upon flight, and in right good earnest we communicated our plans to the Judge, but he steadily refused to join us. We expostulated and entreated, but in vain. He bravely determined upon facing the danger, which we all well knew was at hand, and therefore, wished to avoid. Our plan was, to trust to our horses and buggies, and make for Banda as speedily as possible. S. was to try and persuade some sowars to accompany us. At 10 P. M. we mounted our horses and buggies, and, accompanied by four sowars, rode out of the compound at a smart centre, soon leaving our little station far behind us.

HAMEERPORE.

The Commissioner of Allahabad to the Secretary to Government, Central Provinces.

Allahabad, October 22, 1857.

I have the honor to report for the information of the Lieutenant Governor, the circumstances of the out-break of the rebellion at Hameerpore, as collected from the most authentic and trustworthy information in my possession.

On hearing of the events which occurred in May last at Meerut and Delhi, Mr. Lloyd, the magistrate and collector of Hameerpore took active, energetic, and judicious measures to maintain order in his district. He entertained a numerous additional police, carefully guarded the ghauts, and empounded the boats on the Jumna, gave strict orders for the apprehension of fugitive rebel sepoys, and got assistance in men and guns from the neighbouring Bundelcund chiefs to the extent

noted below.* Mr. Lloyd's fear and suspicion were chiefly roused by the behaviour of the sepoys of the treasure guard, consisting of a soubadar's party of the 65th N. I.

Up to the 5th of June last I was in confidential daily correspondence with Mr. Lloyd, and he always expressed reliance on his Boondeela auxiliaries, hope of his ability to overcome the sepoys and all disaffected men, and a fixed determination to die at his post rather than abandon it. On the 6th June the out-break here took place, and I got no more letters from Mr. Lloyd, besides losing all those which he had written to me. The remainder of this narrative therefore is founded on the best information I have been able to obtain from natives.

After the mutiny of the sepoys here and at Cawnpore, the district of Hameerpore became much agitated; but in the station there was a delusive calm, and a semblance of order up to the 13th of June. On the 14th idem about 10 A. M. two gentlemen came from the southward and sought refuge in Mr. Lloyd's house; one of these was Lieutenant Browne, 56th N. I., the other I have failed to trace. At 3 P. M. of that day the sepoys broke out: they were immediately joined by the Boondeela auxiliaries, and the work of murder, plunder and arson commenced.

When Mr. Lloyd heard (or probably saw) that the sepoys and the Boondeelas had fraternised, plundered the treasury, and broke open the jail; he together with Mr. Donald Grant, C. S., and the two stranger gentlemen above alluded to, got into a boat that was moored under Mr. Lloyd's house and crossed the Jumna. They effected the passage of the river in safety, though under a heavy fire of musketry and matchlocks. The sepoys were enraged at the escape of this party and sent men in pursuit to the other side of the river. The poor fugitives however hid themselves in the ravines and jungles, and the sepoys returned after dark empty-handed.

The other Christian residents at Hameerpore were enabled to make their escape. Mr. Murray, a landed proprietor in the districts; Mr. Crawford, head clerk of the collector's office; and Mr. Bunter, a clerk in the magistrate's office, with his wife and some female relatives, had taken refuge in a large house, called Mr. Ainslie's; they were seized and murdered on the 14th June, with the exception of Mr. Bunter, his wife and one female relative, who were spared for the time.

I cannot discover why, or how, or when Messrs. Lloyd and Grant re-crossed the Jumna and came back to the close vicinity of Hameerpore; certain it seems, however, that they did return, and, on the 19th of June, were discovered hiding under

* Raja of Chirkaree 200 men, 1 gun; Nabob of Baonee 50 men, 1 gun Jugeerdar of Behree 80 men.

a bridge in Mouza Rumeyree, by a goat herd, who betrayed them. They were seized by the brutal sepoys, and ruthlessly murdered; Mr. Bunter, his wife, and female relative, and a native Christian, with his wife and two children shared the same fate at the same time.

On the 20th June a troop of cavalry and a company of infantry, came to Cawnpore to assist their brother rebels in removing the treasure from Hameerpore. They finally returned from Hameerpore on the 21st June, and on the same day the Boondeela traitors went to their respective houses.

During their occupation of the town, the sepoys plundered the wealthy men of the place, and committed all sorts of excesses. On their departure the villagers in the neighbourhood completed the work of pillage and destruction of property. The zemindars of Mouza Rumeyree were most prominent and active in crime, the usual jacquerie commenced throughout the district, and the inevitable war between ex-zemindar and actual purchaser.

On the 29th June Nana's Akbar Nuvees arrived and established some sort of order. On the 1st July deputy collector Wahidoozuman issued perwannahs to the tehsildars and thannadars of the district, ordering them to remain at their posts and act in obedience to the Nana. These perwannahs are signed by Wahidoozuman and countersigned by Gunga Sahae, sheristadars of the collector's office.

After General Havelock's re-occupation of Cawnpore on the 17th July last, the Nana's authority seems to have been extinguished, and anarchy again prevailed in the Hameerpore district. The Chirkaree Raja was formerly entrusted with the management of the district by Mr. Carne, but he proved incompetent. * * * *

For nine days after the outbreak in the contiguous districts of Cawnpore, Messrs. Lloyd and Grant asserted British authority in Hameerpore; they remaining firm at their posts, amidst apalling danger, and sought safety in flight only when it became evident that the treachery of the Boondelas had rendered assistance impossible. They have done their duty honorably and well. May their murderers not pass unavenged!

Another Account.

A native eye-witness has furnished the following account of the mutiny at Hameerpore, a small station about thirty-three miles to the south of Cawnpore, and fifty miles to the east of Etwah, at the junction of Bitwah and the Jumna.

The mutiny at Hameerpore broke out on the 14th June, a short time after the Cawnpore outbreak. For some days and

nights the sound of the booming of guns could be distinctly heard at Hameerpore. This caused an excitement in the station, and Mr. T. K. Lloyd, the collector and magistrate, and Mr. Grant, the joint-magistrate, did all in their power to prevent an outbreak; and it is highly probable that had the troops of the Chirkaree Raja, which amounted to about 500, besides 600 burkundauzes, remained faithful to their salt, the endeavors of Messrs. Lloyd and Grant would have been successful, and they would yet have been in the land of the living. On the fourteenth of the said month, the sowars attended by a number of the *budmashes* of the place, began to parade through the streets armed with swords and latties, and put to the sword every Christian and every Bengallee whom they could suspect of an acquaintance with English. The life of the sub-assistant surgeon of the place, a native, was most eagerly sought for, but he fortunately escaped, after playing hide-and-seek for a considerable period of time. The 20th of June was fixed upon by Nana Saheb for the massacre of the Bengallee residents of Cawnpore and its neighbourhood, and but for the timely arrival of English troops, the slaughter-mongering scoundrels would have carried out their fiendish resolution.

The sub-assistant surgeon had to hide himself for two tedious months under the kind protection of some villagers, and has since arrived at Calcutta.

The wife of the subadar of Hameerpore, be it said to her credit, strongly remonstrated with her husband, against the murder of the Christians and the Bengallees, and it is said the husband was in some measure influenced by the humanizing advices of the wife, but the rebel soldiery were deaf to such remonstrances and gave vent to their thirst for blood.

Mr. T. K. Lloyd was made to kneel down in the parade ground, and the sowars then began to shoot at him. They missed two of their aims, the third struck him on the arm, but the wound was not a mortal one, and without uttering a groan, asked with a dejected look cast behind, "are not the English troops yet arrived?" The sepoys then surrounded him and made an end of him with their swords.

The subadar then drove off to the collector's cutchery, leaving the dead body to welter in blood."

Mutiny at Jhansie.

Captain P. G. Scot's Report.

Some days before it occurred Capt. Dunlop commanding the left wing of the 12th native infantry, and the station of Jhan-

sie too, sent over to Major Kirke letters from Major Skene, the superintendent, and Capt. Gordon, deputy superintendent of Jhansie, informing him that they had learnt from separate sources that one Luckmun Rao, the servant of the Ranee of Jhansie, was doing his best to induce the men of the 12th to mutiny. It was not known whether the Ranee authorised these proceedings. Subsequent letters from the same authority informed Capt. Dunlop that spies or agents of sedition found great difficulty on entering his lines. Capt. Dunlop I believe had not time to send more. He never seemed to think that there was any danger to be apprehended from the 14th irregulars. At Nowgong and Jhansie, they let the infantry begin the mutiny. I believe the reason was solely that they wished to conceal the character of the movement, viz: its being a Mahomedan one. They were the most blood-thirsty when the mutiny did break out.

I have learned the following particulars from three natives who were at Jhansie at the time of the mutiny. One of them was in the fort of the city of Jhansie with the party who defended it. The three told their tales separately at Nowgong, Muhoba and Banda; and as they agree very nearly, I think the information is correct.

Only the 7th company 12th N. I. mutined on the 4th of June. It marched into the Star Fort headed by a havildar Goorbuccus, a very likely man. Capt. Dunlop paraded the rest of the 12th and the cavalry, and they said they would stand by him. Next day, June 6th, he was busy at the quarter-guard of the 12th, preparing shells (a thing he was likely to do.) He was returning from the Post office where he had posted some letters, and was on or near the 12th N. I. parade, when men of the 12th attacked and killed him and ensign Taylor.

I hope I may be permitted to mention here that Lieutenant Ewart, who passed through Cawnpore in the end of May on his way to Nowgong, to join the 12th, was personally told by General Sir H. M. Wheeler to tell Captain Dunlop that he had reported of him to the Adjutant General that "he was a man for the present crisis."

The sowars there severely wounded with pistols or carbines Lieutenant Campbell of the 15th native infantry, the only officer present with the 14th irregulars. He escaped to the city fort pursued by sowars, some of whom were wounded by the officer inside it. Lieutenant Turnbull of the artillery employed in the revenue survey failed to reach the fort. I suppose he was on foot; he took refuge in a tree, he was seen to climb it, and was shot down. Lieutenant Burgess of the revenue survey department and some of his English and

Eurasian subordinates had been living for some time in the city fort. On the evening of the 4th of June he was joined by Major Skene, his wife, (and I believe two children) Captain Gordon, Madras native infantry, Dr. McEgan, 12th N. I., and his wife; Lieutenant Powys, 6th N. I., canal department, and his wife and child, two ladies from Orai, relatives or guests to Captain Browne, and the English and Eurasian employes in the civil and canal department and salt excise. They employed their time until they were attacked on the 7th in getting provisions and ammunition, and fire arms into the fort, they piled stones behind the gates to prevent their being opened. They appear to have made great havock among the assailants with rifles and guns, only one of their number being killed by those outside—Capt. Gordon, he was shot through the head when he exposed himself at the parapet. A native who was in the fort said he was kneeling over pulling up a bucket, some syce in the lower inclosure had filled with wheat. A native who was in the city at the time said he was firing at the assailants; but both agreed that he (Capt. Gordon) was shot in the head when exposing himself at the parapet; they all agreed that Lieutenant Powys was killed by Mussulmans inside the fort. The native who was inside the fort says, that Lieutenant Powys was found by Capt. Burgess and others lying bleeding from a wound in the neck, and was able to say that four men besides him had attacked him, the four were immediately put to death, one was a resaldar (?) moonshee, another a jemadar, and two chuprassis; all four were employed in the revenue survey; the informant who was in the city said that Lieutenant Powys saw a khitmutgar of Capt. Burgess attempt to pull down the stones that closed the fort gates and shot him, that this man's brother cut Lieut. Powys down with his tulwar, and was instantly shot down by Lieut. Burgess.

The party at last were induced to open the gates relying on the most solemn promises made to Major Skene that the lives of all would be spared; they all walked out save Lieutenant Powys who was alive, but unable to move; his wife was torn from him, and with the rest of the Christians, was beheaded in a garden near or in the city. Women and children were alike killed, the men are said to have pleaded hard for the lives of these last. The informant who was inside the fortress says, that quarter master sergeant John Newton, of the 12th N. I., and his wife and four little children were alone spared, and taken with the rebels when they left Jhansie; he was a dark East Indian, he was received in September or October last from 3rd Europeans.

The Ranee's troops joined in the attack, so I believe did the men of the salt excise. A Mr. Stewart of that department made his way from near Jhansie disguised as a Hindoo, he joined our party on the 14th June, and at Kubrai he disappeared preferring to make his way alone as a native; his colour and knowledge of the language made this somewhat easy. I regret to say I have not since heard of him, he left us in the dark of evening without a word; he stated that in consequence of the mutiny, he had received orders to come to Jhansie fort with all his men and had moved along the salt boundary towards Jhansie, collecting his men as he went; but finding they mutinied he had to flee for his life, he was told ere he fled that the heads of some murdered officers were being carried about the villages around Jhansie, and were then being exhibited in a village he was close by.

Lieutenant Ryves was in command with the only native officer jemadar Loll Mahomed, and sixty men of the left wing 12th N. I., and forty sowars of the 14th irregulars. I was told at Muhoba, by a man from Jhansie, that Lieut. Ryves had been seen riding towards Lullutpore. I have no doubt that he escaped.

In conclusion I beg to say that this report is made from memory; I had no documents or papers to refer to. All books, papers, &c., that we left at our quarters at Nowgong must have perished in the flames, no trace of them was to be seen when I visited cantonments on the 12th and 13th June, and I think I can safely state that no records of the 12th regiment native infantry exist safe, save such papers as have been forwarded to the brigade, and other offices. Descriptive rolls of many of the mutineers must exist in the collector's office. Of the young men of four or five years service or less, only three I think joined the officers after the mutiny broke out.

The following account of the Jhansie massacre is from a written deposition of one present:—

For some time since, the gentlemen were in the habit of passing the nights in the fort, and spending the days at their bungalows. Captain Burgess and his establishment had their tents pitched within the fort, and everything was being put in readiness to retreat into it as soon as there should be occasion to do so, which occurred on the evening of the 4th of June. Some few effected their escape from the place altogether; one gentleman (name unknown) reached Burwa Saugor, when meeting with a native surveyor of the canal establishment, Saheb Rai, he gave him his watch and horse, and procuring a Hindoostanee dress, escaped on foot. He was scarcely out of

sight, when two sowars, who were hotly pursuing him, arrived there, and recognizing the horse, took Saheb Rai and the Thanadar prisoners, back to Jhansie, where they were still when last heard of. Lieut. Turnbull was not so fortunate; not having been able to gain the fort, he climbed a large tree: he had however been seen, and was shot on the tree. From the evening of the 4th, until noon of the 8th, the gentlemen in the fort kept good their position, the ladies assisting them in cooking for them, sending them refreshments, casting bullets, &c. They were fifty-five in number altogether, (Europeans,) inclusive of the ladies and children, and they began to get very much straitened for want of provisions. Behind all the gates, they had piled high heaps of stones to strengthen them, and kept up so good a defence, that one of the cannon which had been brought too near the gates, was abandoned; and it was only by fixing ropes to it in the night that the mutineers were able to regain possession of it. Lieutenant Powys was the first person killed in the fort. The way he met his death was this: two men, brothers, in Captain Burgess' employ, one was his jemadar, declared that he would go out. They were told they would be shot down if they attempted it, but they said they might as well be shot, as stay there to be starved, and accordingly commenced undoing the fastenings. One was shot immediately. The other turned on Lieutenant Powys who happened to be near him, and cut him down with his tulwar. This one was directly shot by Captain Burgess. The only other person killed inside the fort was Captain Burgess himself, who received a bullet in his head, after having, I am told, killed no less than twenty-five with his own hand. All the natives spoke of his great skill as a marksman. The mutineers at last having forced the Ranee to assist them with guns and elephants, succeeded in effecting an entrance at one of the gates, and they promised the gentlemen, that if they laid down their arms and gave themselves up quietly, their lives should be spared. The gentlemen unfortunately listened to their words, and came out. They were tied in a long line between some trees, and after a short consultation, had their heads struck off. Such ladies as had children, had to see them cut in halves before their own turn came. The sowars, it appears, bore the principal part in all these atrocities. This took place on the afternoon of the 8th of June.

Farther Particulars.

I am a native of Bengal and was attached to the writers' establishment of the Jhansie Customs Collector's Office.

On the 5th of June last at about 3 P. M., while we were in attendance at the office, we were alarmed by the report of musketry fired in the direction of the magazine, instantly two peons and a duffadar of the Customs establishment, who had been sent by Mr. Carshore to pay in 1,500 rupees of the Customs collections in the deputy commissioner's treasury, returned to our office panic-stricken, and stated that they had been informed by certain sepoys that the revenue treasury was in imminent danger of being plundered by a gang of robbers. Our office was ordered to be closed directly, and the peons on the establishment were called in to hold themselves in readiness within the office compound for any contingency which might occur. Mr. Wilton was next seen dashing in from the military lines, and urging Mr. Carshore to fly from the place with his family, intimating at the same time that the regiments had mutinied and all was over. Accompanied by Mr. Wilton, Mr. Carshore drove with his family in a buggy to the dâk bungalow where they arrived in safety. Myself and other amlahs then quitted the office compound, leaving the peons in charge of the office, and took our stand on an adjoining road to witness what was going on. Seeing nothing where we stood, we determined to cut into the town by striking across the parade ground, but we had not advanced many steps in our intended direction, before we were accosted by a sepoy from a distance to the effect that we should keep ourselves out of the way, as some men of the 12th native infantry had broken into open mutiny and taken possession of the magazine. We, however, pushed on regardless of consequences, till we came up to a spot where the officers of the 14th irregular cavalry with a party of sowars belonging to that regiment were haranguing the men of the 12th native infantry, who had not already mutinied, to continue true to their colours, and we then cut into the town. On our way, however, we observed a party of sepoys running towards the cutcheries of Messrs. Skene and Gordon intent upon mischief, but as those officers and all other Christian residents with the exception of officers attached to the regiments had been timely escorted by a party of the 14th irregular cavalry into the fort, the sepoys were in this instance foiled in their attempt to massacre the Christian population of Jhansie. When all the Christian residents, with the aforesaid exception, had taken shelter in the fort, the town gates were closed by order of Captain Skene who had directed that no one should be permitted to enter the town except with the privity of the head of the police.

I heard the following morning that fifty-two men of the 12th

native infantry had mutinied the previous day, and were in possession of the magazine and treasury. The remaining troops in the station, passed the first day and night of the outbreak in a state of passive mutiny, regardless of the exhortations of their European officers, who commanded them to attack and take the mutineers, and endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, by kind words as well as by threats, to persuade the mutineers to return to their duty.

The fifty-two men of the 12th N. I. had the previous afternoon raised the standard of revolt near the magazine, and invited all men of the 'deen' to flock to their standard, offering to remunerate each man for his services at the rate of twelve rupees per month. They kept their post at the magazine and round their white flag till noon of the 6th, when they were joined by the remaining troops in the station, viz., by the remainder of the 12th native infantry and the whole wing of the 14th irregular cavalry. These first fell upon their European officers, who had not for one moment forsaken their men; Lieut. Campbell was first attacked, but though wounded, he kept his seat on his fleet charger which enabled him by overleaping a gate to escape into the fort without further injury. Lieut. Dunlop and Taylor, however, were unable to escape, and consequently fell victims to the fury of their men. Two havildars and a sepoy hid the latter under a charpoy, but to no purpose. The mutineers next broke up into parties and proceeded to set fire to the bungalows and to liberate the convicts from the jail. A party consisting of fifty sowars and 300 sepoys then approached the town with two guns and a number of Customs and Police chuprasees, led by the jail daroga, in their train—and the doors of the Orcha gate were thrown open to them to the cry of 'deen ka chyr.' The Ranee placed guards at her gate and shut herself up in her palace. Captain Gordon sent a message to the Ranee soliciting her assistance at this crisis, but this was refused, as the mutineers threatened to put her to death and to set fire to her palace in case of her compliance with Captain Gordon's request. The Ranee's guards then joined the mutineers.

The rebels next proceeded towards the fort with the intention of storming it, but were kept at a respectful distance by the gallantry of the European inmates, who shot a number of the former with their muskets. Baffled in their attempt, the besiegers retired for the day after placing guards of sowars and Mussulman chuprasees of the Customs and Police Departments over the gates.

The night passed quietly, the following morning Messrs. Andrews, Purcell and Scott issued from the fort, disguised as Mussulmans, with the intention of seeing the Ranee and

obtaining her aid, but the feint being discovered, the gentlemen were taken to the palace of the Ranee, who did not even condescend to honor them with an interview, but ordered them to be carried before the mutinous ressaldar for orders. Her words were to the effect 'she had no concern with the English swine.' This was a signal of death. The three gentlemen were then dragged out of the palace, Mr. Andrews was killed before the very gates of the Ranee's residence by Jharoo Comar's son supposed to be a personal enemy of his, and the other two were despatched beyond the walls of the town. In the afternoon a second attempt was made to surprise the fort by breaking open a gate, but the beseiged succeeded in repelling the invaders who retreated after stationing guards at the gateway as they had done the preceding day.

On the third day of the outbreak commenced an indiscriminate plunder of the property of Europeans, Bengalees and other amlahs in the town. The Bengalees were specially singled out for vengeance because one of them, the post office writer, had concealed one Mr. Fleming in his house, and the mutineers had succeeded in tracing him out, and murdering him in the Baboo's house. The following morning a general search was made for Bengalees, and myself and two others of the Customs establishment fell into the hands of the ruffians and were hauled up in presence of the ressaldar who ordered us to be kept in confinement until the fort should surrender.

After we had been secured, a fresh attempt was made upon the fort, and the Ranee was threatened with instant assassination, provided she refused to side with the rebels. She accordingly consented and supplied them with a reinforcement of 1,000 men and two heavy guns which she had ordered to be dug out of the earth. They had been buried three years ago. Thus strengthened they commenced a brisk cannonade upon the fort, but failed to make any impression upon it, as not a single brick of the fort was injured by the balls which struck against the battlements. The fire of musketry from the fort, however, did a good deal of execution, and the beseiged might have been able to hold out much longer, had they not been betrayed by certain native servants who had been received into the fort for the performance of menial offices. Captain Gordon received this-day a gun-shot wound of which he immediately expired. Then a kherkie or secret door was treacherously thrown open by the natives within. Captain Powys shot and killed one of the traitors, but was shot dead in return by the brother of the man he had slain. The handful of Europeans in the fort were now for a moment paralysed—they knew not how to overcome such odds from within and without. They, however, mustered courage, and when they

observed that a rush was made from outside through the passage, they all ascended the terrace of a high building in the fort, and thence kept firing upon the enemy below. The latter then proposed a parley, promising to allow the Europeans to quit the fort unmolested provided they surrendered themselves and their arms to them. This the Europeans consented to, but no sooner did they leave the fort unarmed than they were seized by the rabble and conveyed to Jhokun Baug, where they were separated into three lines, one comprising all adult males, another all adult females, and a third all the children. Then commenced the horrid massacre, the daroga of the jail first raising his sword and killing Captain Skene. Then all hands were raised and an indiscriminate slaughter took place, the males were despatched first, the females next, and the murder of children closed the brutal scene.

Poor Captain Skene before he received the finishing stroke exclaimed to a sepoy who was standing beside him "that it was idle for the mutineers to hope that England would be denuded of all her bold sons by the destruction of the handful of men that were now at their mercy," and poor Mr. Carshore's eldest son before he was murdered begged in Hindee that his life might be spared as he hoped that the vengeance of the mutineers had been satisfied by the blood of his father and mother.

When the above cruel business had been gone through, myself and the other Bengalee prisoners were set free under a promise of not keeping up any correspondence with Europeans.

Subjoined is a list of the Europeans who were massacred at Jhansie, viz:

Captain Skene, and family; Lieut. Gordon, Deputy Commissioner; Captain Burgess, Revenue Surveyor; Lieut. Powys, and family; Doctor, McEgan, and family; Captain Dunlop, 12th native infantry; Sergeant Kailly, Engineers; Ensign Taylor; Lieut. Turnbull, Revenue Surveyor; Lieut. Campbell, 14th irregular cavalry; Mr. W. S. Carshore, Collector of Customs, with family; Mr. T. Andrews, P. S. A.; Mr. R. Andrews, Deputy Collector, and family; Mr. Wilton, Customs Patrol, and family; Mrs. Browne, and her daughter; Mr. Scott, and family; Messrs. Parcell, both brothers; Messrs. Crawford, both brothers; Messrs. Elliot, brothers and mother, Mr. Fleming, and many other Christians (names unknown).

Abstract Translation of the Statement of Sahibood-deen, Khansamah of Major Skene, dated 23rd March 1858.

I have been in Major Skene's service for the last three years. On the 5th of June, about 3 P. M., muskets were

fired near the magazine, and a loud cry was raised that the dacoits had attacked the station. Major Skene came to his house from his cutcherry, and placing his wife and children and Miss Brown in the carriage of Captain Burgess, who had come to see him, sent them all to the fort with Captain Burgess. In the meantime he ordered his carriage, which being brought to him, he drove to the Jokun Bagh, where Mr. Gordon met him. He was also taken into the carriage. Both these gentlemen went to the fort. I remained at the bungalow. I had sent the mussalchee and khitmutgar to the fort. At 7 P. M. having dressed dinner, I and the cook went to the fort. All the officers that were present dined together. During the night I remained in the fort. Ahmed Hossein, tuhsildar of Jhansie, the next morning came to see Major Skene in the fort. I told him to send us coals, wood, fowls and eggs. He did so. He also sent some men, seven or eight in number, with sweetmeats, breakfast was then served. Mem Saheb and Mr. Gordon asked for tiffin without delay. There was no khitmutgar present, all had gone to the bungalow. I, Dildar chuprassee and Captain Brown's khitmutgar, assisted in serving the tiffin, which being done, the superintendent ordered me to remove all the silver from the fort to Akheychund treasurer, but keep as much as was required. I obeyed his orders and packed up all the things* in two boxes, which I, in company with Mungul Khan and Khodabux, chuprassees, took to the house of the treasurer. While I was leaving the Fort, Mr. Gordon called me back, and impressed upon me the necessity of making some arrangement that they might be put to no trouble for their meals. I went to the treasurer, gave him the two boxes, told him to examine the contents, which he refused to do, stating that there was no need for that. I locked up the boxes, keeping the keys in my possession. I went towards the bungalow, taking with me some rice, potatoes, two sheep and four geese. Gholam Mahomed chuprassee was with me. On reaching Ashan Allee Sheristadar's house we heard a loud noise and firing of guns. It was about 2 o'clock. Near the city gateway, we saw that the adjutant was galloping hard, and two sowars were following him. The adjutant dismounted and went into the city through the wicket. The sowars took his horse and pelting and kicking

* Three dozen large spoons, three dozen middle sized spoons, three dozen small tea spoons, three dozen large forks, three dozen small forks, two large gravy spoons, one soup spoon, one marrow bone spoon, one knife, six salt spoons, eight sanak, one butter pot, one tea pot, one milk pot, one sugar pot, two glass pots. All the above were of silver in one box.

One butter pot, one sugar pot, six silver donghes, in one box.

us told us that we were going to feed the officers. We were arrested and taken to the kotee. Our houses were plundered. The sowars and the sepoys went to the jail and liberated the prisoners, who set fire to the bungalow of—Andrews. A few sowars, prisoners, jail burkundauzes and men from the town, both Hindoos and Mahomedans, commenced plundering the house of the Superintendent. I and Bissram Sirdar taking advantage of this opportunity ran to the garden. Busis Allee, jail daroga, made his burkundauzes carry two boxes from the Superintendent's bungalow to his house. The same day some other boxes were carried off by Moroo Bulwant *alias* Mama Sahib, Ranee's father; Golzar Khan, jail burkundauze, took three bullocks and one cow. This man with his followers came to the garden, asked the gardener where we lay concealed. He pointed out our hiding place. Goolzar Khan caught me; his two men drew swords and pointed their muskets towards us asking where was Major Skene's treasure. I told him that the money was always kept in the treasury, which was plundered. They then took all † I had on my body. The sirdar was then plundered of all his wife's ornaments that he had with him at the time. I was then set free, I remained in the same garden. On the morning of the 7th of June I went torwards the fort with two bottles of milk and four loaves of bread. I remained outside the fort near a hay rick, Mr. Gordon, who was walking on the fort wall, saw me. Major Skene also came to the same spot; they dropped a rope to which I tied the loaves and the bottles of milk. I at the same time informed him that the house was plundered. I was told that I could not get access to the fort, but that I should try if I could furnish them with provision in the same way. While returning from the fort I was arrested by Choonee, a relative of Jharoo Koar, and some other men from the town whom I can recognize, but whose names I do not know, and was taken to Mama Sahib, because I had supplied the officers with food. Mama Sahib ordered his men to take me to Jemadar Lall Bahadoor and the ressaldar to be murdered or to be blown from a gun. The jemadar and the ressaldar first ordered me to be shot, then they recalled their order and kept me confined. The next morning it was reported that some force was advancing upon Jhansie. All got under arms. I escaped to the town and saw that the Karukbijlee gun had been put in order by the Ranee's order to be used against the officers, and that the town-people, mutinous sepoys and Ranee's servants, were firing. Thakoors were also passing up and down. About

† Rupees thirty-nine, goldmohurs three, gold ornaments of my child three, dohur and two durrees.

4 or 5 P. M. it was reported that the officers were coming down from the fort. I also went to the gateway. When my master with mem sahib and other officers came down, I saluted him and could not help weeping. The sowars and sepoys pelted us with stones and obliged us to separate. All the officers went to one side and their servants joined me. The mutinous sepoys and Ranee's men took the officers to the Jokhun Bagh and all the servants, including myself, were sent to the pultun. The ladies and officers were murdered near the garden. All the people of the town were with the sepoys. After perpetrating this inhuman deed, Bukish Ally, the jail darogah, sowar, sepoys, and the Ranee went to the pultun to the ressaldar. Bukish Ally observed that he had killed the burra sahib with one stroke. Then the subadar, the ressaldar and the Ranee's men came to the parade ground, and ordered that the prisoners should be set free. We were in consequence liberated. The next morning I went to the garden of Jokhun Bagh, and saw that the bodies of the officers, ladies and children were lying unburied, without clothes. The third day I was told that the bodies were buried in a pit, but by whom is not exactly known; when I had gone to see the dead bodies. I wrapped mem sahib in a piece of cloth which was tied to my head. One day before the murder of the officers it was proclaimed in the town by the beat of drum, that "the country belonged to the king, the Ranee held the rule, and that the officers will be killed to-morrow." After the murder no proclamation was issued.

March 25.—The Ranee opened her own mint. Mahomed Sanah, Doctor, told me that the officers were not willing to come down from the fort, but when they were assured by him that they would not be killed, they came down.

Nijim Hossein, revenue tehsildar and Ahmud Hossein, tehsildar of Jhansie, were also put in confinement by the ressaldar. On seeing me they began weeping. When the mutineers left Jhansie, I went to the treasurer and asked him where he had kept the silver and jewellery. He said that all was taken by the rebels. On my observing that how could they know that such things were kept in such a place, that although maltreated, I had not given them any clue, how had he given them these things without asking me. The treasurer did not speak to me upon this point before I had asked him. I know nothing regarding the promissory notes possessed by Major Skene, but Madarbux, khimutgar, stated to me that Major Skene had told him that Akhychund had his money, which was to be laid out in supporting his wife and children, whom he wished to place under the charge of the said khitmut-

gar and myself. I had heard that Madarbux had gone to Saugor, but I am not sure where he is at present. I saw Akey Mull going to the Cutcherry of the Ranee, and heard that he took service with her and became her treasurer.

The Deposition of Francis Tegue Reilly.

My name is Francis Tegue Reilly. On the 5th June 1857, I was an assistan toverseer, Public Works Department, Jhansie. About 3 o'clock P. M. on that day Mr. John Newton, quarter master serjeant of the 12th regiment N. I., came to my house, and said there was something wrong, for that some of the men in the regiment were putting on their uniform and accoutrements. I went outside with him, and I saw some twenty or thirty men of the 12th regiment N. I. on the walls of the Star-Fort, which contained the treasure and ammunition. These men were calling out "thief," "thief." We both ran up to the Star-Fort, and when we got to within fifty yards of it, one of the sepoys on the walls called out to us to fly; and two or three others fired at us with ball cartridge. We then turned and came to the parade. There we found nearly the whole of the left wing of the 12th regiment N. I. dressed in their regimental coats and dhotees with their belts on and their muskets in their hands assembled in small bands or groups. The men on parade were respectful to their officers, all of whom were on parade. Lieut. Campbell, the commanding officer of the right wing of the 14th irregulars, ordered his men to attend mounted parade, and a detachment of eighty men who had started at one o'clock that same day for Oraee, and who had only proceeded a short way out of cantonments, were recalled. This right wing obeyed the call, but instead of galloping down to recover the Star-Fort, they said that they would starve out the sepoys in possession of it, and that they would not allow them to take away the treasure.

That night Lieut. Campbell slept in the lines of the irregulars, and Captain Dunlop, Lieut. Turnbull of the revenue survey; Ensign Taylor; quarter master sergeant Newton, and myself slept in the lines of the 12th regiment N. I.; nothing occurred. About mid-day of Saturday, the 6th June, a refusal arrived from the Rajahs of Oorehha and Dutteea, stating that they could not render us any assistance. On this Captain Dunlop asked me to take a note to Captain Skene, who was superintendent of Jhansie, and who at that time had taken up his quarters in the Jhansie fort. I took the note from Captain Dunlop, and I had one foot in the stirrup

preparatory to riding to the fort in the city, when a sepoy named Ameer Khan, a young man, came up to me, and in a whisper told me not to return to the parade ground for the sepoys would shoot me, and he added "tell the adjutant this." Captain Dunlop was the person alluded to, for though in command of the wing at the time, he had long been adjutant of the regiment, and still retained the title among the sepoys. I mounted my horse and at once repeated this message to Captain Dunlop, who was quite close to me. Upon this he commenced asking the only native officer present (his name was Lal Bahadur) whether he would be faithful. He replied in the affirmative, and the Captain began to question the rest of the men. All gave the same answer, till the Captain asked a Seikh sepoy who insolently replied "I'll shoot you soon," upon this the native officer above mentioned struck his scabbard on the ground and exclaimed, "well done brother." He then drew his sword and flourishing it over his head cried out "deen, deen." Instantly the Seikh fired, and Captain Dunlop fell dead. A volley was then fired from the quarter guard, distant about seven yards. This volley killed Ensign Taylor, quarter master sergeant John Newton, and the Havildar Major. Lieut. Turnbull was also wounded. He fell from the effects of the wound, the ball having entered the shoulder; but he rose again, and the last time I saw him he was standing upright firing his revolver at the mutineers. Thinking that the right wing of the 14th irregular cavalry were loyal, I galloped off to it. The men were drawn up mounted, under a row of *neem* trees on the confines of their own parade, and that of the infantry parade, possibly the distance from the infantry quarter guard was about 170 yards. Lieut. Campbell was the only officer with the irregulars. When I came to within fifty yards of them, five or six shots were fired by the cavalry at Lieutenant Campbell. One or more shots took effect upon the large bay mare, which he was riding, and she began to plunge most violently. I then saw Heiat Khan,* the Wordee Major, ride out of the ranks up to Lieutenant Campbell, and fire at him. At this time Lieutenant Campbell was

* Heiat Khan, Puthan, is a resident of Gaissoopoor, Thannah Ahar, Zillah Boolundshur. After the massacre he went with the Jhansie Brigade to Delhi when a force marched from Meerut to Haupper under Major Sawyers of H. M.'s 6th Dragoon Guards. On the 31st August 1857, the Jhansie Brigade was ordered off to Malugurh by the king of Delhi to assist his connection. Wulee Dad Khan, who was in fear of being attacked from the south by Major Montgomery who was at Allyghur, and by Major Sawyers who was at Haupper. Heiat Khan and the Jhansie Brigade opposed Colonel Greathead's column at Boolundshuhur in the close of September, and when they were defeated, the Brigade accompanied Wulee Dad to Hassunpoor in the Moradabad district. Heiat Khan is now supposed to be concealed in the town of Rampore.

crying out to me, and waving his hand, telling me to get away. I saw Lieutenant Campbell fall, and I then galloped off. North of me, blocking up the way to the city fort, were the mutinous sepoys, south and east of me were the mutinous cavalry, and my only chance of escape was to the westward. On that side was a compound of a house which had been partly the Mess-House of the 12th, and partly in the occupation of Captain Dunlop, but on the day in question it was vacant, the tenant Mr. Wilson, of the Customs Department, having taken refuge in the fort of the city of Jhansie. This compound was surrounded by a stone plastered wall, more than four feet high. I rode at it and cleared it, and looking back I saw three men of the 14th irregulars trying to get over the wall by charging at it. I releapt the wall on the opposite side of the compound, and thus escaped my pursuers and took the road to Burwa Sagur. Outside the town of Burwa Sagur I met a chuprassee of our department named Choonnee Lal. He went with me into the fort at Burwa Sagur to a room occupied by the prisoner Sahib Raee, who was a native surveyor attached to the irrigation department under Lieut. Powys. He had tatties up, and he received me very properly. He gave me a bed, and taking some *sherbet*, I went to sleep until sunset. Sahib Raee refused to allow me to remain at his place during the night; but he accompanied me to a house in the city where the tools of the irrigation department were kept, and he pointed out a place where I might pass the night. On the morning of the 7th June 1857, Sunday, about seven o'clock, Sahib Raee came down to the place where I had slept, and told me that the treasure at Moraneepoor had been seized by the mutineers, that his own sergeant and all the officers at Nowgong had been killed, and that he wanted me to sell him my horse for twenty Rupees. As my horse was worth at least 250 Rs. and at that time most precious to me, I refused to sell him. Sahib Raee then left me, and never came near me again. The horse had been left in the fort with Sahib Raee, and after my refusal to sell him, Sahib Raee sent him from the fort to the Tehseldaree, which is situated in the town of Burwa Sagur. During the whole of the Sunday I had nothing to eat, and the chuprassee, Choonnee Lall, became perfectly indifferent to all my wants. Between five and six o'clock P. M., Sahib Raee returned to me. He than told me that the British Government was at an end, that the Jhansie Ranee had assumed the Government, and that I must be off. I replied very well, give me my horse. He answered that he would not give up the horse, that I had owned the horse long enough, and that if I did not get away, he would call the

natives and have me seized and sent into Jhansie, where I was certain to be murdered. The chuprassee Choonnee Lall, then got me a dhotee from the bazar, and giving me his own pugree, he blackened my legs with the soot of an old ghurrah, and having promised to remain with me, we started about 8 o'clock P. M., taking the road to Jhansie. I ought here to observe that all that the prisoner Sahib Raee said about the murders at Nowgong was a lie, the outbreak there did not take place till the middle of June, and not one European life was taken by the mutineers. The chuprassee proposed going with me to Dutteea, and I hoped that we should have got through Jhansie cantonments and well on the road to Dutteea before day dawned, but I found myself close to one of the Jhansie cantonment pillars just as daylight began to appear. It so happened that a brick maker of the name of Munsa resided near the spot, and at this house, I found shelter that day. I had at different times paid this Munsa 1,200 Rs. for bricks supplied to the department, and before the mutiny he used to pester me with *dalees;* but on that day though I was starving, Munsa never gave me any thing to eat, and Choonee Lal chuprassee too deserted me a short way out of Burwa Sagur. While I was lying hid in Munsa's house about seven o'clock, it was Monday, the 8th June, I heard distinctly the firing in the city, and on that day the massacre took place. The prisoners had been released on the 6th. The 7th was employed by the mutineers in digging up heavy guns belonging to the Ranee, and on the 8th, the mutineers attacked the fort. In the fort there were Captain Skene, Superintendent; Captain Gordon, Deputy Commissioner; Captain Burgess, Revenue Surveyor; Dr. McEagan; Mr. Carshore, Customs Department; Mr. Wilton, Customs Department; Mr. Andrew, Sudder Ameen; Mr. R. Andrew, Deputy Magistrate; Sergeant Maillard, Assistant Revenue Surveyor; Mr. J. Young, Assistant Revenue Surveyor; Mr. G. Young, Apprentice; Mr. Munrowd; Mr. Blythe, Assistant Surveyor; Mr. Palfreyman; Mr. Elliott, Clerk; Mr. Purcell, Clerk; Mr. J. Purcell, Clerk; Mr. Scott, Clerk; Mr. Fleming, Clerk; Mr. Crawford, Clerk; Mr. Mutloo, Clerk; Mr. Mutloo, Clerk.

Ladies.—Mrs. Skene and two children; Mrs. McEagan and three children; Mrs. Carshore and three children; Mrs. Wilton, and one child; two Misses Wilton; Mrs. Andrew and three children; Mrs. Maillard and three children; Mrs. Blythe and three children; Mrs. Young; Mrs. Elliott; Mrs. Newton and four children.

The mutineers broke in the outer gate of the fort. The garrison had no artillery, but the gentlemen made good use

of their guns and rifles, and killed a great many of the mutineers. At last a parley was agreed to towards the close of the day, and the mutineers pledged themselves to escort all the Christians to a place of safety. I believe Saugur was the place mentioned, and on this pledge the survivors of the garrison with the ladies came out; when they reached a garden, the name of which I believe is Mohkum garden, a short distance from the gate of the town wall, the jail darogah, by name Bukhshish Alee, said, it is the Wordee Major's order that all should be killed, and he at once cut down Captain Skene. The whole of the party was then massacred, children and all, and their bodies were left there stripped for three days. That same evening at 8 o'clock P. M. I started from Munsa's hut, disguised as a native, penniless and starving. I breakfasted on the 6th in the cantonments about 10 o'clock A. M. About three o'clock P. M. on the same day, I got some *sherbet* from the prisoner. On the 7th, I drank water alone. On the 8th I tasted nothing but water which Munsa gave me, and nothing solid entered my mouth from ten o'clock A. M. on the 6th, till ten o'clock A. M. of the 11th, when I got a water-melon from a field near Dutteea. I walked so fast on the night of the 8th and morning of the 9th, that by ten o'clock on the 9th, I was somewhere about ten miles from Seeree, it being my intention to get to some of the Gwalior stations. At ten A. M. on that day I was passing a village, when seventeen men seized me, and they took me back towards Jhansie. I was very foot-sore, and they compelled me to walk on with them with my hands tied behind my back. In this way we went on till twelve o'clock of the 10th, when we reached the Touj river which is about four miles from Jhansie, two men alone of all the party remaining near me. There was a moon, but her light was at times obscured by clouds. I lay down by the side of the stream. One of my two remaining guards went for a light, and left his sword by me. I had contrived to loosen one of my hands about an hour before we came to the river, but I kept it behind me as if it was still tied. The guard often spoke to one another of me as if I was dying of exhaustion, and hence they had become negligent. Seizing the sword I drew it, and I gave the remaining guard two cuts across the neck. He was sitting with his back towads me, and he fell and never spoke. I then fled towards Dutteea, and on the following morning I obtained the water-melon of which I spoke above. At two o'clock P. M. I reached Dutteea and went up to the Rajah's palace. He gave me food and treated me kindly. I remained there three days when he gave me a palanquin and bearers, and ordered ten sowars to escort me into Gwalior. I fell

asleep, and when I awoke I found myself only four miles from Dutteea, and neither sowars nor bearers were visible. I then started on foot for Gwalior, which place I reached, I believe, on the 28th June 1857. After reaching the Gwalior territory, I generally got food, but I did not dare travel during the day. From Gwalior I was given an escort of sowars, which took me to Dholpoor, and thence I reached Agra on the 3rd July, in time to be present at the action of the 5th July. Sahib Raee lies when he says my horse was lame. He had thrown a shoe on the 6th, but his hoof was uninjured. At three o'clock P. M. of the 6th, when I reached Burwa Saugur, there was no sign of any disorder; a few escaped prisoners had alone reached the place, but all was quiet, for when I fell in with Choonnee Lall chuprassee, I got off my horse and walked with him to the fort on foot through the town. My coat, hat and watch were taken by the prisoner Sahib Raee or his companions, I cannot state precisely. I told my story to Lieutenant Fuller of the educational department at Agra on my first arrival, detailing how brutally Sahib Raee had used me, but I could only describe his person, and the district in which he resided, as I was ignorant of his name. I was passing through Meerut on my way from Agra to join my new appointment at Moradabad, when twenty days ago on or about the 16th June last, I met Lieutenant Fuller in Meerut. He told me that a person answering the description which I gave of the Moonshee who had deprived me of my horse at, and turned me out of, Burwa Sagur on the 7th June 1857, was holding an appointment in the Ganges Canal under Captain Merrick, and it was Captain Merrick who seized the prisoner Sahib Raee at Allygurh, and sent him to Moradabad. I swear that the prisoner in Court is the man who used me so brutally in Burwa Saugur on the 6th and and 7th June 1857. Serjeant Grace never said a word to me detrimental to the prisoner, he never in fact mentioned his name. I heard from Munsa that my sais was shot by the irregulars on the 7th June for saddling my horse. I also heard that Lieutenant Powys, the immediate superior of the prisoner, had been cut down in the Jhansie fort by one of his subordinates, a native surveyor. It is true that the prisoner did offer me native spirit on the 6th June 1857, but it was so offensive, that though sadly in want of a dram at the time, I could only put my lips to it, but I could not drink it.

Statement of Mrs. Mutlow.

4th June, about 3 o'clock in the evening, I ordered my ayah to get water ready to bathe my little boy, so she put everything ready and came to me. I took my child and undressed

him to bathe, so I heard the sepoys were making a noise. I sent my ayah out to see. She told me the sepoys were running up to the magazine with their guns. As soon as I heard that, I took my boy quite naked to Mrs. Newton's house. Mr. and Mrs. Newton took their children to the dawk bungalow. I was not able to keep up with them, I turned back to the Post office, so the Baboo gave me a chair to sit down, and ordered his chuprassee to fan me. When I came to my senses he sent his chuprassee with me to my bungalow. As soon as I came to my place, I sent my servant to the office to see where were Mr. M. Mutlow and brother. He saw no one there, he turned back and told me that every one went up to the fort, and the sepoys were firing their guns at every one they saw, so no one was killed that day, and I was still in my house with my child. Mr. A. Skene heard of me; he sent his two servants and chuprassees to take me up to the fort, so I got in the fort about six o'clock in the evening, and met with my husband and brother-in-law there, and remained in Mrs. Blythe's room that night and the next morning. Mr. A. Skene and Mr. Gordon went to the Ranee, and got about fifty or sixty guns, and some powder and shots and balls, and she sent about fifty of her own sepoys in the fort to assist us; and about 12 o'clock during the day they killed those gentlemen who were with them, and commenced burning the bungalows and speared Mr. Taylor belonging to the cavalry. So he galloped his horse and came to the fort. When the Ranee heard of it, she got all her sepoys down from the fort. The Ranee and her sepoys joined with the regiment, so we changed our clothes that night and wanted to get out of the fort, but was not able; the sowars were around the fort, so we kept there Friday night, Saturday and Sunday. Monday, about eight o'clock in the morning, Mr. Gordon was shot, that regiment subadar wrote to Captain Skene to come out of the fort, saying, "we will not kill any of you—we will send you all to your own country;" so Captain Skene wrote to the Rance to tell the sepoys to take their oath and to sign her name on the letter, all the Hindoos took their oath:—"if any of us touch your people just as we eat beef;" and those Mussulmans took their oath, "if any of us touch you just as we eat pork"—and the Ranee signed her name on the top of the letter, and it was given to Captain Skene. As soon as he read the note every one was agreed to it, some of us changed our dress, some were with their own dress. As we came out of the fort the sepoys came and put their guard around them, I was out of the guard with my ayah; they did not take notice of me. I told my ayah to take me to her house, she said they would kill her; she brought and left me in the Jokhun Bagh; where a Hindoo grave is made like a house.

I remained there about a month. I gave my earring to that gardener to get something for me to eat, he brought *chunna* flour and made *rotie*, so I lived on *mowah* and *chunna* for some time, and Dowlutram came from Saugor and heard of me; he came to me that very evening, and prepared everything for me, and saved me from those sowars who came from Saugor. From the month of July this man gave me to eat; he used to get me wheat and rice, ghee, and when not able to go to the bazzar, he used to give me ready money, and he gave me a female to do every business for me, and used to give her a rupee per month and four annas for house rent every month; and I sent Dowlutram twice to Saugor; he was caught twice on the road; those letters came to Jhansie to the Ranee, and she was looking out for me and Dowlutram. So Dowlutram hid himself and me and two childern. It was the Ranee's order if any one caught us going out of town that she would give 100 rupees as a present in those days. Guneshee Lall used to write me to come out of Jhansie. I was very glad to leave the place, but there was a sentry on every gate. No one could go out without the Ranee's order, and no one was so brave as that to get an order for me to take me out. Guneshee Lall wrote to me to go to a Seth's place, that he would take me out with his family. As soon as I saw his letter, I was very glad and sent Dowlutram to go to the person and ask him if he would take me with his family. Dowlutram went and asked him, he was not willing; said, he, would be found out if he do so. So I tried my best to come out of Jhansie, but was not able to get out on account of the doors. I suffered a great deal in this Jhansie, lost my husband and brother-in-law, and all my property, and turned as a beggar, only to save my two children; Now its master's will to do some good for me and two children. I have no one in this world just now, except master. I have one sister in Rangoon in the 84th regiment, Mrs. Susan Leary, and one sister was in Nagode in the 3rd N. I. Mrs. Agnes W. Carard. But I don't know where they are now. My father-in-law and mother-in-law is in Vellore, Queen's pensioner, Mr. Mark Mutlow.

☞ The orignal was written down by the deponent herself.

Escape of Mr. J. V. Sturt.

On being informed of the sad fate of the unfortunate Europeans at Jhansie, and the approach of the Lullutpore mutineers *en route* to that station to join their comrades, I was obliged to fly with his two men from the village, who promised, for a handsome reward, to take me through the jungles in a

disguised dress, to Banda, but hearing at Muhobah the uncertain state of that station, and also of the party of the 12th N. I., who escaped from Nowgong cantonments, being at Chutterpore, I joined them in preference, on the 14th of June, on the day after they left Chutterpore, and was in their company till the 19th, although Captain Jackson forgot to mention me in his narrative.

I had lost my horse in the affray which took place at 'Sewraha.' I was persuaded by the sepoys and our guide to canter on to a village called 'Mirka' in the Chutterpore territory, to ask assistance against the plunderers who attacked our party, but instead of getting any assistance, two of the villagers attacked me. While I was speaking to them one wrenched my sword from my belt, and the other aimed a blow from behind, with his sword. Luckily I saw this in time, and fired at him with my revolver, which had the effect of weakening his hand, so that I got off only with a scratch; other men were pursuing me, when my beast of a horse made a dead stop which obliged me to leave him to his fate and trust to my legs, to gain my party. When the party started from Kubrai at night, I was so fatigued with the twenty miles' walk which I had in the intense heat of the sun, that I could not follow them any distance, feeling perfectly exhausted, so I quietly stopped unperceived by my party, and thus got separated. I continued my march again after a little rest, and just at day break got into a village; so soon as I was perceived some four or five men attacked me and forcibly took every bit of property I had. After this they forced me out of the place. I was dying of thirst at the moment, so in hopes of finding a well I lingered about there. At last I saw to my great delight some men come out of the village with vessels for water. I followed them and got a drink. At this time some Brahmin zemindars came to the spot, and seeing my destitute condition offered to assist me and took me to their village, and told me I can remain there in security as long as I liked, but further than this, I did not meet with any kindness. They fed me with the coarsest food, and left me to sleep on the bare ground, and nothing that I could say to them would persuade any one to take a message or letter from me either to the Banda Nawab or to their Chirkaree Rajah. I was compelled to endure my hardships for a fortnight when kind providence threw into my way, some Chirkaree Rajah's men, returning from Banda. I persuaded them to allow me to accompany them thither. On arriving my case was immediately reported to the Rajah, who very kindly took me under his protection, and desired me to take up my quarters with Mr. Carne, the Deputy Collector of Muhobah, with whom, thank God, I am enjoying perfect secu-

rity as yet, and if I could only hear something of my dear relations I would be quite happy notwithstanding the losses and troubles I have endured.

We get our papers through Major Ellis, Political Agent, Nagode.

Mutiny at Nowgong.

Captain Scot's Statement.

I have the honor to report that the force at Nowgong, in Bundelcund, mutinied on the 10th ultimo, and compelled their officers and all who stood by them to quit the station.

Major H. Kirke, 12th Regiment N. I, commanded the station at the time. His death on the 19th idem left me senior survivor of the officers at the station, and it has thus become my duty to make this report.

As there is too much reason to fear that reports that Major Kirke made prior to the mutiny cannot have got further than, or even so far, as Cawnpore, it seems proper that I should relate what passed at Nowgong, and was entered in the reports I suppose to have perished.

The cartridge question had been settled at Nowgong. The infantry men there and at Jhansie, were ashamed at the mention of it; the burning of empty bungalows had long been over, when on the 23rd of May, a sepoy of the 12th N. I., then Major Kirke's orderly, rushed into the house, and told him that he had just got away from a party of twenty or so Poorbeas and Bundelas, who had asked him to point out the officers' mess house to them; they appeared to be disappointed in the non-appearance of an accomplice to guide them. The sepoy said he had consented, and making an excuse that he was hungry, got away, promising to return. Major Kirke, with his adjutant and his son, and one or two armed sepoys, went to the spot indicated, after directing the resaldar commanding the right wing, 14th irregulars, to surround it with sowars and prevent the escape of any one. Only three men were found; one ran off and rather than stop or make a reply beyond saying he was a sepoy, let himself be fired at three times; two other men hiding in a hollow tree, let the party pass, and then darted off towards the artillery lines, sowars and infantry at once searched the station and found no one. Doubt was, a day or two afterwards, thrown on the sepoy's statement by the men of the 12th N. I., and especially by those at Jhansie; and the senior resaldar of the 14th next day expressed doubts to me, but Major Kirke did not give up his belief in the man having warned him of some plot, though he seemed to think the sepoy had not revealed the facts of it. The resaldar disobeyed orders as if to let the man escape. The sentry at the artillery lines falsely denied any men having passed near him, and sometime afterwards when four men of the company were convicted of exciting others to mutiny, it was observed, (and that after their conviction and discharge) that this sentry was one of the four; materials for firing bungalows were

found on the spot by myself two hours after when search was made, and with them there was a peculiar stick slightly burnt at one end as if from being used to stir burning thatch. These circumstances indicated that some mischief was afoot. Whether the sepoy did not dare to tell the truth, and made up the story to put the officers on their guard, or the story was entirely untrue, it was thoroughly believed at the time that Bundelas and others outside cantonments, meditated the assassination of the British officers, and the men of the 12th manifested an affection for them that was most gratifying. It was felt that some one of the men of the 12th had caused the bungalows to be set on fire in April ; the men were then plainly told that there could be no doubt upon this point, and also that it seemed as clear that the man was not known to more than one or two of his comrades. The display of feeling by the mass of the sepoys that thus accidentally took place, was re-assuring, and it bound them strongly to their officers. In proof that the men felt that the fires were lit by one of themselves, I think it well to mention that when I came upon the materials for firing bungalows, two sepoys eagerly examined a piece of cloth that was among them, and said that the dhoby's mark had been torn away ; other sepoys who next day saw the cloth, did and said the same.

Next night, Major Kirke planted two guns under an artillery sergeant, on a long straight road that traverses the road of cantonments, which is crossed by many fine roads leading to all the lines and into the bazars. A strong guard was close to the guns ; I was posted there, and had an officer under me. Two guns were posted on the left point of the 12th N. I. lines on the parade ; they commanded a road leading out of cantonments. The remaining two guns of the battery were at the gun shed, between the infantry and cavalry lines; second Lieut. Townsend commanding the battery, and the only European officer present with it, was with these guns ; a strong guard with an European officer was posted beside him. There were fears felt of the cavalry taking the guns; they furnished a number of pickets all round the station. This duty kept many of the men divided, and at a distance. Suspicion had fallen on the resaldar commanding the cavalry and his men ; he had informed Major Kirke on the 23rd, the day of the alarm, that his corps had learnt by letters from Delhi that every Christian there had been murdered. He appeared to wonder at the little the Europeans knew of affairs in Delhi, and that his men and himself were in communication with the place. His neglect or disobedience of orders, a few hours after, was very suspicious ; and from that night the men and officers, by their demeanour, awoke strong distrust in our minds : even the sick in the hospital were most insolent to the doctors, until a few days before the mutiny, when they put on another tone—it may be—to lull suspicion.

The 23rd of May fell a few days before the Eed, and the news of the massacre of the Christians at Delhi roused a fanatic feeling, which may have given place, in the lapse of days, to a feeling tha

their pay and earthly prospects were not to be despised. They seemed so ripe for revolt, that when Major Kirke saw that there was no danger of a foe from outside the cantonments, he kept up the arrangements I have described, as they put it out of the power of the sowars to effect anything against the infantry and artillery, who were staunch. The whole of the guns could in a few minutes be brought to bear on the cavalry lines, and the road to Jhansie, which the cavalry were likely to take if they mutinied, as the left wing of the corps was there. Another equally strong reason was, that no one suspected that the arrangements had respect to any foe but outsiders.

A letter from Captain Gordon, deputy superintendent of Jhansie, had informed Major Kirke that 400 Bundelcund men had been discharged from the late 34th Regt. N. I. : and it was thought very likely that they would on their return, try to get up an assault on the treasure chest. The number was overrated, and the men could not have got near Nowgong by that time ; this was not clear at first, and the men were not told afterwards that it was clear to us that the disbanded 34th were far off. The cavalry obeyed all orders, but their faces betrayed an exultation about the revolt that was conclusive. No signs of distress were shown them ; officers visited their pickets, and during the day went to the lines and talked with the native officers ; they were received with freezing politeness.

The 12th N. I. men and the artillery liked the arrangements very much ; they were greatly gratified by the confidence in them shown by the officers who slept amongst them. It gave the officers opportunities of conversing with the men ; there can be no doubt that it knit the two to each other. The arrangement had the great advantage of working well, and therefore, in such critical times, it was thought the best policy to keep it up. Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, commanding the division, when Major Kirke reported to him that he was maintaining it, and that the men were well disposed and pleased, replied that the report was highly satisfactory. This of course, was a paramount argument in its favour. All went on quietly till about the 30th of May, on which day the pay-havildar of the artillery came to second Lieut. Townsend, about 5 P. M., and reported that he had awoke from sleep during the day and heard men of the company plotting mutiny around him, and that some Seikhs of the 12th N. I. were with them ; this was instantly reported to Major Kirke. Next morning it was learnt from many sowars that mutiny had been openly plotted the day before in the artillery lines ; and it was said by men likely to speak truths, that the only thing that prevented an out-break was the determination of the men of the 12th to have nothing to do with it. This havildar in the morning spoke out more fully; a private employed as steward or store-keeper to the battery confirmed his evidence, and so did the subadar Birjnath, a very fine old man, who had just been invalided after fifty years' service.

Major Kirke had made all the invalided native officers remain at their old posts and do duty ; and they were most willing and useful, with the exception of subadar Doorgah Singh and jemadar Lall Mahommed of the 12th N. I., who afterwards joined the mutineers. Doorga Singh then took a prominent part, I believe.

The above-named men agreed in their evidence that mutiny had been openly plotted in the company by a strong party, to which the senior men were opposed. The strongest abuse had been applied to the old subadar, and the havildar had been told he would be shot, because they were faithful to Government. Four men were named by the subadar as the worst of the mutineers ; they were sent for quietly with other men who could be trusted. They were told that as they were ill pleased with the Company's service, they were discharged from it. They were paid up ; a guard was ready and they were sent off at once to Chutterpore, to be kept there till further orders, from access to any one, lest they should work some mischief in the lines if merely told to go home.

The havildar who commanded this escort, said that he had been greatly apprehensive of an attempt being made by the sowars to rescue the men. The men then had no idea that we destrusted the sowars. The men who even after the mutiny stuck to their officers (this havildar was one) testified surprise when I told them that the guns had been posted so as to provide against a rise of the sowars. The major thought that if a court martial were held on the four accused, the delay might lead to an *émeute*, while a sudden blow at the root of the evil would do good. Only one man of the 12th, a Hindoo, was named as sharing in the plot ; he was a well behaved quiet man. I believe that the Seikhs of the 12th were taking an open share in the plot, and that the artillery did not dare to denounce them. The officers put great trust in the Seikhs, the Poorbeas were well aware of this, and it made the Seikhs formidable to them. This man was believed to be innocent : his protestations were believed and he was not punished. I believe that the dismissal of the four men had a good effect on the artillery company ; it intimidated the ill affected, and it undoubtedly encouraged the faithful portion. Major Kirke from that night had the whole of the guns of the battery brought in front of the quarter guard of the 12th native infantry. I think that the men of the company felt affronted and humiliated by this measure. I observed that the old subadar two days after the discharge of the men gave up keeping pistols about him, and I felt that it showed that he thought the men were to be trusted. Major Kirke promoted to the rank of havildar, the steward Seetaram, and wrote a strong letter to General Wheeler recommending the havildar for promotion, as a reward for their fidelity. Things went on quietly after this, and the sowars' altered demeanour led me to think they were perhaps wronged by our suspicions on the 4th of June ; the men of the 12th following the example of the 70th N. I. sent word to their company officers, that they were anxious to serve against the rebels.

Four out of the five companies of the wing had done so when at 11 *o'clock* A. M., a letter brought by express was put into Major Kirke's hand ; it was from Captain Dunlop, 12th N. I., commanding at Jhansi, it had been dashed off in great haste and ran thus :—

" *To the Officer Commanding at Nowgong.*

Jhansi, June 4, 1857, 4 P. M.

" SIR,—The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny and we have entered the Star Fort. No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers."

Major Kirke at once sent for the native officers of the 12th N. I., said he had received the petition from the various companies (the 5th had by this time been received,) and that he was much pleased and would report the loyalty of the wing to the Governor-General. The native officers were allowed to say what they pleased about their fidelity, &c., and then the news from Jhansie was communicated. They were much dismayed and sincerely distressed. They set to work at once and drew np a letter to the left wing at Jhansie, telling them of the right wing's offer to serve against the rebels ; that they had done very wrong in mutinying, and should at once undo what they had done. The letter was at once dispatched by an express.

The ressaldar commanding the irregulars, was present on this occasion ; he had come to speak to Major Kirke about a letter (dated the 3rd instant) he had just received from his commanding officer at Jhansie, Lieut. Campbell, desiring him to give up the names of some sowars that he had reported to Major Kirke as using mutinous language.

The truth was this : several sowars were said by a drummer of the 12th N. I., to have told him in the sudder bazar that they would make crow's meat of him. The ressaldar appears to have been aware of such words having been used, and for some object or other stated to Major Kirke that his younger men would be likely to talk foolishly in the bazar, and he therefore begged that they might be forbidden the bazar after a certain hour. Lieut. Campbell must have heard something about this, and thereon wrote the ressaldar the above letter the day before the mutiny. The ressaldar's object in coming was to say that he had never accused any of his men of having actually used mutinous language. He was very indignant about it.

The ressaldar was much discomposed at the Jhansie news ; he was a grey-headed man, whose constitution was delicate, and to him it was of consequence to keep his rank and pay ; the fanatical feelings the Eed festival raises in a Mehommedan, had had time to cool, and he appeared now anxious to conciliate. A parade was ordered at once, and the native officers dismissed with injunctions not to say anything to the men about Jhansie until the revolt was announced on parade.

The right wing 12th N. I. when asked if they would stand by the colours, rushed forward to them as one man, and were enthusiastic in their expressions of fidelity. The artillery company embraced

their guns with expressions of devotion. The men of the 14th said at once that they would be true to Government. They expressed no enthusiasm.

The officers were much gratified at the men's reply, and word of it was sent to Jhansie.

That day (the 5th June) two parties of the 14th irregulars, consisting of forty sowars, each under a native officer, were dispatched to Jhansie and Lullutpoor, at the requisition of the superintendent of Jhansie, under authority from the Lieut. Governor at Agra. The Jhansie party was required to relieve one of like strength under the command of Lieut. Ryves, 12th N. I. On the 7th of June a report was received from the native officer, commanding the Jhansie party to the effect that he had halted at Mowraneepore (thirty miles from Nowgong) on hearing that all the Europeans at Jhansie were murdered. The same sowars brought a letter from the tessildar at Mowraneepore saying the same, and mentioning that a naick and four sepoys of the right wing, 12th N. I., were there with some magazine stores. They had left Nowgong on the 30th May, with muskets, ammunition and buff-belts from Allahabad, for the deputy superintendent at Jhansie. The news of the mutiny had caused them to turn back when about ten miles from Jhansie.

Major Kirke sent out written orders to the native officers that if the cavalry had mutinied at Jhansie he should return, but if not he should push on.

The ressaldar of the 14th seemed very uneasy at this news, and when we said that no word had come of the 14th mutinying, he said he much feared they would, as they had very few officers, European or native, and many of the men were very young. He seemed far from anxious now that a mutiny should take place.

In the afternoon of the 9th the shepherd of the left wing mess came in and said that Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor had been killed on the parade ground at Jhansie on the 5th by the men of the 12th N. I. The 12th men at Nowgong seemed horrified at the news, most certainly many of them were sincerely so, and that night the men of the artillery volunteered to serve against the rebels. The men seemed to be well affected, but the bazar people seemed to be very anxious to send away their women and children, which Major Kirke would not allow them to do. We were informed that murmurs were going about that the treasury was being emptied in small sums, and that it was to be made over at once to the Gurawlee Rajah. Both tales were without foundation, but they were alarming indications that the agent of the general rebellion, who had got the bungalows lighted, and stories set afloat about cartridges, and bone-dust *atta* was as determined as ever to effect his intention, and that some men aided him. On the 10th a letter in English came from Twearry Hossein, the tessildar of Mowraneepore, saying that he had heard of the murder of every European at Jhansie, that he had received a purwannah to the effect that the Ranee of Jhansie was seated on the

guddee, and that he was to carry on business as hitherto. He added that he meant to leave the place at once, and I know that he did so.

The mails that had been sent towards Jhansie on the 5th and subsequent days, came back in one bag in the afternoon. The runners had feared to enter the station.

At sunset the mutiny broke out. Up to that moment the men of the 12th had showed the greatest good will, attachment and respect to their officers; I have been ten years with the men and never before did I see them show so much good feeling as they had at all times done since the 23rd May, when the alarm arose that a massacre of the officers was meditated. I believe that in the majority of the men sincerity and fidelity existed, and that many who mutinied did so under intimidation, and from an infatuated feeling that mutiny was a matter of destiny at present, Benares brahmins having predicted it.

The artillery company had been cheerful and well disposed until the guns had been brought before our quarter guard.

The driver company were unruly for a few days in May, while an impression was abroad that the infantry would not fire cartridges, but they quieted down the moment the infantry fired, and they remained so. The artillery serjeant told me of this feeling, which went to this length, that the men paid little attention to his orders; and were very elated. Lieut. Townsend told me that the sergeant had reported this state of things to him; he appeared to be sure that it was a true report.

The mutiny broke out thus:—

At sunset of the 10th the guards being paraded, a number of the men began to load, and three Seikhs at the same time stepped to the front. One of them, Kana by name, and sepoy of No. 1 company, shot the havildar major (Abeem-aun-Sing of No. 4 company, acting as havildar major) through the head; he fell dead and did not move. The Seikhs then made a rush at the guns; they were drawn upon the parade ground as usual. The artillery serjeant made some resistance; he says, no one aided him, and he fled and gave information. The serjeant major, 12th, was fired at, and a sepoy Dursun Sing of No. 3 company, pushed the barrel aside; he was one of those who stuck to the officers to the last, and Major Kirke said that he would recommend him for the Order of Merit.

The sergeant major fled to the mess-house. I was told afterwards by sepoys who remained faithful, that the quarter guard loaded or began to do so to fire on the mutineers, but were stopped by a jemadar Mobaruck Ally, who asked him why they loaded without order. This jemadar, a few minutes afterwards, joined the mutineers, and was first (report says) in command of the wing.

The first use the mutineers made of the guns was to load one with grape, and fire it into a tent that officers occupied close to the quarter guard. They then seized the treasure tumbrils, and placed them in the midst of the guns; the treasure tumbrils were at the quarter guard.

Ensign Franks happened to be at the lines at the time; he saw the guns seized, and immediately went to Major Kirke's to report. All the other officers were at the mess: the shots in the lines gave them the alarm. Second Lieutenant Townsend was the first to reach the lines; his guns were by that time in the mutineer's hands. Lieutenant Ewart, 12th N. I., and myself were the next. Before mounting I went to the top of the mess house to have an idea of what was going on.

When I reached the magazine I found that four sentries were mounted. One of them, a Seikh, seemed not at all surprised at what was going on (being in the plot of course) a few sepoys were leaving the lines by a road that crosses the centre of them, and others were hanging about the magazine in a panic-stricken state. I could not induce them to advance on the guns. I hoped to collect men in such numbers that they would make a dash on them; and getting hold of a bugle I blew the assembly repeatedly, but no one came. The mutineers just before I did so fired grape from a gun over the lines, and this struck terror into the men. As none would advance, I entered the lines by the cross road, and some came on with me, others joined me from their huts, but none would go against the mutineers; indeed myself, and Mr. Ewart, had great difficulty in making our way forward as the men held our horses by the bridles, and as far as they could, prevented our proceeding. I had ordered the magazine to be opened that I might get a bugle out, and I was told that the sentries would not let the magazine be opened. I perceived too that of the men around me some were in the plot, and wished to save Mr. Ewart and myself. The jemadar Mobaruck Ally gave me a most meaning warning look, and waved his hand as a sign that I had better go. It was clear that I could effect nothing, so I went back to the mess, ordering Lieut. Ewart to come with me. Major Kirke and the officers with him tried to induce the sepoys that were there (about 100) to attack the mutineers, but they all fell back, and the attempt had been given up by the time I came back.

A party of the mutineers had now come almost in front of the mess house with one gun. The Major seeing this ordered us to leave the cantonments, and we began to retire, the sowar orderlies then galloped off to their lines. When we had proceeded about 300 yards a round shot, and a round of grape or canister were fired at us; as we were hidden from sight, the aim was incorrect, and no one was hurt. Mrs. Mawe, wife of the doctor, Mr. Smalley, the band-master and his wife, had joined us at the mess, no ladies were left behind, and we pushed on. The Major directed us to take the road to Chatturpore, but Dr. Mawe who was leading in a buggy, took the Gurrowlee road, which crosses the other at right angles. It was most providential that this mistake was made, as it led to the sowars, when their thirst for plunder was somewhat appeased going out to Gurrowlee in quest of us. When it was dark, and we were hidden from cantonments by a hill, we turned towards Chutterpore,

meaning to get on the mettled road that leads direct to it, through the town of Mhow; providentially again our intentions were accidentally defeated. We had kept too much to our right, and found impassable ground between us, and this road; we, therefore, took the road to the Gora lake, and on arrival there, we found a Bhoondela boatman, a servant of the adjutant, 12th N. I., Lieut. Jackson, who took us by a country road to Chutturpore, which we reached at day-break in safety.

Had the sowars attacked us on the way, I do not think the thirty sepoys who were with us, would have been of any use, they were so panic-stricken, and that the party would have been cut up. The bungalows were surrounded by the mutineers the moment we left, they took what they pleased, let no one else take any thing, and then burned the bungalows, guarding them till no one dare enter; they then plundered the Bungalows, and plunder being over they sent parties in quest of us. I believe the sowars reproached the infantry for not having killed us all, they ranged the country for us, and seizing our servants threatened their lives under a supposition that they knew what road we had taken; they too supposed we had gone to Gurrowlee, some were able to say that the people at Mhow assured them we had not gone to Chutturpore. The Serai at Chutturpore was given up to us, and at first we were well treated. The Ranee meant well, but some of the chief officers were Mahomedans, and seemed to sympathize with the rebels. They told us that a message had come from Nowgong, that the troops had risen for "deen," and that the Ranee must not shelter us. Fifty sowars they said were a *coss* off, and had brought the message; I believe that none came beyond Mhow, eleven miles off.

One man, a sepoy, named Toorab Khan, grenadier company, 12th N. I., rode out to Chutturpore, and ascertained that we were there; the horse belonged to Lieut. Becher. A week before this sepoy was reported by the naick of his guard for having been absent for several hours during the night; his excuse was that he left the guard for a few minutes, and fell down senseless. Major Kirke would not punish him.

At 2 or 3 P. M. of the 11th we heard guns firing at Nowgong. The rebels were firing a salute ere marching. During the night some sepoys came to join us, and caused an alarm that the rebels were approaching. A large force, I believe turned out to oppose them. I was asleep, and did not know of this till morning. I mentioned this to show that the Ranee was determined to defend us.

By the night of the 12th June there were with us four native officers, (three were brahmins and one a Mahomedan) five havildars, and seventy-eight sepoys of the 12th N. I., only one was a Mahomedan. A number of the Christian bandmen and their wives had come also; of the artillery only a Christian bugler and a private had come; none came afterwards. Two sepoys of the 12th afterwards joined at Muhoba on the 15th; one had been plundering,

and he was made over to the civil authority. No sowar joined the officer.

On the 12th Major Kirke sent me to Nowgong to see what state it was in, and to do what might be necessary and possible. Second Lieut. Townsend of the artillery accompanied me at his own wish. We met a number of people after 9 P. M., carrying towards Mhow wood they had plundered from houses in cantonments.

We found that all the thatched bungalows had been burnt; three pucka houses were standing, two of them very small ones. Of the public buildings only one had been burned, the bungalow of the sergeant major of the 12th N. I. The magazine of the 12th N. I. had been blown up. The men of the 12th had set fire to their lines, but very few huts were burned—they were tiled. The artillery and cavalry lines were uninjured; so were the bazars of the 12th and the cavalry. A large portion of the main street of the sudder bazar was burned down. One house was still burning, I had no means of putting the fire out. A guard from Chutterpore was in the station for its protection. They were guarding some grain in the sudder bazar, meaning I believe to keep it, and they allowed hundreds of villagers to plunder the houses of wood.

I feared they have allowed the public buildings to be deprived of all their wood work, and the huts to be stripped of their roofs for the timber. They could easily have prevented plunder, for Lieut. Townsend and myself cleared the station by firing a few shots so as not to hurt any one. I gave the official in charge of this station, particular orders that villagers were to be intimidated, and if that failed, shot down to prevent plunder. He and others at Nowgong thought our rule was over, and the station the Ranee's for the future, and my orders were listened too, but not carried out.

I found a sepoy (a brahmin) in one hospital in the last stage of sickness, left there to starve or to be killed by dogs, and an old bedridden woman, mother of an invalided naick and grandmother of a sepoy musician, who had left her uncared for to march with the rebels. I entrusted them to the moofedar of the cantonments who resides in the village, Bellaree, close at hand, and gave his servant money for their food. This man Ramgopal Dilchit, and his head servant Lala Doma, were well disposed towards our Government, and did their best to give us information of the doings of the mutineers. On the day of the mutiny he sent us word that the forty sowars on their way back from Mowraneepore to Nowgong had been out at Alipore (a large place ten miles from Nowgong) that they were going back to murder all the Europeans. The Moonshee of the 12th told me when he joined us at Chutterpore, that the native officer who brought their party back said all he could in the presence of the Moonshee and the native doctor of the 12th native infantry, in the dwelling of the senior ressaldar of the irregulars, to cause a mutiny, stating that the Raja of Alipore had prepared a feast, for the force, expecting it to mutiny, and march to Jhansie. I forget the native officer's name, I may find it out some day. I

mention the circumstance that it may not be forgotten against him. He was a tall old man, very thin-faced. Major Kirke took no notice of the information beyond mentioning it to myself and some of the officers.

The head quarters of the regiment marched from Chutterpore on the night of the 12th, and reached Muhoba on the morning of the 15th. Major Kirke left the party during the first march, and went to Logassee where I met him on the night of the 13th. The Rajah was very kind and hospitable to us. Next morning we left under an escort furnished by the Ranee of Nyagong. We left it—a place called Koolpeeha on the borders of the Chirkaree country—and at day-break of the 15th reached Chirkaree. The Rajah in fear of the rebels was most unwilling to receive us, and hid us from sight. In the course of the day he heard of a dâk from Agra having reached Muhoba and then he seemed better disposed. In the evening, he no longer dreaded publicity and sent us in a carriage to Muhoba.

Mr. Carne, the deputy collector, was there, but his district was so disturbed that he had made arrangements for the Rajah of Chirkaree taking charge of it.

On the 16th news came in of the mutiny at Banda and at Hameerpore. One party therefore marched on the night of the 17th for Kallinger in Mirzapore or Chunar, instead of Allahabad, as before intended. The guide took the party out of the way to a village Jeyroho in the Jalan territory. A pass between two hills was pointed out as the one we were to proceed by ; some armed men were in it and on the hills. The men in the village too were all provided with latties. We thought they were afraid of us, and assured them we had no hostile intentions. As matchlock men were guarding the only village we had passed on the way, and the whole country seemed alarmed, we thought that no danger against us led to the men being on the hills ; indeed it was thought they were seeking their own safety.

The sun was up, so the party halted under some trees, some distance from the pass. About noon, the men in the pass sent us a message demanding money. The men were ordered to be ready to force the pass at 4 P. M., and they seemed well pleased with the orders. But in less than an hour two of the native officers came to urge that the money should he paid It was determined after much consideration that we must yield to the native officers and men, and let them have their own way in the matter. They were most obedient and showed more anxiety to please us than I ever before saw them show, but we felt that we could not coerce them and could not defend the large number of women and children without their aid ; indeed, it was too great for the number of sepoys we had, for on the march it was found utterly impossible to prevent the line of carts lengthening out to more than a mile. The country seemed ready for rapine, and the free-booters would have had little difficulty in collecting any number of men from the villages on our road.

Mr. Carne, the deputy collector, was with us ; the Rajah of Chir-

karee had refused to shelter him, and he was of opinion that the escort of the party to Kallinger should he purchased as offered. The men accordingly paid down 300 rupees to the head of the party who called himself Pran Singh, and applied to the officers for 400 rupees to make up the advance agreed on. It was given out that the whole was paid to Pran Singh.

Next morning before day-break, as the party was getting ready to move on without Pran Singh (who had not appeared), the camp was fired into from a tree between it and the pass, where some men were gathered. The sepoys immediately began to fire wildly, and after a few minutes they all retreated, save ten or twelve who held their ground with Lieut. Ewart, Lieut. Townsend and myself.

Major Kirke and the officers went after the retreating men, trying in vain to bring them back and restore order. They moved away at a quick pace. Lieut. Townsend was shot in the heart in the course of a quarter of an hour, he died instantly. He was firing when hit. He was a very gallant young officer of less than three years service. He had for more than a year held the sole charge of his battery ; and I am sure that were Major Kirke now alive he would bestow great praise on him for the excellent condition his battery was in.

The whole party, women and children, were by this time a good distance from camp. I therefore followed them ; the dacoits' fire was nearly over, but the main party were gone. We moved slowly away keeping the attacking party at a distance by turning on them frequently. When we reached the Chutturpore territory the pursuit ceased, but a village fired on the main party, and they moved on as fast as before. The women and children, all on foot, could not keep up or get rest. I remained in the rear with two havildars, and four or five sepoys, and had great difficulty in getting the women and children brought on, and in keeping the men back from them ; I had no means of helping them on, but my own two horses which I gave up to them, and in spite of all my efforts, several dropped out of sight. I am much distressed to have to state that before 2 o'clock Major Kirke, the sergeant major lascar, and Mrs. Smalley, the wife of the band-master, all died of sun-stroke or apoplexy ; Major Kirke was with the main party when he died, and he alone was buried, th sepoys helping with their bayonets to dig his grave, which is on the outskirts of the town of Karee Puhuree, midway between Muhoba and Kubrai. Major Kirke was failing ere the mutiny took place ; and the privations and distress of mind that the mutiny caused him greatly impaired his mental powers ; and on the 16th of June at Muhoba he told me to act for him, and leave him to sign papers. I did so, referring every thing of consequence to his final decision. At the firing of the dacoits around him, and while trying to rally the men and lead them on, he was himself again while the excitement lasted. I am told the men went on after the Major's death, and stopped at a well till I joined them.

We entered Kubrai at 3 P. M. The men gave out that they were rebels, taking us to the Banda Nawab to be killed by the king of

Delhi's order, they feared to escort us otherwise. The city people were taken in by the ruse, and obeyed the sepoy's requisition for food for us and our horses. People came in crowds to see us, but they did not insult us. A "Nana Sahib" was usurping authority at Kubrai; perhaps the man spoken of under this title was agent of the Nana of Bithoor. When it was dark and the city people all gone, the men told us that our ruse was discovered, that the moonshee and a Mahomedan native officer had taken all the Christian drummers to the city, and that the sepoy we had imprisoned at Muhoba was in the town, and had told upon us, and they could protect us no further, and we must take our way by ourselves; this was said sadly and respectfully. We left at Kubrai, a writer, P. Johnson, who preferred to remain, and a Mrs. Tierney (a wife of some sergeant that she had deserted for our sergeant major) and her two children, as she had no chance of her life with us, and I had good hopes she would not be injured at Kubrai. The sergeant of Artillery was likewise left behind, he had been drunk during the day. When I passed Muhoba he went back and entered a deserted police chowkee to sleep there. I heard it said that he had come up just before we started; I never saw him and he made no attempt to join us. Mr. Carne left us at Muhoba and went to Chowkaree. The Rajah received him. I have seen a letter from him dated the 29th of June.

The party that moved on consisted of Lieuts. Ewart, Barber, Jackson, Remington, and Franks; Dr. Mawe, 12th N. I., and Mrs. Mawe and child; Mr. Harvey Kirke, eldest son of Major Kirke; Mr. Smalley and child, and sergeant Kirchoff and his wife. This man was employed at Jaitpore, near Nowgong, in the canal department, under Lieut. Powys, he joined us at Muhoba. We had only nine horses amongst us. We moved along the Banda road past villagers all on the look-out for an attack.

Next morning the 20th June we were attacked by villagers, whose number encreased every moment. They were joined by two armed horsemen and some footmen from the road, and it seemed likely to go very hard with us. Mrs. Kirchoff had fallen off her horse, and we were all crippled for action by having some one behind us or a child before. While I was doing my best my horse was struck with a spear and instantly set off at full gallop. He was a run-away by habit. I had only the single bridle; the curb had fallen off while I had Mrs. Mawe's child before me and Mr. Smalley behind, and I could not stop the animal until it reached a nullah it could not leap. Lieut. Franks was with me, a loose horse had attacked him and his mare, and after chasing him round, the combatants compelled him to go straight off. Lieut. Remington had followed us. None of the party we had left were in sight. I feared that all had been killed save one or two who might have ridden off, we therefore moved on as fast as my lame horse could go. We were next day (the 21st) surrounded when resting in a mangoe tope and taken to the Nawab of Banda, who treated us very

well for sixteen days, when under orders from Major Ellis, the political agent for Bundelcund, he sent us to Nagode. We stayed two days at Adzighur, and were very kindly treated by the Ranee. We reached Nagode on the 12th instant.

I have learnt that the villagers who attacked us on the 20th, drew off on Lieut. Jackson shooting the man who speared my horse. Mrs. Kirchoff's horse having run off she was placed behind Lieut. Jackson and tied to him ; he carried her thus till the 24th when he reached at Adzighur. The party then pushed on and crossed the Cane above Banda. They halted at a nullah for a short time, but some villagers threatening them they mounted and rode off. Dr. and Mrs. Mawe here fell off their horse ; he had been suffering terribly for some time, and he died in half an hour. The villagers plundered him and his wife before he died and then left them. In an hour or two more villagers came down and searched Mrs. Mawe for plunder, and then made her walk bare-footed three miles to the village Makkoopoor. Early in the morning of the 22nd June they sent her off in a doolie to Banda. She was met on the way by a palkee the Nawab had sent out when he heard of her being in their village. The Nawab had sent orders to all the villagers round not to injure Europeans. Mrs. Mawe reached Banda in an hour or two's time, she had suffered terribly from the sun and fatigue. I regret to say that Lieut. J. H. Barber died on the 20th, an hour or two after Dr. and Mrs. Mawe were left behind. He fell from his horse as if shot. Lieut. Ewart died on the 22nd also of sun-stroke. Mr. Harvey Kirke went to a village to get him some water, though he was insensible ; he came with a troop of villages yelling at his heels like devils, and the party were obliged to push on. They were shortly after this drinking at a village and observed a signal given by one of the villagers ; sergeant Kirchoff was too slow in mounting, and he was stunned with blows and left for dead. Lieut. Jackson, Mr. Harvey Kirke, and Mrs. Kirchoff were able to get away. They were well treated when they entered the Adzighur territory, and after resting some days were sent on to Nagode which they reached on the 29th June.

I am glad to say that sergeant Kirchoff came to himself after the villagers had left him for dead, got up and reached a village in Adzighur territory where he was kindly treated. He was sent on direct to Nagode and arrived here on the 24th or 25th of June. He and his wife have gone on to Mirzapore ; so have Mrs. Mawe and her child. Lieut. Jackson is at Rewah employed as second in command of a force being raised there. Lieut. Remington, ensign Franks and myself are here, detained by Major Hampton commanding. Mr. Smalley, the 12th N. I. band-master is also here, his child died on the road.

We all found the villagers in the British territory most hostile. One man sheltered myself and party on the 20th, and gave us food. I have reported his conduct to the collector of Banda, and a sepoy of the 50th native infantry named Rabuccus ran after Lieut. Jackson

a long way, to say he had a strong party at his village, and said he would protect him as long as he chose to remain here.

Ere I left Banda fourteen drummers of the 12th N. I., and our artillery bugler with their families (forty-one persons in all), reached Banda. The Nawab gave us the strictest orders in the city that if any one molested them he would blow him from a gun, he also gave the drummer some money. I have written to him to request him to advance them money (which I should be responsible for) as this is the rainy season, and there are no tents for the men and their families. I think it better to let them remain under their Nawab's protection. Four of the bandmen are missing and one man remained at Nowgong; I saw him there on the 13th, and ordered him to go with some men of ours to Muhoba. He disobeyed me.

The widow of a drummer long deceased, and her three children, I have not been able to learn my thing about. I think they went to Jhansie with the rebels. She was of a native extraction, but a Christian. It is said that the wife of Mr. Langdale died of the sun or otherwise on the road, and I fear another very old woman must have died too on the 19th of June; they had great difficulty in walking the one from being very fat, the other from her great age. I fear very much they are dead.

The drum major at Banda informed me that he had left at Mutown, (a large place between Kubrai and Banda), Sergeant Raite, of the artillery; Mr. Langdale a writer; P. Johnson a writer; and Mrs. Tierney and her two children. The zemindar was very kind to them. I have written to the Nawab of Banda to send for them, if they be not at Banda, and to advance them money.

I have now accounted for all the Christians whoever at Nowgong when the mutiny broke out.

I heard it said that one Christian drummer was killed by a sowar near Nowgong. There is one that I had not seen since the mutiny, and I had set him down as killed. He is an African George Dick by name; but I have heard from a khitmutgar that he saw an African at Banda, so I hope the man has escaped. I have put him down as missing. No other Christian at Nowgong was killed, thank God, by the mutineers. I know that three of the four Christian drummers that I have put down as missing were not left behind; they left us on the 19th, seeking, I suppose, some way of their own to escape by.

Only one native was killed at Nowgong by the mutineers,—the acting havildar Major Aheemaun Sing of No. 4 company, subadar Doolar Tewarry, invalided from the 12th N. I. was wounded in the abdomen by a bullet on the 19th June. I hear that he died a day or two after at Muhoba of his wound. Two sepoys were likewise wounded by the matchlock men on the 19th June, one was a Seikh, Kaun Sing, the other's name is Saligram Sing, grenadier company. Roderick an artillery bugler was wounded on the same occasion. The sepoys left at Kubrai went on to Banda, after leaving that place I know not where they went. I saw jemadar Emam Bux there the day I entered the city, namely, the 21st of June.

The Government treasure that fell into the mutineer's hands at Nowgog amounted to 1,21,494 Rs. as nearly as I can recollect.

The colours of the N. I. were taken.

I know not what stores there were in the artillery magazines—it was entirely emptied.

I rather think that the annual practice supply had been received from Allahabad.

The 12th got in the magazine at Nowgong and Jhansie 1,255 pounds of gunpowder for musketry, besides some barrels of coarse powder for cannon that was in the Jhansie magazine (the quantity is unknown to me ;) 3,60,000 small percussion caps ; 1,30,000 ball cartridge ; 20,000 blank cartridges about 10,000 carbine and ball cartridges, the 6th light cavalry left, though muskets were in store beyond the complement of the corps.

Besides the bullocks of the battery there were 66 commissariat ones at Nowgong.

Statement of Serjeant Kirchoff.

On the morning of the 15th the party from Nowgong, consisting of the undermentioned gentlemen, &c. arrived at Muhoba ; Major Kirke, Captain Scot, Lieutenant Townsend, artillery ; Lieutenant Jackson, Adjutant, Lieutenant Remington, Lieutenant Ewart, Lieutenant Frank, Lieutenant Barber, Mr. Kirke, the Magistrate's son, Dr. Mawe, Mrs. Mawe and child ; Mr. Johnson, Adjutant's writer (Mr. Johnson was taken off by the sepoys at Nowgong) Mr. Langdale's writer, Mrs. Langdale, Bullock Sergeant Major Lucas, Mrs. Lucas and two children, about twenty bandsmen, and eighty-seven non-commissioned ditto, and men of 12th N. I. and one artillery man. Mr. Stuart, an assistant patrol, who had escaped from the Jhansie district arrived at Muhoba, a couple of days before the party, and hearing that they were at Chinmore, joined them there, but returned with them on the 15th. Serjeant Kirchoff and Mrs. Kirchoff also joined the party on their arrival at Muhoba. The sepoys expressed great dissatisfaction at not finding Major Kirke there ; he having left the party, the day previous, without giving any one notice, and had not since been heard of. Captain Scot and Lieutenant Townsend having also left the party at Pepera to return to Nowgong to see after some mess stores, &c., the men were murmuring that all their officers had intended leaving them gradually, and they expressed a determination not to leave Muhoba until they found their Major ; fortunately word was brought from Khir Kowe that Major Kirke had taken refuge there, and most pressing letters being sent to him to return to Muhoba had the desired effect ; he arrived there on the evening of the 16th, and the other two officers also returned from Nowgong on the same or the next day ; preparations were made for a march in the direction I believe, but am not sure, of Nagode ; we left Muhoba on the

evening of the 17th, and after another long march, encamped under some hills. During this day, the 18th, Mr. Carne, of Muhoba, brought out some money, 2,000 I believe was the sum, which had been applied for the Charkow Raja ; this fact was evidently known by the large party of dacoits who mustered in force on and behind the hills, beneath which we lay encamped during the day. They sent a message to say that unless 1,000 rupees were paid down to them, they would not allow the party to pass ; after some consultation among the officers it was agreed to give them 700 down, and the remaining three hundred after their arrival, escorting us safely through the range of hills. The 700 cash was accordingly paid down, and some sort of written agreement drawn up that night. There was a false alarm that we were attacked owing to some horses having broke loose, and several ran down, and shots were fired by the sentries, but the cause being speedily ascertained, all was soon quiet again, but on the next morning the 19th instant at day break, when we were all prepared for a start, the dacoits on the hills commenced a heavy fire on us. Lieutenant Townsend was one of the very first killed, a ball going through his heart. I saw several red coats, and the sepoys afterwards told me that ten or a dozen of them had been killed, and several wounded. The sepoys appeared to be very disheartened, and complained that their guns would not carry so far, while the matchlockmen were picking them off from the hills, behind stones, &c., and as they appeared to be funking, a retreat was commenced, leaving coats, &c., in their hands. The party then retraced its way towards Muhoba across country skirmishing, as the decoits followed for some four or five miles ; during this time, Captain Scot and another officer returned to the scene of the conflict, for the purpose of bringing Lieutenant Townsend, and I believe accomplished their object. Before we reached Muhoba Mrs. Smalley died, and a subadar who had a ball in his belly also died ; and a subadar reaching Muhoba for some cause not known to me, did not attempt to enter the place, but skirting it, struck into the Banda road about a mile from Muhoba ; the bullock serjeant declared that he could go no further, we helped him into a police chowkee along the road, and there left him. Serjeant Major Lucas was the next to die. After stretching a few times he fell, and never stirred more for about three minutes from this, and shortly afterwards expired ; he was buried under a tree close to the spot. Mr. Langdale was the next who died from the heat. The people of every village we passed turning out armed, the sepoys proposed that all our arms should be taken from us, and that we should be marched as prisoners in the midst of them to Banda, thinking thus to protect their officers. We halted at last at Kururee, where the people di believed the tales that the sepoys told, and wanted to take us from them by force ; to deal with us themselves, and as we found that the sepoys were gradually dropping off, there not being half the original number left, it was determined to make

a start so soon as it got dark, by such as had or could get a mount. The drummers and bandsmen had been promised service, by some one called Phyoosingh, and left us before we started. Mr. Stuart, assistant patrol, also left disguised as a native, and such was passing himself off as a bandsman. The following comprised the party who left there on the night of the 19th. Captain Scot, Lieutenant Jackson, Lieutenant Remington, Lieutenant Franks, Lieutenant Barber, and Mr. Smalley, and nothing more was heard of those four; they had also Dr. Mawe's child with them, and, I believe, went off in a direct line towards Banda. It was only after very narrow escapes, and after killing three of our assailants that we managed to get away from them. The remainder were pursued by nearly every village near which we showed ourselves, and we suffered dreadfully from want of water. We at last reached the Cane river, and were intending to stop for a time in an apparently very secluded spot which we had pitched upon to refresh both ourselves and horses; but in a very short time, we found we were again set upon, and had to make a run for it again. Dr. and Mrs. Mawe having fallen off the horse on which they had been held, and the horse running off they were unwillingly left behind there. Of their fate it is difficult to speak. Dr. Mawe had throughout the day been in a very desponding state: several times expressed a desire to proceed to the nearest village and meet his fate at once whatever it might be; a short distance beyond this, Lieutenant Barber fell from his horses sun-struck. The party was now reduced to the following—Lieutenant Jackson, Lieutenant Ewart, Mr. Kirke, Serjeant Kirchoff, Mrs. Kirchoff, and an infant of Mr. Smalley's. After skirting Banda, but not daring to enter into it, turned off in the direction of Nagode, intending to make a push for that place; and towards evening resolved on trying our luck in a village, where we were well treated and got food for ourselves and horses. We remained that night, and the next morning proceeded from there with two men as guides. After proceeding a few miles we stopped to drink at the village of Munsoory, and imprudently all got off our horses to rest ourselves a little, when Lieut. Jackson, having heard something to alarm him, passed the word to mount as soon as we could after him, giving the child into Mr. Kirke's arms, after he had mounted, then assisting my wife to mount behind Lieut. Jackson. By the time I reached where I had tied my own horses, I was some way behind and scarcely got into the saddle, when I received a blow from a lattee from behind on my head, several others about the body, which of course upset me again. The remainder, however, made good their escape from there, and were last heard of as having been seen going in the direction of Azygurh. The villagers, however, where I was left after taking all I had, let me go. Beyond this my narrative is only a personal one. With great difficulty I made my way on foot to Nagode, which I reached on the evening of the 25th instant.

Narrative of Lieutenant Jackson, 12th Regiment N. I., regarding the escape of the Nowgong party after leaving Chutturpore.

We left Chutturpore on the night of the 12th, arrived safely at Mahobah on the morning of the 15th of the same month. On the following day we were joined by Captain Scot, 12th N. I., and Lieutenant Townsend of the artillery, who had been sent by Major Kirke to Nowgong to report upon the state in which the mutineers had left the station, and also by Major Kirke himself, who had been to see the Rajahs of Joyapie and Chircaree. At this time our intention was to proceed to Banda, and thence to make our way to Allahabad or any other large station as circumstances might admit, but being informed by Mr. Carne, the Collector at Muhobah, that the troops at Banda had mutinied, were determined to go to Kallinjur and from thence to Mirzapore.

At this time our number consisted, as far as my memory serves me, of the whole of the officers present with the right wing 12th regiment N. I., at the time of the mutiny. Lieutenant Townsend of the artillery, Sergeant Major Lucas, 12th regiment N. I., a Sergeant of the artillery, whose name I do not know. The whole of the Christian drummers and buglers of the 12th N. I., (with one exception John Nimrod, who I believe, absented himself voluntarily) with their wives and children. A Christian bugler named Roderick of the artillery with his family, the writer of the station-staff officer named Langdale, my writer named Patrick Johnson—invalided subadars Doolar Tewarry and Nudhan Missah, jemadars Emam Bux and Ramdutt Tewarry, some eight or ten native non-commissioned officers, and I think eighty-two sepoys. These numbers may be slightly incorrect as I write entirely from memory, but they are very near the exact ones.

We started from Mahobah on the night of the 17th June 1857, having been joined in the meantime by Serjeant Kirchoff of the canal department and his wife. In enumerating our party above I omitted to mention as being also with us. Mrs. Mawe, wife of Assistant Surgeon Mawe and child, and also Mr. and Mrs. Smalley and child (Mr. Smalley was the band master of the regiment). On leaving Mahobah as above mentioned, it had been our intention to have halted at a village named Meeddenpore (Chutturpore), but owing to the badness of the roads, and our being greatly incommoded with some ten or twelve carts (mostly containing the families of the drummers, &c.) we only found ourselves at

sunrise on the morning of the 18th, at the village of Joorah (Muhobah) where we halted for the day. Shortly after our arrival we were joined by Mr. Carne, the Collector at Muhobah, who brought with him one thousand rupees which had been lent us by the Rajah of Chircara, and with which money the native officers and men with us were paid up in full for the month of May 1857 in the course of the day. Towards the afternoon we heard that a number of matchlockmen under the command of a man styling himself Prann Sing intended to dispute a passage, or, at any rate to attack us, and in fact we saw large numbers of armed men at this time stationed on the hills immediately overlooking the spot on which we were encamped. The native officers upon this came to us and gave us most plainly to understand that neither they nor the men with us had any intention of risking their lives in any way in our behalf, and told us that it was their wish and that of the men that some pecuniary arrangement should be entered into with the hostile parties above named, that they might not only leave us unmolested, but also give us a safe conduct as far as Kalinjur. At this time we were entirely in the hands of the native officers and men, as although those with us had taken no part in the mutiny, yet if I may use the expression they were completely demoralized and under little or no control. Accordingly an arrangement was entered into between the native officers and the individual Prann Sing to the effect above mentioned. Some sort of written agreement was signed and some sort of oath administered which was supposed to be binding, the sum of 700 rupees paid on the spot, and 300 more agreed to be given on our safe arrival at Kallinjur. However, on the next morning, the 19th June, just at day break, as we were preparing to march, a sharp firing was opened upon us from the hills and other places offering concealment to the enemy. All order amongst our men (notwithstanding the efforts of the officers) was immediately at an end. With the exception of some twelve or fourteen men who made a stand, the party commenced a disorderly retreat. All was done by the officers to keep them together, but of no avail. Lieut. Townsend, artillery, was shot dead, also one sepoy. Mahdid Subadar Dootah Tewarry was shot in the stomach and died afterwards, and two or three sepoys wounded. The retreat soon became a flight, men fired in the air without any purpose, others threw off their accoutrements and made for the jungle, the remainder made for Muhobah as fast as they could, and we the officers had no alternative but to go with them. On arriving within about a mile of Mahobah, Lieut. Ewart, who had ridden on in advance to make enquiries, came back saying that some native force was

assembled there, and that he had been fired upon. Mr. Carne had left us a short time before this, and I have heard sought shelter with the Chircaree Rajah.

The men upon hearing the news brought by Lieutenant Ewart struck off towards Kobrai. We endeavoured to maintain some sort of order, but they soon gave us to understand that they did not consider themselves under any orders whatever, and one or two were loud in their discontent saying that they would be all murdered for coming with us. They, however, kept with us or rather allowed us to keep with them until we arrived at Kobrai, which place we entered with them about 5 o'clock in the afternoon; the men pretending to the inhabitants of the place that they were taking us as prisoners to the Nawab of Banda. During this day, 19th June, Major Kirke died in the road from *coup-de-soleil*, also Serjeant Major Lucas, Mrs. Smalley, wife of the band master, and Mrs. Roderick, mother of a bugler in the artillery—I believe all from the same cause. As soon as it was dark some two or three of the men came to me and said that we had better know the truth at once, that the men in a body feared the consequences if they remained with us, and consequently had agreed to leave us to shift for ourselves. This news very soon proved true, the men shortly afterwards all going off in twos and threes. The drummers, &c. had already gone off, and it was said had taken service (to save their lives), with some individual who had set himself up at Kobrai, but whose name I could not learn.

We then determined to start off towards Banda and take our chance of getting to some station or other.

Accordingly we left Kobrai on the evening of the 19th June about 8 or 9 o'clock. Our party consisting as follows:—

Captain P. G. Scott, officiating quarter master L. M. P.
Lieutenant Ewart.
Lieutenant Barker.
Lieutenant Jackson, adjutant.
Lieutenant Remington.
Ensign Franks.
Dr. Mawe, Mrs. Mawe and child.
Mr. Smalley (band master) and child.
Serjeant Kirchoff, canal department, and wife. We had only nine horses amongst us, consequently some were obliged to ride two on a horse which much retarded our movements.

We arrived within about seven or eight miles of Banda when we lost our way in the dark, and remained under a tope of trees until day light, when we resumed our march with the intention of crossing the Cane river about three or four miles to the right of Banda. We had not proceeded far when

a man whom I asked to shew us the way to the river raised a hue and cry after us, and was soon joined by some six or seven more who assaulted us with latties. We were mostly armed, but were averse to take life without being compelled to do so, and we also feared that by so doing we should the more surely bring the villagers down upon us. At last our assailants became bolder, and Captain Scott's horse was wounded by a spear which caused him to bolt, and Captain Scott being incommoded by having Mrs. Mawe's child in his arms and the band master behind him, was unable to restrain him. He was followed by Lieutenant Remington and Ensign Franks. I have heard since that the whole of the above party are with the Nawab of Banda, who I hear is giving them shelter and treating them kindly. After the above party left us, Mrs. Kirchoff fell from her horse and was struck twice or thrice with latties, and a ruffian was on the point of sending a spear through her when her husband interposed, and obtaining possession of the spear struck the man through the body with it, who immediately fell. Mr. Kirke at the same time shot another through the head. This stopped them. I succeeded in getting Mrs. Kirchoff on my horse behind myself, and we commenced to retreat as fast as we could towards the river.

Our party now consisted of nine, including Mrs. Smalley's child. We were pursued in every direction by the villagers, and we suffered much from thirst, and had gone again to the river to get some water when some armed men came upon us. We immediately started off as fast as possible, and when we had gone some distance we found the horse on which Dr. Mawe and his wife had been riding following us, but without a rider. I have since heard that Dr. Mawe died from a *coup-de-soleil*, and Mrs. Mawe is now at Banda with Captain Scott's party.

On the same day Lieutenant Barker died from the effects of the sun also. That night, the 20th, just at sunset, we arrived at a village on the road from Allahabad to Banda about nine miles from Banda, which turned out to be the only one which we had seen, which had not turned out against us. Directly we were seen we were treated with great kindness; and on the morning of the 21st again set off, having two guides to shew us the way to Kallinjur, where we had been advised to go to, and thence to Nagode. We had not proceeded far when drinking at a well, we were suddenly set upon by the villagers, and Serjeant Kirchoff was knocked off his horse, and we thought killed; but he has since arrived at this place. Our sufferings during this day from the heat and thirst were intense. We were hunted like dogs wherever we were found,

and about, I should say, 2 o'clock, Lieutenant Ewart died from the sun or exhaustion, or both combined. We tried to get water for him, but were immediately pursued by the villagers. Shortly after this Mr. Smalley's child died. There now only remained of our party Mr. Kirke, son of Major Kirke and myself with Mrs. Kirchoff, who rode behind me on my horse as I before mentioned. A little before sunset we most fortunately arrived amongst some villagers eight in number, who had determined to stick by each other and remain faithful to the Government. Had we not thus providentially fallen amongst friends at this moment we could not have held out much longer, as my horse was scarcely able to get along, as we must have come that day I should say forty-five miles, and a great deal of the distance at a hard gallop. We were treated most hospitably. The next day, the 22nd, removed to a stronger and larger village, from whence I despatched a letter to the Ranee of Ajegurh, requesting protection, which was immediately granted, and we arrived at that place a distance of about ten or twelve miles on the 23rd, being guarded on our way by matchlockmen provided from the village we had been stopping at. At Ajegurh we remained till the morning of the 28th June, as Mr. Kirchoff was unable to stand from fatigue, and both ourselves and horses required rest. On the 28th we started for Nagode, the Ranee of Ajegurh having lent us an elephant and arrived there on the 29th June, 1857.

I may as well here mention that all the villagers that I conversed with on the subject ascribe (without exception) the state of the country to the Nawab of Banda, whom they state unreservedly to have been the instigator of the murders perpetrated at Banda; which they also state to have been committed by his (the Nawab's) troops. They also say that the Nawab's troops are dispersed over the whole country, that the Nawab has proclaimed the Company's rule to be at an end, and has set up thannahs, &c. on his own account at different places.

In the above statement there may very probably be some mistakes regarding dates, &c., but as I have written entirely from memory, and as at many times I was in a most confused state myself from being exposed bare-headed all day to the heat of the sun, I trust my discrepancies may be excused.

An account of the second party from Nowgong, by G. Langdale, late Clerk to Capt. P. G. Scott, 12th N. I.

On the 10th June 1857, at about 6 P. M., I left my house to take a walk, but had scarcely been out twenty minutes, when I heard the report of fire-arms, immediately followed by the

bugles of the 12th N. I., and the trumpets of the 14th irregulars sounding the 'turn-out.' Judging correctly of what had happened from the accounts we had received of the mutinies elsewhere, I made away to a distant nullah, where I remained for an hour. I then left the nullah, and proceeding through a jungle, arrived at about 2 A. M., at a small village, which I had hoped would afford me shelter, but finding no security there, I was compelled to go further for a little rest.

Pursuing my way, I knew not whither, I reached a second nullah, and endeavoured to relieve myself by lying down under a bush; but a goat-herd appeared to my surprise. I asked him to direct me to Loogasie: he said it was very far, and not safe to reach. Not liking the man's appearance and manner, I left that spot, and went further up the nullah, where I found another bush, under which I rested. Here again, I was disturbed by the sight of the goat-herd I had left; he was coming with another, both with axes in their hands, and one on each side of the nullah peering into the bushes.

I rose hastily and retreated, but they pursued me for two miles, with shouts to stop. Fortunately my way led me into the Loogasie jungle, where I eluded them. By this time, the fatigue I had undergone overcame me, and I sought some rest under a bush, but it gave me little or no shelter from the burning sun, and the thirst I felt was almost choking. Towards evening, after a short sleep, I took the road which seemed most likely to lead me somewhere, and my despair soon ended, for thank God! I met the very way which took me to Loogasie. How shall I express my gratitude to Heaven for this guidance out of a wilderness, and into the only place of safety I could at all think of? My first act was to quench the thirst I felt, and I can best give a description of its intensity by stating, that I poured nearly a whole ghurra full of water down my aching throat. The people near the well at which I drank seemed struck with astonishment at the quantity I had taken, and upon my rising to go to the village (from which the well was a little distant), they told me it was not safe, mentioning that some mutineers had been there enquiring for Europeans.

The people at the well advised me to return to the jungle, but after my weary wanderings, I felt dreadfully averse to this. I considered some time, and did what they advised, as the only chance of present escape. I had scarcely become resigned to my fate, when a man came to me as the Rajah's messenger, with an invitation to go to him. I was completely unprepared for such good fortune, and availed myself of it most hopefully. The Rajah of Loogasie treated me very kindly; he asked numerous questions about the mutiny at

Nowgong, and seemed very solicitous of the safety of the officers. He enquired if any of them had been killed, but I had to state my inability to satisfy any of his enquiries respecting the mutiny, through the circumstances under which I had been obliged to escape. He ordered me some food, and directed his servant to have me accommodated for the night in a house in the village, particularly desiring no one to be allowed to molest me. He sent for me next morning to say, that he was about to write to Major Kirke at Chutterpore, and intended sending a spy to Nowgong, to see if the mutineers had deserted the place. Major Kirke arrived the following day, and it was from him that I heard first, of my wife being at Chutterpore, with the officers and the portion of the sepoys who had not joined the mutineers. He also informed me that Capt. Scott, of the 12th N. I., and Lieutenant Townsend of the artillery, had gone to Nowgong from Chutterpore. This led me to desire to return to cantonments myself for the recovery of some money I had secreted ; it was only eighteen rupees, but money was precious then, and I asked the Rajah to provide me with a small guard of his men to escort me there. I found the money, and returned to Loogasie with Capt. Scott and Lieut. Townsend, who had also recovered some mess stores. The cantonments of Nowgong presented an appearance of utter destruction and plunder. I cannot omit saying that it was deserted by nearly all the former natives, suddur bazar people, and all from which I conclude that they all partook of the plunder. The Rance of Chutterpore's troops were in possession when we left Nowgong.

The day after my return from there, I left the party I was with, to join my wife and the officers and sepoys at the village of Sreenuggur in Bundelcund. The following morning we left for Muhobah, at which place we arrived the next morning, and sojourned for three days.

On the night of the third day, we left Muhobah to go to Killunjur. Our first march was to the village of Jorai. Here we met Mr. Carne, the Assistant Magistrate of Hameerpore, who brought us 1,000 Rs. which had been lent by the Rajah of Chirkaree. We remained at Jorai under some trees close to a range of hills until one of our party had his attention attracted by the gradual appearance of a body of men armed with spears, matchlocks and tulwars. A person was sent to inquire the object of their gathering, and only learnt in answer they wanted 1,000 Rs. before we could pass, it was at first refused, but subsequently conceded, upon condition, that we should be escorted in safety to Killunjur. They agreed to our condition, received 700 Rs. in cash, with the promise of

the balance upon reaching our destination, signed the agreement upon oath and went away. To our horror the next morning, while we were making ready to start, the matchlockmen poured in an incessant fire upon us from the hills. Lieut. Townsend of the artillery was shot dead, and some of the sepoys wounded, (one subahdar died of his wounds afterwards.) We had to leave behind what little we were possessed of. Our fears were increased on reaching Muhobah to find that village also against us, threatening to kill any one who attempted to enter. We were thus forced to go on to Kubrai, on the way to which, I lost my poor wife by sun-stroke. She had been dreadfully exposed to the sun, and underwent fatigue that I think of with pain. After I left my wife, I met Mr. Smalley, the band master of the 12th N. I., sitting under a small bush with his wife dying in his arms. Captain Scott very humanely took Mr. Smalley's little baby, and carried her on his horse for a short distance, when the poor little creature expired, and Mr. Smalley had to leave her on the road side. We continued our journey towards Kubrai, and three miles further the Sergeant Major of the 12th dropped down from sun-stroke, and died almost immediately.

When we reached the foremost of the party at a well on the road to Kubrai, we heard of the death of Major Kirke, commanding the 12th N. I., who had been buried by the officers in a grave dug with the sepoy's bayonets. We arrived at Kabrai late in the afternoon of the 18th June, having marched about thirty miles that day; it will be remembered that we started in the morning under a shower of bullets from the matchlockmen at Jorai. When the villagers of Kubrai saw us under some trees on the bank of a dry tank, they gathered round by hundreds, and after having satisfied their curiosity, they left at night fall. The officers were informed upon arrival at that place, that the villagers meditated an attack upon us: the band left for the village, and the officers decided upon proceeding towards Banda. The sepoys then declined going any further. The officers left on their horses at about ten P. M., and my party composed of Mr. Johnson, pension bugler of the 12th, Sergeant Ranit of the artillery, and a female with two children, remained at Kubrai through positive inability to move another step. Our feet were quite blistered, and mine particularly, as I had no shoes, having before my wife's death given them to her. The report about the villagers of Kubrai intending to assault us was evidently intended to drive us away, but I cannot explain by whom it was raised; probably the sepoys tired of their work

prompted it; at all events I was told they advised the officers to leave.

Some device must have been at the bottom, for the report turned out quite false. We remained at that village for twelve or thirteen days, being supplied with food by the natives; but as the supply was very scanty, we used to get diet prepared for ourselves by the 'Bhutteara,' or man in charge of the Serai where we put up. The zemindar of Kubrai first asked us what money we had. I was the only one who possessed any, (eighteen Rs.), but fearing the temptation it might offer I kept this very close, and the zemindar was shown two Rs. tied up in a handkerchief, the whole sum belonging to the rest of the party. We stayed at Kubrai, as I said for about twelve days, when we were suddenly ejected in consequence of the arrival of a gun and some sepoys from the Rajah of Jalown. I cannot say with what object, but I should suppose, as the village of Kubrai belonged to the Rajah of Jalown, the force was sent there for its protection.

After being turned out of Kubrai, we bent our course in the direction of Mitown, on the way to Banda; we reached that village at six in the evening, and were treated by the villagers with exceeding compassion; they met us on entering the village, led us into it asking the usual questions, and provided food and charpoys, (native beds). We asked the zemindars to allow us to remain there for four or five days; they hospitably answered, stay as long as you like. The zemindars extended their kindness even to making us up a suit of clothes each, and presenting a blanket to every one of us; the very Bunneas (grain dealers), who are proverbially a hard-hearted race, supplied us with grain and flour by turns; some of the people gave us tobacco gratuitously also. Our small party being quite unanimous about the unadvisability of proceeding to Banda, owing to the accounts we had heard of the murder of Europeans there. I wrote to Major Ellis, the Political Assistant of Bundelcund, soliciting assistance to enable us to reach Nagode. The zemindars gave a messenger one rupee to convey this letter, and he returned in ten days, with a note for me from Capt. Scott, and a native letter to the zemindars from Major Ellis, promising them a future reward for their care of us. We left Mitown after a stay of nearly a month on the 12th August, with a guard of fifty men for our protection to Nagode. Reaching Gowrechur a distance of fifteen miles, we were pressed to pass some time there by Raj Dur, the Jagheerdar of that place. His invitation was so cordial, that we could not doubt his good will by

a refusal, and his subsequent liberality induced us to stay there for seventeen days, during which time he sent to Banda for tailors to make us some clothes, and cloth to make them of; he also sent for plates, tumblers, basins, &c., for our use. The man despatched was unsuccessful, through a quarrel that had arisen between the Nawab of Banda and Dawa Sahib, the Kamdar of the Ranee of Ajeeghur, a neighbouring territory.

The only thing the servant brought from Banda were shoes, which were too large for us and had to be returned. The Rajah munificently instructed his people to provide us with everything we desired irrespective of any reference to him. We left him with many expressions of our gratitude on the 28th August 1857. He provided the female in our company with his palkee to travel in, and mounted us on an elephant.

The evening previous to our departure, though he paid us a parting visit, on which occasion he induced our acceptance of fifty rupees for road expense, a silver rummer weighing twenty-six rupees, and a silver basin weighing fourteen rupees, both of which we had in use. He also gave one of our party a rifle. We reached Nagode on the 1st September. I remained there only three days. I left on the 4th by myself for Allahabad *viâ* Rewah, being the only one of our party who had an object in proceeding further than Nagode. I arrived at Rewah on the 5th, and was detained there six days by news of Koor Singh's party of mutineers being in that vicinity.

On the 12th, I left Rewah in an ekka, and arrived at Mirzapore on the 14th instant. At this place, a gentleman heard of my being at the Serai, and asked me over to his house, where I was very well treated, and provided with necessaries in the shape of clothes. A steamer conveyed me to Allahabad, where I trust to meet Captain Scott my late employer, who has kindly offered to maintain me while out of employ. If I can join the volunteer cavalry at Allahabad I will do so.

I have lost all my property besides a small box of jewellery belonging to my wife, which she managed to escape with from Nowgong, with my father's Waterloo medal, (he was a soldier in the 11th light dragoons), my two Cabool medals, Sutledge medal, and Punjaub medal (won in the 3d light dragoons), and my watch which property was taken away from us by the inhabitants of Jorai on the morning they fired upon us. My brother was riding master to the cavalry corps that mutinied at Meerut, and I am very anxious to hear of his safety. I have written to him, but I suppose the dâk route is closed. I shall be much obliged to any one who can give me any information about him.

Mrs. Mawe's Narrative of the Mutiny of the 12th Regiment Native Infantry at Nowgong.

Some days previous to the mutiny at Nowgong, Major Kirke made all the officers leave their Bungalows, and sleep in the lines, to show the men what confidence was placed in them. The left wing mutinied on the 24th June (I think) my husband and I were at dinner when Lieut. E. Jackson, our adjutant, came in, and told us that the mess shepherd from Jhansi had arrived, bringing the sad intelligence of the murder of Capt. Dunlop and Ensign Taylor. The man said that *all* the sahebs there had been murdered. About 3 P. M. next day Major Kirke had a parade; Capt. Scott, the Quarter Master, informed the men of the mutiny, and hoped that the right wing would prove true. The regimental colors were placed in front, and he told the men that all those who intended to be faithful to the service were to come towards the colors. The sepoys *all* moved forward, but silently. We were looking at them from our window (I cannot tell why, but from the first my poor husband and I doubted the men). The officers were quite pleased, and said that the right wing would stand fast. The native officers came afterwards to Major Kirke, and told him the right wing wished to volunteer. The next day he sent the Adjutant to ask them if they were of the same mind; still they said yes. On the evening of the 7th June, Dr. Mawe said to me, that he feared the men would break out soon, and be set on or joined by the 14th irregulars, (Skinner's corps who had become most insolent). My husband was the only doctor at Nowgong, and had medical charge of the cavalry and artillery. At about 5 P. M, Dr. Mawe went in our buggy to the mess house, where he knew he would find the Major, to try and shake his confidence in the men, and to ask him to move to Saugor, or some other place where there were troops. I little thought then that he would never cross his own threshold again. I dressed my little girl, and sent her out with the bearer. The wing was paraded as usual, to march off the guards, by the serjeant major. I was dressing when my ayah, who was standing by the window, exclaimed "oh' what is the matter, the serjeant major is running away." I instantly looked out, and saw Lucas, with his sword raised over his head, coming towards the Bungalow; he saw me at the window, and called out—"Mrs. Mawe fly, the men have mutinied," I felt paralized, both husband and child out, and both at their mercy. I rushed out into the road to try if I could see either of them. I desired our punkah bearers to go and look for the child, but they would not stir, neither would our

khidmutgar, who was standing at the door. I heard shots fired, and feared Dr. Mawe was at the hospital, and would be killed. No one would stir, as for me I was standing in the road, crying. When I saw him driving furiously from the mess house, and waving his whip, I ran to him, and saw our bearer bringing our little child in the rear of the lines. I snatched her from him, and got into the buggy, and drove back to the mess house, where all the officers had assembled. About sixty or eighty sepoys had joined them, and said they were true. The havildar major was shot by the sepoys; while I was standing outside I saw him lying on his face on the parade ground. We might have been a quarter of an hour at the mess house, when we were obliged to leave it, as the men were seen at the guns, and we had gone only a short distance when a shot whizzed close by us, but no one was hurt. We were first off in our buggy; the band master's buggy was broken at starting, so he, his wife and baby, were put into the camel carriage (Major Kirke's). We were told to go towards Chuttupore, but instead of going the direct road, Dr. Mawe went by a road round a hill, which Capt. Scott had gone a few days previously, while escorting four artillery men there who had used seditious language I believe; and during the night we were constantly alarmed, lest the cavalry should follow us. We saw fire after fire as our bungalows were burning; several sepoys left us during the night. I do not know how many left Nowgong, there were besides the eight officers, the band master, sergeant major, several of the band and their families, the brigade major's wife, and an old artillery man. Next morning we arrived at Chutterpore, and were put into the seraie. The Major got 1,000 rupees from the Ranee. Before the mutiny she sent word to him that her guns and treasury were at his service when he required them; there was very little money among the party; that day Capt. Scott and Lieut. Townsend of the artillery were sent back to Nowgong, to try and recover property, and bring out mess stores. Major Kirke went to the Rajah of Loogassie; he and the other two officers joined us at Muhobah where we were with Mr. Carne who shewed us great kindness. We left on the 17th for Callinger. The Major borrowed 1,000 rupees, and 50 Rs. were given by him to my husband and other officers to take care of; the sepoys asked to have 700 rupees given to the villagers, which, though some of the officers objected to, was done. At daybreak we were fired upon by matchlock men, and had to fly, the (faithful) sepoys all made off, except ten or twelve. Lieut. Townsend was shot dead. After we left I saw the subadar, who was shot in the stomach, on horseback.

We hoped to reach Muhobah again, and after a weary walk of ten miles we arrived; but alas! the people had risen, and we had to proceed. Dr. Mawe and I carried our child alternately. Mrs. Smalley died near this place from sunstroke. We had no food; I felt quite exhausted, one of the officers kindly lent me his horse, and Dr. Mawe was lent another. We were very faint. The Major died on the road between Muhobah and Kubree, and was buried; also the Serjeant Major and some of the women. At Muhobah we were joined by a Serjeant, Kirchoff and his wife, on the 15th. The sepoys all left on the night of the 19th, and the bandmen likewise. We were fired on by matchlock men, and set out by the Banda road hoping to reach Allahabad. Our party consisted of Capt. Gwam (?) Capt. Scott, Lieuts. E. Jackson and James Barber, Ensigns Remington and Franks, Dr. Mawe, Mr. Henry Kirk (not in the service), Mr. Smalley, and the two little children, Sergeant Kirchoff and his wife. On the morning of the 20th Capt. Scott took Lottie on his horse. I was riding behind my husband, as she was so crushed between us—she was two years old on the 1st of June. We were both very weak for want of food, and the thirst was dreadful, added to the burning sun; neither Lottie nor I had any head covering, and Dr. Mawe only a sepoy's cap that I found on the ground at Kubree. Soon after sunrise we were followed by villagers with latties and spears; one of the latter struck Capt. Scott's horse in the leg, and he galloped away, followed by Lieuts. Franks and Remington. My poor husband never saw his child again. We rode on for several miles, keeping away from villages, and crossed the river; our thirst was extreme, and my husband got dreadful cramps. I had to hold him on the horse; I was very uneasy about him; the day previous I saw a drummer's wife eating chupaties, I asked her to give a piece to the child which she did. At a distance we saw water in a nullah, and we all rode towards it; the descent was very steep; we all dismounted, and had a drink; our only drinking vessel was the *cap* alluded to, which I have still with me. The horses were getting water, and I was bathing my neck. As I had no stockings, my feet were dreadfully scorched and blistered, my shoes being much torn. When two lattiwallas were seen on the hill over the nullah, they told us to go away; we were all frightened, and mounted immediately and rode off. Sergeant K. was holding our horse, while Dr. Mawe put me up, and mounted. I think he must have got suddenly faint, for I fell and he over me on the road just as we were riding off. Some time before poor Mr. Barber and Dr. Mawe said, they could not live many hours. My poor husband felt he was dying before he reached the nul-

lah, and told me his wishes about the children and myself, and we took leave of each other. I felt as if my brain was burnt, the relief of tears was denied me. As soon as we fell the Sergeant let go the horse, and went away, thus cutting off our escape; we sat down on the ground awaiting our death, for we felt sure they would come and murder us; poor fellow, he was very weak, and his thirst frightful; I said I would go and bring some water in my dress and his cap. Just as I was leaving him the two villagers came down; they took 80 rupees from him which he had round his waist, and his gold watch. I had on a handsome guard-ring which they saw. I went towards the nullah, and drew off my wedding ring, and twisting it in my hair, replaced my guard; they came to me and pulled it off my finger. I tore part of the skirt of my dress to bring the water in, but it was of no use, for when I returned my beloved's eyes were fixed, and though I called and tried to restore him and poured water into his mouth, it only rattled in his throat; he never spoke to me again. I held him in my arms till he sank gradually down. I felt frantic, but could not cry: I knew the being I had idolized nearly fifteen years was gone, and I was alone; so I bound his head and face in my dress, for there was no earth to bury him. This thought wrings my heart day and night. The pain in my hands and feet was dreadful, so I went down to the nullah, and sat down in the water on a stone, hoping to get off at night and look for Lottie. When I came back from the water, I saw they had not taken her little watch, chain and seal; so I took it and tied it to the string of my petticoat under my jacket. It was a parting gift from Lieut. H. Campbell of the 52d N. I., when he left the regiment in November 1854, to take our four little girls to Ireland. I had been about an hour at the nullah when some thity villagers came in search of me; they dragged me out of the water and took off my jacket to search for money. Though I told them they had taken all from Dr. Mawe, they found the little chain, and took it; they then dragged me to the village of Munnapore, one and half miles distant, mocking me all the way, and wondering to whom I was to belong, they had sent on some of their party, and when we arrived the whole village was out to look at me, men and women. I asked for a charpoy, and laid down outside a door. I asked them for some milk, as dozens of cows passed, but they refused; at last when night came, and the village was quiet, an old woman brought me a leaf full of dall and rice, but my throat was so parched I could not eat; she brought me a small earthen vessel with some drink, which she told me was made

from *bhang*. Next morning some of the men told me I was to go to Banda. I refused, and said I would go to Allahabad; but about an hour after the Nawab sent a palkee for me, and the sowar gave me the grateful news that a little child was there and three sahibs. How I hoped it was Lottie. On arrival I found my poor little one; she was greatly blistered from the sun; the officers were Capt. Scott and the two young men, and the band master. We were there fourteen days after I arrived, and we were well watched and guarded, not allowed to speak to any one, but kindly treated. We were in one room, and were often poorly fed. The evening they arrived, the Begum sent for the child and gave her twenty rupees. This of course I made common property; with it we bought a few clothes; I got needles, cotton, &c., to make them. We often got food at night from the bazar. The Begum sent for me some days after I arrived, and talked a long time with me, for she said she could understand me. The night we left she sent for me again, and gave me some English clothes, stockings, &c., for Lottie; and a pair of earrings on a little silver plate for myself. I suffered dreadfully all the time I was at Banda from my feet. I sent for simple ointment to the native doctor, and he sent me mercurial instead, which nearly set me mad. I am partly a cripple even now. Major Ellis wrote to us. The Nawab sent us an elephant. God knows what agony I endured. From the kind old Major and the officer's wives of the 50th N. I., and Major Hampton, I received such kindness as I never can forget. I had known Major H. in happier days at Lahore. They gave me clothes for myself and child. I was a night and day at Rewah, and the ladies of the 50th, who were there, and Capt. Osborne and Mr. Jackson, shewed me great kindness. We came by dâk to Mirzapore. Drs. Pemberton and McLean were very kind, and brought me to their house from the dâk bungalow. For two days, until the steamer arrived, Capt. Sevenoakes shewed me every attention. All our property is gone, my watch, chain, rings, some presents from the ladies of the 52d (with which corps we were nearly eight years, and my poor husband was with it at Mooltan), and my husband's medal and clasps for Mooltan and Guzerat. Were it possible I wish to get another for my son to keep. He will be twelve years old in January; he was born in camp at Subzulkote, when we were coming from Sukkur during the Sutlej campaign with Sir Charles Napier's force, I have four little girls at school in Dublin also, and hope with God's blessing to get them home soon to see them.

The Futtehghur Mutiny.

The following account of the Futtehghur mutiny was drawn up by Mr. Jones, one of the survivors:

On the 3rd of June information was received at Futtehghur, that the troops at Shahjehanpore and Bareilly had mutinied, and that a body of the Oude mutineers, consisting of an infantry and cavalry corps, were marching into Futtehghur. This caused great anxiety, as the 10th were known to be mutinously disposed, for they had given out that as soon as another corps arrived they would rise and murder all the Europeans, only sparing their own officers. That night a consultation was held, and it was considered absolutely necessary to send off the ladies and children to Cawnpore; and as boats had been secured it was settled that a start should be made at once, as it had been before agreed that it was impossible to hold the fort; and it was at that time thought that the river was quite open. All was settled, when several gentlemen said that unless the magistrate accompanied them they would not leave the station. He agreed to go; accordingly the party started at 1 A. M. on the 4th, and got on very well that night. The next morning we were joined by some of the officers of the 10th, who reported that the 10th had mutinied, seized the treasure, abused the Colonel, and fired on one or two of their officers, and that there was little chance of any of those who had remained behind having escaped. We accordingly proceeded on our way, and when opposite the village Koosoomkhew were fired upon by the villagers, but only one of our party was slightly wounded. The next day we had not gone far when a report reached us that the Oude troops were crossing one of the ghâts a few miles below. The boats were anchored till information could be received from the man at the ferry; when he came up he said it was false, so a consultation was held to know what was best to be done; and as the party was very large, it was agreed that it would be safer to divide. Hurdeobuksh having offered Mr. Probyn protection, with any of his friends, it was settled to go to his fort. About forty Europeans availed themselves of the protection offered. The remainder of the party proceeded to Cawnpore, as no intelligence of the mutiny there had reached us; and I may here anticipate the narrative by stating that the whole of the party, amounting to about 126 souls, who went down the river, were foully murdered by the Nana Saheb at Cawnpore. Arriving within a few miles of Dhurrumpore, (about ten miles from Futtehghur) we learnt that the Colonel had induced the 10th to return to their duty; that though they had the treasure in their possession, all was going on much as usual. Accordingly

Mr. Probyn and two officers rode into Futtehghur to ascertain the state of affairs. After remaining two days Mr. Probyn returned to Dhurrumpore, where he and his family, with Mr. W. Edwards, collector of Badaon, eventually remained under the protection of Hurdeobuksh.

After remaining a few days, and being convinced that the Gurhee of Dhurrumpore was not in a position which could afford any effectual protection against any armed force, it was determined to return to the station on the 13th of June, and we commenced sleeping at the fort and returning to our duties. Each morning preparations were made to secure boats and have them ready for flight, in case the regiment again mutinied.

Early on the morning of the 18th of June we were suddenly roused by one of the officers (Lieutenant Swettenham), who informed us that the regiment was in open mutiny, the sepoys having broken the gaol and released the prisoners. This event took us by surprise, for a couple of days previously the 10th had handed to their commanding officer, Colonel Smith, a letter written by the Subadar of the 41st, who had come from Seetapore, *viâ* Shahjehanpore, and were there a few miles distant across the river, requesting the 10th to murder all their officers as they had done theirs, seize the treasure, and join them. The Subadar informed the Colonel that they had said in reply that they had served the Company Bahadoor too many years to turn traitors, and that they were determined to abide faithful to their salt, and advised the 41st not to come in their way, as they would certainly oppose them. The sepoys had also assisted their officers in breaking up the bridge-of-boats and sinking all other boats at the different ghâts, to prevent in every way possible the mutineers crossing to the Futtehghur side. All this however was merely to serve as a blind, for no sooner did the 41st cross and enter the city walls than a company of the 10th and the artillerymen, with the two guns, stationed on the parade, guarding the treasure, marched to the Nawab, placed him on the guddee, and laid the colors at his feet and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns. From all accounts the Nawab declined to accept of their colors, but said if they brought him the treasure he would have no objection to receive them into his service. The sepoys however were not to be done out of their money, so returned to the parade ground, saluted their colors, and shared the money among themselves. Up to this time a few had remained with us as a guard in the fort; these now took their departure quietly; one or two returned now and again to fetch away their lotas and other articles they had left in the fort. The regiment then divided into two parties. The Purbeas crossed over at once to Oude, with

intention to make for their homes, accompanied by Captain Bignall—we afterwards learnt that this body had been plundered by the villagers and Captain Bignall killed; others went off by twos and threes to their homes, and those who remained were killed by the 41st, because they were not allowed a share in the public money. Thus this regiment was completely disorganized and destroyed.

It was now suggested by some to take to the boats, but the river was much too low, so that idea was abandoned; and it was resolved to hold the fort. Out of upwards of 100 Europeans, including women and children, there were but thirty-three able-bodied men, and these proved our sole available force for defence. We then endeavoured to prepare against any attack. A six-pounder loaded with grape was mounted over the gateway; and about 300 muskets, stored in the fort, were brought out, loaded, and placed ready for immediate use. While Mr. Thornhill was loading his it accidentally went off and wounded him severely in the hand and arm, incapacitating him from further duty.

The godowns were next searched for ammunition for the guns and muskets, but only a few muster round shot and shells were found, together with six boxes of ball cartridge and an equal quantity of blank. The latter we broke up and used for the guns, and a lot of nuts, screws, hammer heads, &c., were collected to serve as grape and round. We were then mustered and divided into three parties, each under the orders of a military officer, and the whole under the command of Colonel Smith, of the 10th.

Our first day passed very quietly, but we heard that the 41st were encamped on Lackparah, a large tope about a mile to the west of the fort, and were making preparations to attack us. At night-fall pickets were posted at each bastion, but the night passed without any attack. In the morning we mounted a three-pounder, and by the evening a nine-pounder was brought into position. Provisions were also stored, and we busied ourselves in strengthening our position as much as possible, and by the time the 41st attacked us, we had seven guns mounted—viz., three-pounder, six-pounder, nine-pounder, twelve-pounder, eighteen-pounder, and a twenty-four-pounder; the last three being howitzers, and a small brass mortar.

On the evening of the 26th or 27th of June a party of our coolies, who were employed in pulling down some walls close to the fort, were fired upon by the enemy. An alarm was immediately sounded, which brought every man to his post; few shots were exchanged, but nothing particular occurred. Next morning before daybreak the mutineers opened upon us

with their two guns, but it was too dark for them to aim with any certainty, so after a few rounds they stopped and recommenced firing at daylight. The sepoys took up their positions behind trees, bushes, and anything which afforded them cover, and kept up a heavy musketry fire, and gave us little or no chance for a shot at them. Their fire, heavy though it was, did us no harm; they maintained it till a little past noon, when most of them began to retire; and by the evening only some random shots were heard now and again.

Next morning the guns began to play again, but from a different direction, still doing no harm, as the shots either passed over or hit the bastions. The discharge of musketry was heavier this morning than on the preceding day. Several ladders were seen being borne towards the fort, but the bearers were shot down by us as soon as they came within range.

For four days the enemy's guns and muskets played on in this manner, and several ineffectual attempts were made to escalade. On the fifth day a decided decrease of firing was observed; a company of the riflemen had taken up their positions on the tops of houses in the Hoosainpore village, and kept up a deadly fire upon us. Captain Phillamore, Mr. Sutherland, and one or two of the servants were thus wounded. Some of the riflemen had also taken up their positions in a small out-house about seventy or eighty yards from the fort. They loopholed the walls and kept up a harassing fire from them, which rendered our guns perfectly useless, as we dared not lift our heads to fire. It was here my poor brother, while covering one of the gunners (Conductor Ahern) with his rifle, was mortally wounded by a ball in the head, which killed him a few hours after. Colonel Tucker was killed on the same spot a day after my brother was wounded, and they were buried together in one grave. On the following morning Mr. Ahern blew away, with a discharge of grape, some dozen men who were constructing a breastwork for their riflemen on the woodyard wall, which place they had reached by means of a covered way they had erected with jhow and sand bags under the protection of the fire of their riflemen. They did not attempt the same again, but procured the assistance of some sappers and miners, and cut a hole through the woodyard wall, and by this means got into the yard. There was a large store of firewood and straw in it, so we allowed them to get in, and work away, for they were unable to do us any harm, and when they had fairly worked for two days, we fired the wood and drove them out baffled. They commenced a mine and worked two nights, and early on the third morning they sprung it; the explosion

was awful, it shook the whole fort, we all thought it was over with us, but on examination proved that it had blown down only five or six yards of the wall, leaving the inner half standing.

The bastion where I was happened to be the next to that where the explosion took place; I at once ran to the spot to see what mischief was done; seeing, however, several of our party engaged in moving a gun to the breach, I returned to my own post, and noticed from 100 to 150 Pathans and sepoys congregating below the breach, in order to attempt an escalade as soon as the dust and smoke cleared off. I at once sent notice to the others to get aid, and in the meantime by pouring the fire of two double barrels and eight muskets, already loaded, into them, and discharging them as they were reloaded by a native, managed to disperse them before any of my comrades came up to my aid. Somewhat later in the day a second assault was attempted, which was defeated by Mr. Fisher's shooting the leader of the party, which caused his followers to fall back. We this day lost our best gunner, Mr. Ahern, who was shot through the head while laying a gun.

The enemy had now brought a gun to bear upon the bungalow containing the ladies and children. The shots generally passed over, but two or three struck the house; another gun they got to bear against the gate, and contrived to break a hinge and knocked several holes through it, but little harm was done, as we had piled up the archway with timber, which effectually stopped the shots. Two of our guns were soon after disabled. The enemy then commenced another mine close to the first. The determination thus shown by them, as also the loss of three of our best men, disheartened the garrison, already worn out by fatigue and watching. It was also certain that if the second mine was completed and fired, the enemy would attack us by both breaches, which we could not possibly defend; our position became desperate; we began to look to the boats as our only mode of escape, the river having risen considerably by the rains. After due consideration it was determined to evacuate the fort. No time was lost in getting everything ready for a start. The ladies and children were divided into three parties. At midnight they were got safely into their respective boats; one of the party was then sent round to the pickets to call them in. At about 2 A. M. of the 4th of July we had all embarked. The guns in the fort had been spiked, and the little ammunition we had left destroyed. The order was given to let go; we started in very good order, but no sooner did we pass the fort walls than showers of bullets were sent after us, and a cry raised that the Feringhees were running away. The sepoys followed

us about a mile, firing all along, but doing no harm, for we were a long way out of range.

We had not proceeded far when it was found that Colonel Goldie's boat was much too large and heavy for us to manage. It was accordingly determined to be abandoned, so all the ladies and children were taken on Colonel Smith's boat. A little delay was thus caused, which the sepoys took advantage of to bring a gun to bear on the boats; the distance, however, was too great; every ball fell short. As soon as the ladies and children were all safely on board we started and got down as far as Singeerampore without accident, although fired upon by the villagers. Here we stopped a few minutes to repair the rudder of Colonel Smith's boat, and one out of two boatmen we had was killed by a matchlock ball. The rudder repaired, we started again, Colonel Smith's boat taking the lead. We had not gone beyond a few yards when our boat grounded on a soft muddy sand bank; the other boat passed on, all hands got into the water to push her; but notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not manage to move her. We had not been in this unhappy position half an hour when two boats, apparently empty, were seen coming down the stream. They came within twenty yards of us, when we discovered that they carried sepoys, who opened a heavy fire, killing and wounding several. Mr. Churcher, sen., was shot through the chest; Mr Fisher, who was just behind me, was wounded in the thigh. Hearing him call out, I had scarcely time to turn round when I felt a smart blow on my right shoulder; a bullet had grazed the skin and taken off a little flesh. Major Robertson was wounded in the face. The boats were now alongside of us. Some of the sepoys had already got into our boat. Major Robertson, seeing no hope, begged the ladies to come into the water rather than to fall into their hands. While the ladies were throwing themselves into the water I jumped into the boat, took up a loaded musket, and, going astern, shot a sepoy. I loaded again, but finding no cap I was obliged to retreat, as the enemy were now coming in great numbers. Lieut. and Mrs. Fitzgerald were at this time sitting in a corner of the boat with their child. Lieut. Fitzgerald had a loaded musket, with the bayonet fixed in his hand. Mr. Churcher, sen., still lay weltering in his blood. The others had all got out of the boat into the water. Major and Mrs. Robertson, with their child and Miss Thompson, were standing close to each other beside the boat; Lieut. Simpson and Mr. Churcher, jun., were near them also; I all this time lost sight of Major Phillot, Ensign Eckford, and a few others. I suppose they were killed. Mr and Mrs. Fisher were about twenty yards from

the boat; he had his child in his arm apparently lifeless. Mrs. Fisher could not stand against the current; her dress, which acted like a sail, knocked her down when she was helped up by Mr. Fisher. I now resolved to make an escape, if possible, to the leading boat, which I knew could not have proceeded far, so at once I struck out into the stream. Mr. and Mrs. Fisher continued in a distressing position when I passed them unable to render any assistance.

I saw Mr. Fisher again, alone, floating on his back, but soon lost sight of him, as it was getting dark. I continued swimming for about an hour or more, when at some distance I saw the other boat. On reaching her I found everything in confusion; Mr. Rohan, the youngest Miss Goldie, a child, and the only manjee who was on board, were killed; Lieutenant Swettenham, Dr. Maltby, and one or two were severely wounded opposite Singheerampore by heavy fire of grape from two guns planted on the heights by the sepoys who had followed us. We repaired the rudder, which had been damaged, and continued our voyage with heavy hearts all that night. Early the next morning a voice hailed us from the shore, which we recognized as Mr. Fisher's. He came on board and informed us that his poor wife and child had been drowned in his arms; his wound was very painful, the ball having passed through the middle of the left thigh. We continued our voyage the whole of that day till we reached a village opposite Koosoomkhore, in the Oude territories. Here the villagers offered us assistance and protection. We at first feared treachery, but were soon convinced that they were friends, accepted their kind offers and put to shore for the night. We were all hungry, and begged the villagers to bring us some food, which they soon did, giving us chupatties and buffalo's milk, which greatly refreshed us.

My wound had now become very painful, and my naked back having been exposed to the sun and rain all day was smarting severely. The boat, now, as I supposed, was anchored for the night. I determined to find rest in the village, as I had had none the two previous nights. I asked one of the thackoors if he could accommodate me with a charpoy for the night in his village. He at once took me with him, and gave me plenty to eat and a charpoy. By this time my back had become so very sore that I could find no ease in any position. At night a message came from Colonel Smith, saying the boat was going to leave. I was too weak however to pay any attention to it. A second and third came, but I would not go. I had determined to stand my chance, happen what might. The boat left. I heard nothing more of it for several days,

till their manjee who took her down returned and gave out that Nana Saheb had fired upon them at Bithoor, and all on board were killed. I remained in the village for about a month, and subsequently joined Mr. Probyn, and came down with him to Cawnpore. Major Robertson and Mr. Churcher, jun., are said to be concealed in a village in Oude, near Futtehghur.

The following is a list of the Europeans who were in the fort of Futtehghur:—

Colonel and Mrs. Smith (10th native infantry); Colonel and Mrs. Goldie and three daughters; Colonel and Mrs. Tucker and four children (clothing agency); Miss Tucker; Mr. and Mrs. Thornhill and two children (Judge of Futtehghur); Miss Nancy Lang (maid servant); Mr. and Mrs. R. N. Lowis and two children (joint-magistrate); Dr. and Mrs. Heathcote and two children (10th native infantry); Dr. and Mrs. Maltby (civil surgeon); Major and Mrs. Robertson and child (gun carriage agency); Miss Thompson; Mr. and Mrs. Fisher and child (chaplain); Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland and three daughters and one boy (merchant); Mr. and Mrs. Jones, brother-in-law, and four children (engineer, G. C. A.); Mr. and Mrs. Reach and two children (road overseer); Mr. and Mrs. Ahern (clothing agency); Mr. and Mrs. Gibson and family (road overseer); Sergeant Redma and family (10th native infantry); Quartermaster Serjeant and family (10th native infantry); Mr. Best and family (bridge darogah); Pensioner Bosco and family; Major Munro (10th native infantry); Major Phillot (10th native infantry); Captain Phillimore (10th native infantry); Lieut. Simpson (10th native infantry); Lieut. Swettenham (10th native infantry); Lieut. and Mrs. Fitzgerald and child (10th native infantry); Ensign Henderson (10th native infantry); Ensign Eckford (10th native infantry); Captain Vibart (2nd cavalry); Mr. Jones and child and Mr. Jones, junr. (planters and merchants); Mr. Donald, senr., and Mr. Donald, junr., (Badaon planters); Mr. Churcher, senr., and Mr. Churcher, junr. (planters and merchants); Miss Sturt, Mr. James (opium department); Drummer Knowles and family (10th natve infantry); and two Messrs. Wrixen (band, 10th native infantry).

The following is a list of those Europeans who proceeded to Cawnpore on the 4th of June:—

Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Monckton and child (Engineers); Mr. and Mrs. Freeman; Mr. and Mrs. Campbell and two children; Mr and Mrs. Johnston; and Mr. and Mrs. Macmullen (missionaries); Mr. Alexander; Mr. and Mrs. Ives and daughter (agent to the North-West Dâk Company); Mr. and Miss Maclean (planter and merchant); Mr. and Mrs. Guise

(planter and merchant), Mr. and Mrs. Elliot and five children (superintendent of Dhuleep Singh's estate); two Misses Ray; Mr. and Mrs. Palmer and nine children (Deputy Collector); Mr. and Mrs. Macklin and eight children (head clerk, Collector's office); Mr. and Mrs. Joyce and four children (shopkeepers); Mr. and Mrs. R. Brierly and child (boat agent and coach builder); Mr. and Mrs. J. Brierly and two children (clerk, Collector's office); two Misses Brierly; Miss Finlay; Mr. Finlay and family; Mrs. Shepherd and family; Mr. and Mrs. Madden and family (clothing agency); Mr. and Mrs. Kew and family (post master); Miss Kew; Mr. and Mrs. Caten Car (Inspector of post offices); Mr. and Mrs. Sheils and two children (school-master); Mr. and Mrs. Cawood and three children (clothing agency); the head tailor of the clothing agency and family (name unknown); Ensign Byrne (10th native infantry); Mr. Billington (clerk); the head blacksmith and family G. C. A. (name unknown); Pensioner Faulkner and family; and Mrs. Macdonald and family.

The following account is by an eye-witness of the scene he relates:—

A few days previous to the arrival of the Seetapore mutineers at Futtehgurh, the 10th regiment native infantry refused to take the treasure, amounting to nearly three lacs, into the fort, and the ammunition that was kept there was brought to the parade ground guarded by them. Seeing that the regiment was disaffected, Colonel Tucker, Captain Bignell, Captain Fitzgerald, and Ensigns Eckford and Burn, with the civil authorities, left the station and sought the protection of Hurdeo Bux, Zemindar of Dhurunpore; and the uncovenanted civil residents, including the American missionaries, and Lieut. Monckton, proceeded by boat to Cawnpore. The station was consequently left in charge of Colonel Smith, 10th N. I., who entrusted the civil duties to Capt. Edward Vibart, a cavalry officer. A few days after, the officers who had gone to Dhurumpore returned to Futtehgurh, but Mr. Probyn went back to the village; shortly after, it was reported that the Seetapore rebels were at Allahgur, a village a few miles from Futtehgurh on the Oudh side of the river, to which place they were invited by Arkah Sing, zemindar, who entertained them for two days, during which time they sent messages to the 10th N. I., that since they had mutinied to defend their religion they should not hesitate to mutiny and murder their officers. The native officers handed over the seditious correspondence to Colonel Smith, who asked them what were their intentions, to which all of them replied that they would fight against

the mutineers, but at the same time caused a message to be conveyed to them that they would not oppose their marching into Futtehgurh. The Nawab also sent the Collector's sowars, under Mahomed Azeem Khan, jamadar Usgur Alli Khan Komaydon, and Shubrate Khan Pilewan, to urge them on to Futtehgurh. On the morning of the 7th June, the day on which the arrival of the Seetapore mutineers was expected, the 10th regiment told Colonel Smith, that they would not obey his orders any longer, nor would they molest him, but two or three companies went to the Nawab whom they placed on the musnud ; to celebrate this event salutes were fired. Independent of this, the Nawab had proclaimed his independence throughout the city by beat of 'tom tom.' Colonel Smith asked him his reason for behaving so foolishly, but I am ignorant of the reply he gave. On the same morning the gentlemen remaining in the station entered the fort. The Seetapore mutineers marched into the station and were joined by the greater part of the 10th N. I., and the budmashes ; those of the 10th N. I. refusing to join the mutineers were either killed or compelled to fly from the station. The fort was then beseiged, and a heavy fire kept up for ten or twelve days; provisions and ammunition having failed them, the occupants of the fort abandoned it by night and proceeded by river to Cawnpore. The Nawab sent his sowars to trace the direction the Europeans had taken, one boat which had grounded containing two gentlemen, three or four ladies and some children was fired upon by them, the two gentlemen were murdered and their heads brought to the Nawab, who ordered them to be exhibited in the city. The ladies, with the other Christian prisoners were, after having suffered cruelties and humiliation too horrible to describe, blown away from guns, by orders of the Nawab. The Nawabs Ahmed Yar Khan and Mahsun Alli Khan enlisted a force of about 8,000 men. These two men were the pillars of the tyrant's throne, nothing being done without their sanction ; he continued to punish with death all those on whom English letters were found. About four or five men were found guilty of the crime and murdered.

Further Particulars.

Mr. R. B. Thornhill's kidmutgar and Mr. E. M. James' syce have given the following information :—

The immediate reason for leaving the fort is not known, but it would seem that all hands were embarked about the 16th July, on board three boats which were kept ready under the

fort, and into them the ladies and children were let down one night at about 2 A. M. In one boat there was nothing but Colonel Goldie's property, and it was abandoned before morning. In the other two boats all the fugitives were distributed, but there were only one or two dandies or boat people, between them. They proceeded down the Ganges with great difficulty, as they had started with the first rise of the river, and the channels were invisible. At dawn they reached a village about two coss from Futtyghur, where money was advanced to the boat-dandies to procure men to hold them, but instead of dandies being brought, information was taken to the Nawab's people, and a large *posse comitatus* came down to the river to seize the boats and their inmates. A good deal of fighting passed, and before the whole of the fugitives could be collected into one boat, Lieutenant Simpson was shot dead: and as he appeared to be personally arranging about the boats, confusion followed, when Mrs. Jones, one of the Miss Goldies, a daughter of a stout elderly gentleman, name not remembered, and a girl about twelve or fourteen years of age, were seized and taken off by the mob to the Nawab. A sepoy named Kalley Khan, said to belong to the 10th regiment, was in this boat, and he used his utmost endeavours to rescue the party, hiding Mrs. Jones and taking charge of the child. Eventually Miss Goldie, the other young lady, the girl, were taken up to the Nawab; on remonstrating about their quarter and food, they were accommodated with a house in one of the Nawab's gardens. Mrs. Jone's fate is not known. Colonel Goldie's baggage boat having been abandoned, and the second boat left behind, after Lieutenant Simpson was shot and the remaining inmates having been seized, the fugitives proceeded together in the third boat, which is described to have been a light fast-pulling one—well provisioned, and well supplied with guns, ammunition and fire arms. There were on board also four syces and two kidmutgars, who, together with the gentlemen on board, pulled the boat under the guidance of a very true and faithful old Manjee, an inhabitant of Futtyghur. The fugitives were chased and fired at, all the way down the river, but managed to escape as far as Bithoor, opposite or near to which town, the manjee was unfortunately shot; and their boat grounding in consequence on a chur, was brought up. No sooner was this seen than the boat was surrounded, and taken on to Cawnpore.

The following names have been given to me as some of the fugitives who were on board the boat; the names of others are not known, but they were all taken to the assembly rooms,—the children being conveyed in vehicles, but the rest

proceeding on foot. En route they do not appear to have been molested, or annoyed in any manner, and from what I can gather, some respectable people interceded at the ghat for some or for all the party, but to no purpose :—

Col. Goldie and one daughter—one daughter taken to the Nawab; Col. and Mrs. Smith, 10th Regt., and two children; Major Phillott; a Major's wife and child; Mrs. Col. Tucker and three children; Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Thornhill, C. S.; Nurse, Ayah, Charley Baba and a Missy Baba; Mr. and Mrs. Lewis, C. S.; and two children—one was held by the Ayah, who would not give it up, and went with it to the assembly room, and it is thought they were murdered together. The Rev. Mr. Fisher and one child; Mr. Edward; Mr. James, assistant in the opium department; and his Orya bearer, who would not leave him, and was murdered, it is supposed, with the others; Mr. Jones; one Doctor, with wife and child a few days old; the brutes floated off the child on the Ganges, on a plank from the boat between Bithoor and Cawnpore.—A stout elderly gentleman, name like Maclean, with two grown-up daughters; one said to have been engaged to an officer, Lieut. Vibart.

Lall Khan, who had been for twenty-two years in the service of Colonel Smith, commanding 10th N. I., thus describes the fate of the party who reached Cawnpore.

Colonel Smith and Mrs. Smith of the 10th N. I.—Both reached Cawnpore and were killed on July 15th.

Major Munro—struck on the neck by a round shot while he was steering the boat near Soorajpore and was killed on the spot.

Major Phillott—wounded at Singheerampore and jumped into the river there, and was drowned. Mrs. P. had previously left the station.

Captain Phillimore—was wounded in the leg in the fort of Futtyghur and was shot dead about a kos above Bithoor.

Lieutenant Fitzgerald—leapt into the river with his wife and child at Singheerampore.

Lieut Swetenham—killed at Singheerampore. His wife and child had left before the outbreak.

Lieut. Henderson reached Cawnpore and was killed on the 15th.

Dr. Heathcote of the 10th with his wife and child reached Cawnpore and was killed on the 15th.

Dr. Maltby, station Doctor, do. do.

Colonel Tudor Tucker—was shot dead in the fort at Futtyghur. Mrs. Tucker and three children and Colonel Tucker's sister all taken to Cawnpore and killed on the 15th.

The chaplain (Rev. Fred. Fisher)—was wounded, but reached Cawnpore and was killed there on the 15th.

Colonel Goldie—was wounded but reached Cawnpore with one of his daughters, and both were killed there on the 15th.

Mr. Jones—was shot in the head in the fort at Futtyghur where Colonel Tucker was shot. He lingered for a day and night before he died.

The Collector Mr. Lewis—wounded, and with his wife and two children reached Cawnpore, and were killed on the 15th.

The Sessions Judge—his wife, three children and an English maid were all taken to Cawnpore and killed on the 15th.

The missionary in charge, orphan establishment, and some others are supposed to have been killed at Mr. Maclean's Factory at Mendhee ghaut, Mr. Maclean himself among the number.

Two collectors, two salt agents, one lady and three children were supposed to have sought protection from Sadhoe Sing, zemindar, who lives about five kos from Futtyghur (in Oude).

Mr. Churcher's Statement.

When the disturbances broke out at Furruckabad I was in the fort. Colonel Smith sent a man to the Newaub of Furruckabad asking him to give us assistance. The Nawaub sent word that he had no armed men, no guns and therefore he could not give us assistance. I heard this from the talk of the garrison at that time; whenever any message was brought, Colonel Smith took the messengers aside. I never heard about the Nawaub's message from Colonel Smith himself, because I was in Colonel Goldie's picquet. I heard Colonel Goldie speak about the Nawaub's refusal, to the garrison. I escaped after the boat catastrophe to the village of Kurhar, and hid in fields, because the zemindars of Kurhar were not strong enough openly to protect me from the Nawaub's followers, who came to the village more than once to get the revenue money, and the Nawaub's people told the zemindars of Kurhar that if they would send in Major Robertson and myself, or our heads, they would be handsomely rewarded. I heard of no writing coming from the Nawaub; but the zemindars told me hurkarus had come from the Nawaub.

When our boat had come opposite Manpoor it stuck on a sand bank. We left the fort at 2 A. M. in three boats, we continued going on till we came opposite Manpoor, while we were going, people on both banks continued firing at us. The boat grounded opposite Manpoor about sixteen miles from this. We saw a boat full of armed sepoys crossing a little above Singhee

Rampoor. This boat came to the Oude side of the river where our boat was stuck—stopped there and at a distance of fifty yards commenced firing at us. The villagers also kept firing from the Oude side. By this time many of our party being wounded, the sepoys brought their boat closer to us, we having returned their fire. At last seeing we had no chance with them, we were obliged to leave our boat, they came and joined their boat with ours. There were about forty men, women and children in the boat, of these thirteen were men. Those that were killed of course were left in the boat, the rest threw themselves overboard into the river. This was about five in the evening; of those who jumped overboard all were drowned except myself, Mr. Jones, Major Robertson and the Rev. Mr. Fisher. I escaped to Kurhar, I swam down the river with the assistance of an oar and got to Kurhar about midnight, when the zemindars received me. Major Robertson was wounded and could not go on, so I stopped there. I saw many killed, Mr. Sutherland was wounded before me, my brother was killed in the boat too, and also Lieut. Simpson, I saw Miss Thompson cut down, she being in the water at the time. Mr. Fisher and Mr. Jones were wounded too, and Mrs. Fisher threw herself overboard.

The attacking party had some Mahomedans with them as well as regular sepoys, and Singhee Rampoor was full of Mahomedans and sepoys, they had three guns placed there, and I saw them fire with cannon on Colonel Smith's boat. The attackers on the Oudh side were chiefly villagers.

Statement of Joseph Dore.

My name is Joseph Dore, age thirty-eight years, a writer by profession. I was in Futtehgurh, in the garee khanah when the out-break occurred. Kaley Khan and his wife both lived with me, Kaley Khan was a Putthan, his wife a Christian girl. On the 16th June 1858, I heard a drum going in the camp here, *i. e.*, in Futtehgurh, saying "khulkoollah-khoda-ka, moolk Badshah ka, hookum Nawab Raees Bahadoor ka." I heard this about three P. M., I was sitting very sad, when Kaley Khan came and asked me why? He said "don't be afraid, I will die by your side," he left me in charge of his wife and children, and about candle-light came back, crying and said, "sir, Soobratee Khan and Wuzeer Khan coachmen have come to Bho Ally Bux havildar-major of the 10th N. I. from the Nawab Raees, and have told him and three others, that the 10th N. I. would take the treasure, kill all their officers and go and serve the

Nawab." There was a circular sent round on the 17th June, warning all to go into the fort, I did not see it and remained. About nine and half or ten o'clock the 10th N. I. broke out, Mr. Knowles who went at their head to the Nawaub with six native band boys, crowned the Nawaub and played "God save the Queen." On the 18th June, the Doobye regiment in the evening were hunting up Christians. I went to a man named Wuzeer Khan with my family and Kaley Khan; he kept us two days, after two days Kaley Khan went to the fort. When Wuzeer Khan, coachman of the Nawaub, came to Wuzeer Khan tent-maker, my protector, and said, "turn out the Christians, you are a Mussulman, or I will be the cause of your death;" I went away with my wife and child, we ran away like mad dogs to Ghajunpoor about nine miles hence on the Agra road. I fled thence after a time to Ghouspoor (my master Mr. Maclean's factory), where I was seized by the Kumal Gunje thannadar of the Nawaub. There were no sepoys seizing us. They could not recognize us. I was seized on the 29th or 30th July. They were all the Nawaub's own servants. I know what sepoys are, I was in a native corps myself. I was tied and dragged with my poor wife and taken to the Nawaub's fort in Furruckabad. When I was taken before the Nawaub there was one dark man, and one fair short man. I did not know their names at the time, but I heard when I got out, that one was Ahmed Yar Khan; he was confined with Knowles and his son, and Jank Icepershaud Fuqueer, and about twenty-five natives and Ulbel Singh, a Seikh havildar, and Narayn Doobey; I do not recollect the names of others, Kaley Khan was blown from a gun. I saw his head hanging from the city gate, *i. e.*, on the left side of the Loll Durwaza; I knew his head; I never saw him alive after he left us, he was blown away about four days before I was imprisoned in the Nawaub's palace. I was thirty-two days in imprisonment. On the 31st day through the Nawaub's falling ill, (for he went out in his chariot before me from the fort escorted by sepoys and sowars to the camp, and returned in the evening and remained all night unwell) I understand his family determined that as he had oppressed the poor, he had become ill, and should release them; next day I was brought before the Nawaub in irons, I saw the Nawaub on a bed, there were sixteen of us, there were present the resaldar who had charge of the resalah at this place, but I don't know his name, and several others: the natives were brought up first, and as their fetters were knocked off, they were told to pray to God for the Nawaub's recovery. Then we were brought up one by one, first Knowles was released and

prayed for the Nawaub ; I was brought next, called up, and told to pray, I said "just now I have suffered too much at your hands to pray for you, I will return thanks when I get well." The Nawaub rolling on his bed with sickness said, "he says true, let him go." Four English pice were allowed during my imprisonment, but so reduced by pilferings that I received but one pice worth of food, in fact had to live like a parrot. In my opinion the Nawaub was the real master and rejoiced in the day, and was escorted by the troops, soldiers and sowars, sitting in a silver howdah, and received salutes: when I was first captured and brought before the Nawaub, there was a cry, the Nawaub himself and many of his chief men thinking some gentleman was brought, ran out to see. Ahmed Yar Khana the dark man said, "who are you?" I said "Dore Sahib, Maclean Sahib ka Keranny." He said "imprison him, take him away: put him in irons, when ten or twelve more come you shall be blown away."

Statement of James Knowles.

My name is James Knowles, a Drum Major of the Allahabad levy, late a Drum Major, 10th N. I.

On the 18th June, bugles were sounded that interrupted me, I wanted to know by whose orders. Went to enquire at the dâk Bungalow where all my officers were, happened to meet one of them, who had been officer of the day, he was wrapping up his bed to go to the fort, I asked him what it was all about, he said make your way *i. e.* save yourself. The very same evening, I bolted away, I left every thing and came to one of the oil men who had always supplied me with oil; and who sheltered me for the night. My house was in the lines; the Telee's (oilman's,) house was in the sudder bazar. The following morning (this man being afraid to keep me in his house, his name was Khealee,) came to me and said "walk out of this else we shall both be killed." After that I came out from his house and went to an old woman servant, who did not take me in. After that seeing that all the regiment and bandmen were packing up their things, I asked what they were doing, they said the Nawaub wants us in his service. They led me to the city ; I stood there the whole day and night; the next evening I was taken prisoner by the 51st N. I. sepoys.

They took me, my two sons, and Gomez, writer, and William Hopwood, Drummer, near their camp: the man said give me 100 rupees, and I will save you. I gave fifty rupees and Hopwood gave rupees ten. They brought me to the city,

I said to my sons if you drink water with Mahomedans, we will reckon you to be Mahomedans. After that I concealed myself in the rear of a tree to see what they were doing. The sepoys packed up whatever I had with me of the Hon'ble Company's property; after this they took my wife and Hopwood's mother to ascertain if they would give any money. After the sepoys left the city I came back to the same place which I had occupied. The bhutearah (keeper of the inn) would not let me in, after this all my family were scattered. I was obliged to bolt, and knocked about here and there, and one of the Nawaub's city people wounded me with a sword on the left shoulder in a tope near the city, saying I had been a writer. My family was left behind on the edge of the same gardens; I went on, and when they came into the garden the same man asked them whom they were searching for; they said for husband and father, he said I have just wounded him,—after that I went hither and thither seeking how I might enter the fort. At night I came back to the Futtehgurh sudder bazar, seeking for my regimental mochee. I found him there, he took me in, and kept me there from 31st August to 2nd October, I went to this mochee's house from prison at the Nawaub's jail. All our gentlemen were killed and drowned. I went with them in Major Robertson's boat when they went from the fort; when the gentlemen were killed I was lying at the bottom of the boat. I escaped out of the boat to Kumalgunge. A resalder took me prisoner at Kumalgunge and sent me to the thannadar, who made out a paper and sent me to the Nawaub's palace, and I was confined in a house in the rear of the Nawaub's house in front of the Emambarah, did not then see the Nawaub. The ladies were blown up on the 23rd July. I was brought in on 26th July to the Nawaub's house. My wife and children were blown up with the other ladies.

Those imprisoned with me were:

Mr. Dore, two Seikhs, and Kaly Khan sepoy in the Nawaub's jail, in the same room with me. The same day the Seikhs came they were taken away to be blown up. Kaly Khan was sent out with the two Seikhs to be blown up. I remained in confinement till 30th August. The Nawaub becoming ill some one said you must make a sacrifice. Jankee Fuqeer was in prison with me, but released before me. I was let go on 31st August by the Nawaub; Gunga Singh and the other sepoys did not know I was there, or they would have killed me.

A dreadful fate befel the wife and child of James Knowles. Fleeing in native disguise from Futtehgurh, foot-sore and

weary, they rested under a mangoe tree near the village of Ghyapoor on the Agra road. Under the shelter of this tree they remained from the 28th June to 18th July 1857: existing on scraps of food begged from the guardians of its fruits, and on stones of mangoes left half picked by birds. One night an armed band of Rajpoots came from the neighbouring village of Nishye, stripped the tree, seized Mrs. Dore, took her a little distance away, and violated her brutishly. She told all to her husband on returning consciousness. These wretched Christians then fled the place, and attempted to conceal themselves in a factory at Ghasepoor belonging to their late employer Mr. Maclean, one of the Futtehgurh victims. Here they were seized by a blood-hound named Ubd Oollah, the Nawaubee thanadar of Kumalgunj, who sent them in to his master at Furruckabad, at whose palace the witness was torn from his wife and child. Since his release he has been unable to obtain any clue as to their fate. He recently attempted to bring the ravishers of his wife to justice, but they were powerful men, and the evidence broke down.

Statement of Buxoo Native Doctor.

On the commencement of the outbreak I fled to the city in mohullah Badurea, first saw ladies after return from Singee Rampoor at noon, saw Mrs. Jones, senior, in Khasmehal of the prisoner's fort; and Mrs. Sutherland, and Mrs. Jones' child—the latter wounded with a bullet; the prisoner sent for me, I declined to attend. Mrs. Sutherland sent for me, then I consented; they were in confinement, I saw a guard of one jail nujeeb and a burkundauze; the latter guarded me too when I visited the ladies. All of them nearly recovered, after staying about one or over half month. In all seventeen or eighteen ladies and children were under the Nawaub's guard, got one anna per diem for diet and tea. Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Sutherland wept on seeing me, I too wept seeing their distress; they told me to go to the Nawaub. I warmed some water and then went to Nawaub, he sent to Toorab Ally to supply me with funds for their care, I went to Torab Ally, asked for, and received five or six rupees for necessaries, got them beds and clothing, &c., Gunga Singh of Doobye Pultan, and Aga Hussein Resaldar of Oudh irregular cavalry used always to go to the Nawaub in the morning and evening, they advised him not to keep the ladies, told him to throw them into a well or field. I heard this talked of. They said to the Nawaub, if you cannot do this send them to us, he answered you can do as you like. I used to stay with the ladies. Whe

they were taken to be blown away I fled from fear of threats. About noon I saw the guard take the ladies in a Keranchee, they were the Nawaub's servants, and took the wounded on a charpoy to the parade ground before me as far as the fort gate. The Nawaub was in his house. I did not see the regular sepoys, but burkundauzes, I do not know what happened beyond the fort gate. Ushrut Khan used to stay in Pye Bagh, and Golam Ali Khan at the Kotwalee. The vehicles on which the captives were taken away were from among the plundered once collected at the prisoner's fort, and did not come from without, and he gave his own bullocks. When the captives were taken to be executed, I fled.

Another Witness.

I went every day to give the Nawaub his supply of pawn (betel-leaf,) at eleven A. M. or noon. There were ladies in the Khas Muhall about seventeen or eighteen, some were wounded: they came in the rainy season, staid about a month; subadar Gunga Sing and Telingas used to come and frighten the Nawaub telling him to destroy the captives. Prisoner answered—"When Delhi is taken by you, (*i. e.* when the seige is raised,) then do as you like, only do not blow them away in my house." I was at my shop when the ladies were taken away. There were Telingas and 100 others, Telingas of Doobye and Gulla, and many puthans with swords. The ladies were guarded by a Telinga of the Gulla Doobye, *i. e.* newly raised 2nd Battalion of 41st N. I., and by a Hindoostance, when in the fort, the latter were Mahomedans.

The Nawaub of Furrackabad.

The Nawaub was directly implicated in the murder of British subjects, and is both morally and legally responsible for those crimes. At first he acted with caution, and was an accessary before and after the event to the wholesale murder of Europeans on the Manpore Kutree, on the 4th July 1857. Having aided in the reduction of the fort of Futtehgurh, the Nawaub made considerable efforts to prove himself a consenting party to the murder of the forty Europeans at Manpore.

He rewarded with commands several men who had taken part in the murder, and brought him a report of the event, and the heads of those murdered. He confined in his out-houses certain ladies and children made prisoners, and a few days after proceeded in state through the main streets of Furruckabad

to the Futtehgurh fort, where placing a flag as a symbol of victory over the tomb of a Mahomedan Saint, he returned thanks for the victory and its results. The English ladies and children brought back from the boats after being ever since kept as prisoners were about the 23rd July 1857, by the prisoner's own free consent handed over to his sepoys when they with Eurasians and the native Christians were murdered under atrocious circumstances on the Futtehgurh parade ground, the prisoner finding no difficulty in protecting Mrs. Byrne with her mother and sister.

After this Kalay Khan, a loyal soldier of the 10th N. I., who on the evacuation of the fort accompanied Colonel Smith and his party on boats, was brought in a prisoner and murdered near the city of Furruckabad, the same being superintended by the Nawaub's new levies.

On the like occasion were two loyal Seikhs apprehended in the neighbourhood of Goorsahaygunge and murdered. Besides being thus directly implicated the prisoner sent summons and offered rewards to the zemindars to induce them to give up Mr. D. G. Churcher and Major Robertson, who were concealed in their village. It was then observed that Ashrut Khan Puttan, Mooltan Khan, commander-in-chief of the forces, Hydaet Ally and Mahomed Tuckee Tuhseeldars formed the Nawaub's privy council, and with two subadars of the 41st N. I., Gunga Singh and Sheo Golam Ditchit, Aga Hussein resaldar, Golam Ally Khan, Kotwal, Toorab Ally, the Serishtadar, and prisoner's wife Bigga Begum were his advisers in all violent measures, which the prisoner's naib Wuzeer Ally seems generally to have opposed, for which on one occasion he was fired at in open durbar. If the Nawaub had followed the good advice of his naib he would not now be in his present position, and that he could have made his choice, there is no doubt.

Letter from Mahomed Asid Ally Khan, styling himself Tehseeldar of Kaegunge, dated 2nd September 1274 *Hijree to Mr. James Gardener of Futtehpore.*

After the usual salutations—I have been most anxious to have a personal interview with you. You must have heard of the Nawaub of Furruckabad becoming the Supreme ruler of the entire district of Furruckabad, and of my own arrival in zillah Kaegunge as tehseeldar under orders of the Nawaub.

It has surprised me to find that notwithstanding you are zemindar of several villages in his territory, and have regularly paid the revenue of your ilaqa to former rulers, you

have not yet caused any of your agents or putwaries to wait upon me with the revenue of the year ending 1254 Fuslee.

Now the Nawaub Sahib has enjoined on me to collect the revenue of his territory with unflinching rigour, and he daily addresses to me purwanahs calling for the accounts of receipts, disbursements and balances, as well as for wasilbakee and touzee statements.

Being thus sorely pressed, I have troubled you with this communication, and beg that you will send me the balance due for the year in question without delay, as by so doing you will greatly please the Nawaub Sahib. If you fail to send it, the Nawaub will think ill of you and you will get into trouble. If you don't send the rent let me have a distinct reply from you that I may forward the same to the Nawaub.

Answer.

From Mr. James Gardener of Futtehpore to Asid Ally Khan, Zemindar of Mouzah Suzawi, &c, &c.

Dated 12th September 1857.

Your excellent letter informing me that the entire district of Furruckabad had come under the rule of the Nawaub of Furruckabad, and that you had come to Kaegunge as tehsildar of that place under the Nawab's authority, and complaining of my not having sent you the revenue of my zemindaree for the year ending 1264 Fuslee, and threatening me with the displeasure of the Nawaub if I failed to do so, duly came to hand. It is a thousand pities that your worthy master is so foolish and ill advised, and yourself so short sighted that you both fancy yourselves to be the rulers of this territory. Have you not heard of the recent troubles of Nana Sahib of Bithoor, of the Nawab of Malagurh, of Mahomed Ghous Khan Sikundur Walla, and of Moulvi Abdool Jaleel and others? It is very certain that the fate of these unfortunate men will be the fate of your presumptuous master and yourself. I confidently believe that through the blessing of Our Saviour I shall yet see you safely secured by the agents of British authority, and probably swinging with ropes round your necks and your boasted territory resumed. As for your expecting me to pay you any revenue it is simply ridiculous. No power but the Hon'ble East India Company can claim revenue from India. Such a demand from a person like the Nawaub of Furruckabad or from an agent like yourself, is highly presumptuous. Like master like servant, you have probably heard that when ants are about to perish, wings grow out of their bodies. It would be well if you sent on this letter for the information of your

excellent master at Furruckabad. But I have a shrewd suspicion that ere it can reach him, General Havelock will have advanced upon Furruckabad for the purpose of investing the Nawaub with a robe of honor, and ridding the earth of such a pest as your master has proved himself to be.

GWALIOR.

Brigadier Ramsay to the Agent to the Governor General for Central India.

Gwalior, May 30, 1857.

I have the honor to report for your information the following circumstances which have occurred here during the last four days.

On the evening of the 26th instant, Major Macpherson, Political Agent, mentioned to me that he had been informed by his Highness that the men of the contingent were not to be trusted, that they had insulted the Dewan on his entering into cantonments, and that the latter was so much afraid of personal violence from them that he returned to the Lusker by a bye road, and on horse back, instead of in a carriage, in which he had come, to avoid observation.

On the following morning, Major Macpherson called on me and said that his Highness had stated that the whole of the contingent troops were all wrong and disaffected, that they had all sworn on the Ganges water and Koran to stand by each other, and that an outbreak was so imminent that His Highness urged the ladies being sent at once to the Residency for protection; and that officers could, on the outbreak showing itself, at once mount their horses and ride off. Major Macpherson also espressed a wish that the guard of the contingent on duty at the Residency should be at once withdrawn, as he had no longer any confidence in them, and that he would apply to His Highness for a party of his troops to take their place. He added that he himself was considered by the troops to be the cause of the movement of the grenadiers from the station to Etawah, which had interfered with their schemes, and that he had thus become the object of their vengeance.

I must here mention that a few days previous to this, a report was spread both in the Luskur and in the cantonments, that a large quantity of *atta* and *sukur* had arrived for sale at extraordinary low prices, that both were impregnated with bone dust, and were being sold for the express purpose of destroying the men's caste and making them Christians. The dewan made full enquiries into this and found that the whole

was a malicious rumour doubtless spread to excite mutiny and rebellion, and Major Macpherson stated that the circumstance of the dewans having exposed this trick, had brought down on him also the animosity of the traitors.

Although Major Macpherson was most anxious that the ladies should be at once sent away from the station. I considered their removal, unless imperatively necessary, so fraught with evil that in the absence of some proof of disaffection I determined to say nothing on the subject.

Major Macpherson that evening quitted cantonments and returned to the Residency, and the contingent details on duty there came back in obedience to the order, of which an extract is appended. I think it here important to mention that the wish of the political agent to withdraw their guard and remove the ladies for the reasons assigned by him as above, was the same day known in cantonments, and was repeated to me. This information must have emanated from the Luskur.

The following morning a private servant (a Mussulman) of my own, informed me, while out-riding with me that the sowars of the 1st cavalry in the lines and of his Highness's ressallah were talking of nothing but going to Delhi, and that I should be on the look out.

About 3 P. M. that day, a lance duffadar of the 1st cavalry, came to Captain Meade, the brigade major, and asked him if he had heard of anything that was going on. Captain Meade replied in the negative, and seeing that the man had something important to communicate, examined him privately and at once brought him to me.

The duffadar's statements was to the following effect: that the troops in cantonments were all to break out into open mutiny, on a bugle sounding at 11 o'clock that night: that the lines and bungalows were to be fired, and the officers massacred, that the treasury in cantonment was to be siezed, and the whole force to proceed towards Delhi. This man had hardly completed his statement when a sowar of the same regiment (Captain Alexander's Darogah) arrived at my house and expressed a wish to see me on urgent business. Before admitting him I carefully concealed the first informer. His statement was to the same purport as the other's, and he most strongly insisted on the determination of the mutineers to murder the officers.

These two reports apparently confirming the information I had received from Major Macpherson the previous day, and coupled with the result of enquiries which Captain Meade and myself privately instituted as to what was going on in the lines, determined me on sending away the ladies to the Resi-

dency in the evening, which though done as quietly as possible, of course became immediately generally known.

Having ascertained that a rumour had been circulated in the lines that all confidence in the men of the contingent had been lost by the political agent and the officers of the station, and that the treasure amounting to .(60,000 Rs.) then in the custody of the 4th infantry, was in consequence to be taken from them that evening, and made over to a party of luskur troops for removal to the Gunga Inli at the palace, and that this distrust, coupled with the withdrawal of the guard from the Residency, and the departure of the political agent from cantonments, had greatly incensed the men, I determined in order to restore confidence and avert if possible a fatal outbreak, to increase the guard of the 4th regiment over the treasury (with a view to lead the men to think that I feared danger from without, and not from the troops themselves), and having been assured by Major Blake, commanding 2nd infantry, and Captain Hawkins, commanding No. 1 light field battery, that it was impossible the whole of their men could be implicated without the slightest symptoms having come to their knowledge, and having great confidence in these officers, we resolved to pass the night in the lines, telling the native officers and men on arrival that reports of a proposed outbreak had been made to me, that I considered it had been set on foot by malicious persons, that I did not credit it, and to show them that I had full confidence in their loyalty and good conduct, that I and all the officers would sleep in the lines and commit ourselves to their care for the night. We also gave them all to understand that in consequence of this determination we considered it unsafe to have the ladies to sleep alone at some distance in thatched bungalows exposed to risk by fire from any of the miscreants always ready to take advantage of a night disturbance, and that they had therefore been sent out for safety to the Residency.

Not the slightest disturbance took place during the night.

Next morning (yesterday) in consequence of a telegraphic message from Major Macpherson to Mr. Colvin sent by the former for my perusal, in which his honor was informed that Scindia declared that the whole of the contingent was wrong, that he distrusted his own troops and required the immediate return of his body-guard from Agra; that the ladies of the cantonment had been forced to seek refuge in the palace whence he was preparing to forward them under escort of a body of horse to Agra, and that the body-guard would meet them for this purpose at Dholepore; I took on myself to report to Mr. Colvin that we had slept in the lines the previ-

ous night, that all was quiet and confidence increasing, and that I considered Scindia was disposed to enhance his own services at the expence of the contingent.

I learnt in the morning with great surprise that the ladies had, without any communication either with myself or their husbands, been removed from the Residency to the palace. This step appeared to me and the officers so fraught with mischief not only here, but over the whole country, that at my suggestion severval officers wrote to their wives immediately to return to cantonments. Captain Meade was also informed by his pay office treasurer, a respectable banker, whose *kothe* is in the luskar, that it was generally reported that the ladies had been siezed by His Highness and imprisoned in the palace.

I also wrote to Major Macpherson that I apprehended no outbreak, and that I thought the ladies should return. Two ladies Mrs. Meade and Mrs. Murray in opposition to the most urgent solicitations of Major Macpherson, returned to cantonments late in the afternoon, and the news of their having done so immediately spread through the station, and had the most beneficial effect on the men generally, who it was reported to me had been greatly hurt at the distrust implied by their leaving the cantonments. Many enquiries were made of the other officers whose wives and children had not returned, and voluntary offers of protection and even of rescue were made to their officers by many other men.

We again passed last night in the lines, and received every possible kindness and attention from the men, and the night passed perfectly quiet with the exception of some little anxiety at hearing a few shots in the direction of the luskur, and a rumour which arrived about 11 o'clock, that a portion of the Maharajah's troops were under arms with the intention of proceeding to Delhi. There subsequently appeared to be no grounds for this assertion.

I am happy to say that the rest of the ladies returned to cantonments this morning, and I consider that the excitement caused by the above occurrences has so far as this cantonment is concerned subsided.

I have refrained from reporting by telegraph these occurrences as they happened, as I consider it preferable to give you a detail of all the events by letter, and trust you will approve of my desire to avoid unnecessary alarm, and also of the steps I have taken throughout this anxious business.

I take this opportunity of recording the very valuable assistance I have received from Majors Blake and Sheriff and Capts. Hawkins and Stewart on this occasion, and I am con-

vinced that their influence with, and knowledge of their men have been of very great importance in enabling them to withstand any temptations to which they have been exposed.

That an attempt was made by some evil-disposed persons to wean the men of their officers and destroy the confidence of the latter in the former, I have no doubt from the industrious circulation of reports that the 1st cavalry and grenadier regiments had risen on and destroyed their officers (excepting Major Hennessy, whom they had let go), and from the extreme anxiety evinced by one of my informers under pretence of interest in my preservation that I should not trust the brigade, but be prepared for flight.

The conduct of the officers during the last three days merits the highest approbation. The coolness and zeal displayed by all deserve my warmest thanks, and I feel confident that but for the very able aid afforded by them throughout the business, the pernicious influence exercised by evil-disposed persons might have been crowned with success.

I take this opportunity of acquainting you that I have received most satisfactory reports of the grenadier regiment from Major Hennessy, and of the other corps of the contingent at out stations from their respective commandants. Major Hennessy's report, though in a private form, was considered at this crisis so important, that Major Macpherson requested to be permitted to forward it to the Lieutenant Governor.

The Outbreak at Gwalior.

The artillery officers (Captains Hawkins and Stewart,) on hearing this report, (on the 14th May) went to the lines, and found their men fallen in and making preparations. They said they had done so, as they had been told they were about to be attacked. The officers spoke to and quieted them, and dismissed them again to their lines. They then proceeded to the Brigadier's and reported the circumstance, assuring him that all was quite quiet. Just then the nine o'clock gun fired, (it did not usually fire on Sundays, as a gun in lieu of it was fired before evening service); some men ran to say there was a disturbance in the lines, and the alarm immediately sounded. On this all the officers rose, and the Brigadier told them to go at once to the lines, which they did. The officers were, Major Shirreff, Captains Hawkins and Stewart, Lieuts. Clarke and Ryves, and Dr. Mackellar; very shortly after they started, a volley of musketry was heard on the right of the lines. The main roads of the antonments were immediately lined with men,

who opened an indiscriminate fire on all who approached them. Some bungalows were also at this time fired, and the noise and confusion was very great. Soon after the first shots were heard some sepoys of the 2nd regiment begged Dr. Mackellar to come to the lines to see Major Blake, who had been wounded. He went there, accompanied by Lieuts. Pierson, adjutant of the regiment, and Ryves, 12th N. I. On the way they were several times fired at, and Lieut. Pierson's horse was shot. They found poor Major Blake lying near the quarter guard, shot through the chest. Dr. M. looked at him, and saw at once there was no hope. His horse lay near him quite dead. Some of the men *affected* sorrow, but in a manner to show that the feeling was not genuine. A few sepoys then recommended Dr. Mackellar to get away, and he accordingly slipped off quietly with Lieut. Ryves, under their guidance. After running much risk, and being fired at, they got across the river, and rode off towards Agra. The firing continued for about three quarters of an hour, and then ceased. At this time Messrs. Meade and Murray, with their families and five or six servants, male and female, were a few hundred yards on the opposite side of the river from cantonments, uncertain what to do. Captain Murray's house having been emptied during the fire, himself and family were going to sleep at Captain Meade's, who, on hearing of the disturbance, was about proceeding to the Brigadier's when the volley of musketry was fired. The gentlemen of this party, knowing that there was a very large number of sepoys on duty in and around the compound in which they were to sleep, determined to get the ladies and children out of the house, while they could do so, and accordingly took them to the rear guard, the havildar commanding which as well as his guard, promised to protect them with their lives. Captains Murray and Meade then ran over to the Brigadier, whom they found standing in front of his stables. He told them it was useless attempting going to the lines, as the sepoys on the road would let no one pass, and that nothing could be done. At this time the firing was general all over the lines, and the north and north-west of the station. The bullets too, begun to fly about unpleasantly near, and the Brigadier and party removed behind the stables for protection; finding, however, that nothing could be done, they returned to the guard room, and crossed the river (the havildar and four sepoys accompanying them until they got 200 yards on the opposite side) without being fired on or molested in any way.

At 10 o'clock all was perfectly quiet, and the ghuntahs struck the hour as usual.

No conveyances were allowed to cross the bridge, the guard

at which threatened to fire on all who approached them. The party had much difficulty in getting on across country and could not for some time resolve whether to go to the Residency or Phoolbagh; at length they decided on taking the road leading to the latter, at one time they were going to approach the Sudder Bazar to try and find out what was occurring, as all seemed quite quiet (this was about 12 o'clock); when within a few hundred yards of the river however, a bungalow suddenly burst into flames which lighted up the whole country far behind them, and as some shots were at the same time fired, they at once turned their back on the cantonments, and proceeded to the Phoolbagh, which they reached a little before 1 A. M. The Brigadier and Mr. Sheetz had just come there and all were kindly received by the Maharajah, who had all his troops assembled under arms. Two ladies, Mesdames Hennessy and Christison, arrived with Mr. Hennessy half an hour later, and at 3 A. M. the Political Agent, his sister and Lieut. Smalley, the Executive Engineer. The three first named had had great difficulty in escaping and were escorted by sepoys of the grenadier regiment.

The Maharajah was receiving constant reports of the course of events at the cantonments, and it was decided that we must start for Agra at day break, as he could not protect us from the mutineers at Gwalior. The fact is, it had long been known that his own troops fully sympathised with the latter. The only portion of his army which did not share in this feeling was that composed of Mahrattas, and they formed but a moiety of his force.

At day-break the following day we started from the Phoolbagh in his higness' carriages en route for Agra. On entering the Residency we found several other fugitives there from cantonments. After waiting there for half an hour, we continued our journey under an escort of a party of the Rajah's bodyguard.

Our party consisted of Major S. C. Macpherson, Political Agent. Brigadier W. M. Ramsay, Commanding Contingent. Captain R. J. Meade, Brigade Major. Lieut. E. Smalley, Executive Engineer. Lieut. W. S. Pierson, Adjutant 2d Infantry. Captain J. I. Murray, 2d in Command, 4th Infantry. Mr. J. Sheetz, G. B. M. C., in medical charge, 4th Infantry. Mr. Hennessy. Mr. Cairns, Mr. Martin, and another, Telegraph Department. Captain R. R. Meade, H. M.'s 8th Foot. Mrs. Innes, Mrs. Christison and one child. Mrs. Hennessy and one child, Mrs. Meade and two children. Mrs. Murray and one child, Mrs. Ferris and three children. Mrs. Pierson, Mrs. Bryan and grand-daughter.

On the road we were overtaken by Lieut. C. M. L. Clarke, 2d in command, 2d infantry; and Staff Sergeant Quick, No. 2 company artillery, who had narrow escapes from cantonments. The news they and others brought led us to fear all those who were missing had been butchered.

We reached Chunda (eighteen miles from Gwalior) about 9 A. M. and at 4 P. M. started again for Dholpore. On approaching Hingonah about sunset, we were informed that there was a large party of armed men in the village determined to resist our progress. Precautions were taken in case of an attack, and after a good deal of delay and alarm we got safely through. We then heard that the ravines of the Chumbul ahead were occupied by insurgents with guns, who intended to attack us, and we were obliged to halt near Hingana till morning. We passed altogether a very anxious night. Early in the morning we resumed our advance. After getting some distance and when within five miles of Khentri, the escort of the body-guard suddenly left us under orders it was said from Gwalior, their presence there being urgently required consequent on the mutineers having attacked the city. A large body of Thakoors however took their place and escorted us to the Chumbul, where we found a party of the Rana's troops and some elephants ready to receive us. We got to Dholpore about 10 A. M., and at dusk started again for Agra, the ladies and children in native carts, and the gentlemen on elephant escorted by some of the Rana's troops. We had two or three alarms during the night, but at length got to the end of our journey, and reached the cantonment of Agra about 10 A. M. Most thankful were we to be again in safety after all that had occurred.

On Friday morning the following ladies from Gwalior reached Agra after a fearful journey, during which they had been exposed to much insult and the greatest privations, namely Mrs. Campbell, Mrs. Raikes, Mrs. Proctor, Mrs. Kirk, Mrs. Blake, and Mrs. Coopland, some European women and children also accompanied them. Mrs. Quick (wife of Staff Sergeant Quick) died of fatigue and exposure, while crossing the sands of the Chumbul. They report the following to have been destroyed by the mutineers:

Major M. T. Blake, mortally wounded by his own men on going on the parade on the alarm sounding. Major F. Shirreff shot dead on the same occasion, and Captain W. Stewart wounded then, and killed the following morning by the infantry mutineers; Captain A. W. Hawkins and two children and Mrs. Stewart and one child killed by infantry mutineers in the cavalry lines about 1 A. M.; Lieut. A. Proctor, superintend-

ing surgeon K. W. Kirk, and Rev. G. W. Coopland killed between 6 and 8 A. M. on Monday, (the 15th). Sergeants Twitchem, Webb, Pike, Kelly and Cronin, Pensioners; Hill and Collins and Mrs. Pike and Mrs. Burrows had also fallen victims to these ruffians. In all nineteen were butchered.

Mrs. Hawkins with three children, and some other fugitives arrived on the 22d, after many trials and much exposure.

The following subsequently arrived in safety at Agra:—Sara Cronin and one child; Mary Hill; Mary Monks and two children; Mrs. Webb; Mrs. Twitchem and five children; Mr. Bethka; Mr. and Mrs. Morse; Sergeant and Mrs. Pipe.

On Saturday a day previous to the mutiny, some houses were on fire, and several parties, with a lady or two had driven over to the former to render assistance, and the latter to bring in the family of the sufferers. On their arrival at the ground they saw the sepoys readily bearing a hand, and dragging out property while the houses were blazing. There was nothing that indicated a spirit of mutiny, and their offering ready assistance dispelled any doubt or doubts there may have been regarding their fidelity. Some of the villains however assembled there, seemed to carry a degree of impertinence about them, and one was heard to say in an under tone, '*aj to ag ka tamasha dekhne aya, kal kooch aur tamasha dekhna parega.* This was the first mutinous language heard, but as it was not spoken very explicitly nor very loudly, the party that heard this only mentioned the circumstance to a few, but did not fail to guard himself against any sudden out-break. Sunday passed as a very quiet one, the officers seemed confident of their men, and there was no sign of any thing mutinous until after gun-fire, when the bugle sounded, and the troops marched out. The mischief began on the parade ground. Some officers were here shot at and others escaped, but this did not satisfy the mutineers; they made towards the bungalow of the Brigadier, called him out vociferously and sent in shots after him on his non-appearance. He was miraculously, however saved, for as he attempted to escape out of his closet a sepoy laid hold of his hands; and quietly went out of the compound towards the ravines. The insurgents however, not finding Brigadier Ramsay, ransacked the whole of his property, and then set fire to his bungalow. Another officer was roused by his guard at 10 P. M., and out of the nine that were in his compound, one is said quietly to have gone up to him and said,—'Khamin, bhago, sub bigurgaya.' This sepoy had just moved off when the rest came up in a body, saying, houses are on fire, shall we load? The officer observed that it was folly to load muskets

to put out a fire. On this they retired, and the officer into his bungalow, whence, through a window of his closet, he descried the whole of the guard quietly loading. He roused his servant at once and escaped behind his house. Two shots were fired at him, but did not tell. He then made towards the bed of the river, and escaped among the ravines, four shots again whizzing over his head and that of his khansamah. Happily none told. Consternation became general at this time, and the Christian portion of the place, man, woman, and child, were flying in all directions towards the Raja's. It is indeed a matter of wonderment how so many ladies with children, did escape. Three more sepoys are said to have saved the lives of a lady and children, by placing them, at the time the bloodthirsty villains were going from bungalow to bungalow, on the terrace of a kotee, and after they moved up, and were absorbed in *a loot* in another house, to have brought them down, and safely to have escorted them out of real danger. Plundering and destroying property by fire was then the order by them. All those who could escape were sent in the next day by the Raja to Agra. But before they had come in only a part of the way, a sowar is said to have come in with intelligence that there was a mutiny in the Durbar. The cavalry, on hearing this, at once dashed off, saying that they must go, leaving the escorted on the road alone. In this unprotected state they went towards the dominions of the Raja of ————, who was kind enough to give his men to bring them into Agra. But they are said to have been such a set of rascals, impertinent and insolent, that those under their charge expected every moment to be butchered; for they looked most barbarously towards them, and tried to imitate parties speaking English, and then to satirise them. Happily, however, they were not on mischief bent, and all arrived safe in Agra. It was pitiful to see how some of the ladies were bruised and cut, in escaping through the kunkury and thorny ravines.

The following officers and ladies of the Gwalior Contingent reached Agra and Hoshungabad in safety:—Lieut. Lemarchand; Lieut. Ryall; Lieut .Macdougal; Capt. Carter; Capt. Harrison; Dr. Wilson; Dr. Sillifant; Mrs. Burlton and child; Mrs. Harrison and three children; Mrs. Lemarchand and four children; Mrs. Hayman; Miss Hayman; two road Sergeants, two women and three children, names not given.

Another Account.

It was sacrament Sunday, the 14th May, and I went to church, but at twelve o'clock up went the mess-house in flames, and, there being a strong wind, it was soon burnt down, as well as

the bath and another bungalow. The day passed off, and we went to bed as usual, but shortly afterwards we were aroused pretty quickly by the whole of the troops having risen and lined all the roads, with the determination of killing all Europeans they could lay their hands on. We both got up and dressed as quickly as possible, and, putting a bag of money into my bearer's hands, I mounted my horse to go to my regiment, telling him to take every care of my poor wife. As soon as I got out into the road I was joined by M'Kellar and Ryves (12th), who had just escaped from Jhansi, and we were regularly hustled down to parade by crowds of sepoys, who put their arms between our legs and the saddles, as much as to say, 'Do not attempt to bolt.' Before we got 100 yards we sustained three volleys from men not fifteen yards off, but were not touched. The fourth volley saluted us just as we passed the head of the grenadier company, one ball of which shot my poor charger right through the heart. He fell dead on me, and I had the greatest difficulty in extricating myself, expecting a bayonet in my back every moment. In getting from under him I tore off my boot, so proceeded to parade without it, as retreat was hopeless. The first thing I saw almost was poor Major Blake lying mortally wounded, shot through the lungs. They said it was useless even to unfasten his coat, but I insisted on it, and did it myself, placing his head on my shoulder, and trying to make him speak; but it was no good—the poor fellow was dying fast. All the time we were with Blake we were surrounded by hundreds of mutineers, but none touched us. After we got into the light cavalry lines the firing was very brisk, and we all thought it was all over with us, but a merciful Providence watched over us, and not a ball hit us. Those who were mounted were then able to get off—made a rush for it, crossed the river, and made straight across country for Agra—leaving me in this delightful predicament. Just at this moment three sepoys caught hold of me, and said they would try and save me. They threw off my hat, tore off my trousers and the remaining boot, covered me as well as they could with my horse-cloth, which my groom had brought along with us, and, putting me between the two, the third walked in front; and what between knocking up one man's musket, whose bayonet was just at my back, and declaring I was one of their wives, we got through all the sentries and crossed the river. They then wanted me to make the best of my way off, saying that the chances were ten to one that my wife was killed by that time, but I told them plainly I would not try to escape without her. After a great deal of persuading, they took me down the banks

of the river (the opposite side of which was regularly lined with sentries to prevent escape) till we came opposite our house, where they set me down, and one man said, 'Now I will go and bring your wife to you if she is alive; so off he went, and after about twenty minutes of the most agonizing suspense, dear M—— and I met again. I must say the three sepoys with us behaved splendidly. Seeing poor M—— was unable to walk, they tied my horsecloth in a sort of bag fashion on to a musket, put her into it, and placing the butt and muzzle on their shoulders, carried her this way seven miles till we reached the Residency, by which time I could hardly put my feet to the ground from walking barefoot over the thorny ground. On arriving there we met three other people just escaped, and I got an elephant, on which we all mounted, intending to seek further protection in the Lushkur, with the Maharajah, where lots of people had gone; but before we had got half a mile we met nearly a dozen carriages, all in full gallop, accompanied by the body-guard, in full retreat back to the Residency. Well, we went 'bout ship' in less than no time, and a party of sowars were left with us, and we soon after arrived, where mutual congratulations were exchanged, and in half an hour we were all provided with carriages and set off to Agra. We have now a room in the fort, and I am appointed superintendent of the first division of the commissariat. We are 7,000 people in the fort, all living in gunsheds and casemates; the appearance of the interior is amusing, and the streets are named. We have Regent, Oxford, Quadrant, Burlington and Lowther Arcade. Ours is Trafalgar-square, Nos. 48 and 49."

Another fugitive, who lost her husband in the *melee*, thus alludes to the horrors of the hasty flight from the scene of massacre:—

After I suppose they had killed——the sepoys came back to us; they pushed all the ladies into a little hut that was near, and then they all crowded in and mocked at us, and threatened us with death, worse than death. They then took us to the lines. After keeping us there some time they said they would not kill us, as we were only women, and they had killed our husbands, and so they crammed about six ladies into a carriage and sent us away. I cannot tell you the misery of the five days it took us to reach Agra. Our lives were in danger the whole time, both from villagers and from parties of sepoys we fell in with. They held loaded pistols and naked swords over us again and again. Our party altogether consisted of eight ladies, besides four serjeant's wives and a number

of children. We had nothing but grain to eat and water to drink. One serjeant's wife died on the way from a sunstroke. We had no covering to our heads, and some had no shoes. The sepoys had robbed us of everything; they even took the ladies' wedding-rings. I tied mine round my waist, and so have kept it.

CAWNPORE.

From C. B. Thornhill, Esquire, Offg. Commissioner, Allahabad Division.

To the Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces.

Dated Allahabad, the 28th April 1859.

I will not attempt to epitomize Mr. Sherer's clear and graphic description of deeds and sufferings, which have stirred every English heart. He has given an historical sketch of Cawnpore, from the commencement of open mutiny on the 6th June 1857, to the final restoration of order in the following May, when Calpee fell before Sir Hugh Rose, and British Supremacy was re-established throughout the Doab.

With the knowledge we now possess, we may imagine that had a different policy been pursued by the authorities, the subsequent catastrophe might have been avoided. We have not, however, the means of fully ascertaining the grounds upon which they decided, and we know that the course adopted by many natives was such as to render all previous experience and knowledge of their character of little use in anticipating their tactics. We have seen men, who apparently had strong inducements to take part with the rebels, maintain an undeviating fidelity to the British Government; while others, who were certain to be heavy losers by a change of rulers, and had no reasonable grounds for anticipating any personal advantage from the subversion of our dominion, became our most virulent antagonists.

General Wheeler acted upon the supposition, that the regiments would mutiny, and at once leave for Delhi, the great centre of revolt, and that the Nana would not take an actively hostile part against us.

To a certain extent his anticipations were justified by the event. The regiments did move off at once towards Delhi; and up to the time of their doing so, the Nana does not appear to have had any idea of the position he would hold in a few short days.

Had any understanding existed between the Nana and the troops, there would have been no object in the march they

made on the Delhi road. It was not until they had gone, that the Nana seems to have finally determined on embarking in an enterprize, in which he staked his life, on the chance of gaining a throne, as the founder of a new Mahratta dynasty.

How he brought over the troops to his interests; how he endeavoured, with his newly-acquired army, aided by vast stores of artillery and munitions of war, contained in the abandoned magazine, to annihilate the handful of Europeans in the so-called intrenchments; how, when force could not conquer that devoted band, they were deceived and betrayed by treachery of unparalleled baseness; how the dastardly traitors dare not even approach their unarmed victims, until from a safe distance they had poured deadly discharges of grape into the unsuspecting and helpless crowd; how the crowning atrocity of slaughtering helpless women and infants was perpetrated almost within hearing of the victorious shouts of Havelock's conquering army;—are best told in Mr. Sherer's own words. I would only here observe, that the more searching the investigation into the details of those horrible events, the greater has become the assurance, that the rumours of atrocious indignities upon the persons of our countrywomen which at one time were so rife, are almost without foundation.

It is not to be denied that one or two exceptional cases may have occurred, but as a general rule, the extirpation of our race in India was the object by which these murderers were actuated; and in the prosecution of this design, they were swayed by no passion short of the thirst of blood.

The investigations recently completed by Colonel Williams, appear to place this long-vexed question beyond a doubt; and the hearts of those who have been so tortured with the thoughts of what their dearest relatives may have suffered before death, can now accept with confidence the no small consolation, which the result of these searching enquiries has offered them.

Mr. Sherer's Narrative.

[*N. B.—The paragraphs within the brackets are verbatim from Lieut. G. Watson's Narrative.*]

At the time of the revolt at Cawnpore, the European force, including the reinforcements they had received, consisted of

Artillery, one company, 59 men and 6 guns.
Infantry, 60 men of H. M.'s 84th.
„ 30 men of H. M.'s 32nd, invalids and sick.
„ 15 men of 1st Madras fusiliers.

The native troops consisted of the 2nd regiment of light cavalry, the 1st, 53rd, and 54th regiments of infantry, and the golundauze, or native gunners, attached to the battery. General Sir Hugh Wheeler commanded the division. There was a large number of Europeans resident in cantonments, many of whom were individuals connected with the civil, railway, canal and other departments; there were also nearly the whole of the soldiers' wives of H. M.'s 32nd regiment, which was stationed at Lucknow. The whole number of the European population therefore in Cawnpore—men, women and children—could not have amounted to less than 750 souls. News of the outbreak at Meerut and Delhi reached Cawnpore on the 14th of May, and though the mistrust prevailing more or less throughout the Bengal Presidency was felt at Cawnpore, more especially with reference to the cavalry and the 1st regiment N. I., who had been cantoned together for one year, and whose seditious feeling had been pretty openly expressed—no precautionary measures were adopted, except that the artillery was moved up to the European barracks; and this movement was caused by a supposed incendiary fire, which occurred in the lines of the 1st regiment N. I., on the night of the 16th of May.

The ladies, and merchants also, about this time, sought refuge in the barracks. A company of H. M.'s 32nd regiment arrived from Lucknow, and officers of all corps were ordered to sleep in the lines of their regiments.

Further cause of alarm was given by rumours having been circulated in the city, that the objectionable cartridges were to be served out on the 23rd of May, and that the artillery were to act against all who refused them. A good deal of excitement prevailed, and on the 24th of May, the Queen's birth-day, it was not considered advisable to fire the usual salute.

There was at this time residing at Bithoor, which is a sacred village on the Ganges, and much resorted to by pilgrims, a Hindoo of rank, named Doondhoo Punth, but commonly called Nana Sahib—a title frequently occurring amongst Mahrattas. He was the adopted son of Bajee Rao, and inherited his houses, landed property, jewels, &c., but did not succeed to his large pension, which, in default of heirs of his body, lapsed to the Government in 1852.

The Nana lived in comfortable circumstances at Bithoor, in a large mansion not far from the Ganges, with stabling and elephant sheds, and large gardens surrounding, and a massive temple near at hand, which Bajee Rao had built at a considerable expense. Here he was surrounded by a band of wily Mahrattas, some relations and some friends, who, living up to

the time of the mutiny in complete obscurity, have since become perfectly well known wherever English newspapers are read, and their names are now familiar in our mouths as household words.

There were his two brothers, Bala Rao and Baba Bhut, the latter said to be the most influential man in the household; Rao Sahib, his nephew; Azimoollah, a young man of low origin, who had had the dubious advantages, in his case, of a trip to London and Paris, but who was undoubtedly talented; and last, but not least, the Nana's faithful servant Tantia Toopee, the present Abdool Kadir of Central India. The Nana was a man of no capacity and of debauched tastes, a fair specimen of the Indian prince badly brought up, with ample leisure and ample means; strong passions, and no principles to control them. He was known to consider himself aggrieved by being denied Bajee Rao's pension, as well as to have resented the reduction of the five per cents; but he maintained outward relations of civility with the Europeans, and invited them occasionally to entertainments at his house. As matters grew doubtful and dark at Cawnpore, the Nana put himself in frequent communication with the magistrate, Mr. Hillersdon, and proffered offers of assistance in case of an outbreak. He was allowed by Government a retinue of 500 cavalry and infantry, with three guns, of small calibre, which were entirely under his own control.

On the 26th of May, therefore, the magistrate thought it advisable to call in his aid, and he was put in charge of the treasury, which was near the Nana's own house in Nawabgunge. To the treasury he brought two guns, and two hundred armed retainers, and there was there also a company of the 53rd N. I.

(Shortly after, the 2nd regiment Oude cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant Barber, 30th N. I., marched into cantonments, and furnished patrols, together with a picquet of the 2nd cavalry.

A few days after their arrival, the Oude irregulars were suspected, and were accordingly marched out towards Futtehgurh. Captain Hayes, 42nd N. I., Military Secretary to Sir H. Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of Oude, and Captain Carey, 17th N. I., accompanying them; and they were followed, a day or two later, by Lieutenant Ashe, with a half battery of Oude horse artillery.

A few marches from the station the cavalry regiment mutinied, and succeeded in murdering all the officers who were with them. Some Seikhs in the regiment, however, returned towards Cawnpore, and met and brought back Lieutenant Ashe

and the guns. General Wheeler dismissed the Seikhs, and commenced intrenching the barracks of the depôt of H. M.'s 32nd, to which all the Europeans at the station were ordered to repair.

On the 4th of June, provisions for a month had been stored, and one lakh of rupees was removed within the intrenchments; but nine lakhs still remained in the treasury. No steps were taken to remove or secure the ammunition and stores, which were lying in large quantities, both in the ordnance and regimental magazines. It is necessary to mention this fact to show, not only that full confidence was placed in the Nana, but that no very serious view was taken of matters in general. The officers of the 2nd company, and 1st and 56th regiments N. I., were ordered to discontinue sleeping in their lines.

The mutiny commenced on the morning of the 6th, two A. M., when the 2nd cavalry and 1st regiment native infantry left their lines; without, however, molesting their officers, who on the first alarm had proceeded to their lines. The insurgents proceeded first to the treasury, which was situated in the civil lines, at the western end of the station; they obtained possession of this building without any opposition from the guards placed over it. They then entered the jail, set the prisoners at liberty, and burnt all the adjacent public offices, and the records in them. They afterwards marched out to Kullyanpore, the first halting place on the road to Delhi, and there encamped, being joined before noon of the day by the 53rd and 56th regiments N. I.

Seizing the opportunity of the revolt, the Nana possessed himself of a great portion of the treasury; then repairing to the rebel camp, he persuaded them to return to Cawnpore, to destroy the houses situated therein, and annihilate the British officers and soldiers, and every Christian resident, and then proceed to Delhi, or Lucknow, leaving a garrison behind to retain possession of the city and district of Cawnpore.

Acting on his advice, and placing themselves under his orders, the rebels returned to Cawnpore the same evening. The Nana at once informed General Wheeler that he had returned to attack him.

Intimidating all natives of any standing, or importance, plundering every thing in his way, and murdering every European who fell into his hands, the Nana soon made good his words, by bringing into position two of his own guns, and two heavy guns which he had procured from the magazine.

The cannonade from these guns commenced about 10 A. M., on the morning of the 7th June.

It is necessary, in order to render evident the situation of

the besieged, to give a short account of the position that had been selected by General Wheeler, and of such means as had been taken to secure it.

The depôt of H. M.'s 32nd regiment, consisting of the sick, invalids, women and children of the regiment, was located in two long barracks, in an extensive plain at the eastern end of the station. These barracks were single storied buildings, intended each for the accommodation of a company of 100 men; one of them was thatched, and both were surrounded by a flat roof, arcade, or veranda; the walls were of bricks, one and a half foot thick. A well, and the usual out-offices were attached to the buildings. Around these barracks, a trench was dug, and the earth thrown upon the outside, so as to form a parapet, which might have been five feet high, but it was not even bullet proof at the crest: open spaces were likewise left for the guns, which were thus entirely unprotected. It may be imagined what slight cover an intrenchment of this kind would furnish, either for the barracks, or for men in the trenches; while there was plenty of cover, both for musketry and guns, within a short distance of the barracks, of which the mutineers soon availed themselves.

To enclose the barracks, a parapet was required; and it is supposed, that scarcity of labour, and the stiffness of the soil which at the close of the hot season was nearly as hard as rock, were the causes which prevented the construction of more solid defences.)

This position has been made the subject of much criticism. Without venturing to offer an opinion upon a scientific military subject, I may be allowed to say so much, that I think we must guard against post-facto wisdom, and beware lest our experience bias our judgment.

It is clear to me, that General Wheeler considered two things certain:—first, that the Nana was not in league with our native soldiery: and secondly, that our native soldiery, if they did break out, would make off at once to join the insurgents at Delhi. He apparently considered, therefore, that the only danger to be dreaded was, what might occur in the sudden fury of an out-break. So long therefore as he was sufficiently on his guard against this, all would be well; and the out-break over, he might choose a strong position. Events showed that he was right in every respect. He weathered the out-break in safety, the mutineers *did* make off for Delhi, and the Nana was clearly not in league, previously, with the native soldiery, or it would not have been necessary for him to pursue them down the road, and entreat them, with lavish promises, to return. The treachery of the Nana disturbed all calcu-

lations. Now that we know what the Nana was, it may seem very blind and credulous to have relied upon him at all. But have we not relied on the Nawab of Rampore? Have we not relied on the raja of Chirkaree, and not been deceived? It has been well said, there are prophets of the past, as well as the future. There is a danger, surely, to be avoided here. But to return.

(The cannonade commenced from the four guns before mentioned, but the enemy's artillery was soon strengthened from the ordnance magazine, and in a few hours they brought a fire on the barracks on all sides, from fourteen guns and mortars in position.

At first the besieged replied briskly to the fire of the rebels, but without any signal success; for the guns in the intrenchments were field guns, and the enemy had not as yet advanced within 1,000 yards from the barracks. The fire of the rebels also had little or no effect, but on the second day of the seige they adopted more energetic measures; the Mahomedan flag was raised in the city; all true Mussulmans were directed to join, and those who demurred were threatened, insulted, or fined. The Nana's force was soon augmented by large numbers, and reinforced daily.

Having at his command a magazine, stored with every description of ammunition and ordnance, a treasury full, and the city bazar in his hands, it is not to be wondered at that he soon rendered the situation of the Europeans next to hopeless. An incessant fire of musketry was poured into the intrenchments from the nearest buildings, guns of large calibre, drawing gradually closer and closer, sent their shot and shell, without intermission, against the brick walls of the barracks; and carcasses fired the thatched buildings, in which numbers of sick and helpless women and wounded men were huddled together, many of whom were burnt alive.

The Hospital stores were lost or destroyed, and all being now crowded into one building, without medicine, the sick and wounded died without relief. With the greater portion of their ammunition spent, the besieged were also forced to slacken their fire. In short their position was rendered hopeless and helpless in the extreme; and all this before the firing had lasted for half a week.

There was a nullah or ditch some distance in front of the intrenchments, by which the enemy pushed on a sap towards the barracks, and from this they poured in a near and deadly fire.

On the west of the besieged an entirely new range of barrack had been in the course of construction, and behind the

unfinished walls the rebels posted their matchlockmen. They were, however, dislodged by sortie after sortie, and at length two of the barracks were held by picquets from the garrison. But the strength of the garrison was insufficient to prevent the rebels from placing their matchlockmen on the other side. Communications between the barracks became difficult, no one could move out of cover for an instant without drawing on himself the fire of twenty pieces. Water was at last drawn under shelter of the parapet at the edge of the wall; but the parapet was knocked over, and soon not a drop could be obtained, save at the risk of almost certain destruction.

The half-destroyed walls of the barracks, or the temporary expedient of piling up tents and casks, formed the precarious but only shelter that could be obtained. Food could only be carried from post to post by day, and the dead were removed at night, and thrown into an adjacent well without the decency of burial. Relief was expected on the 14th June; but day after day brought no succour. Round shot and disease were doing their work, provisions ran short, and the misery endured by all can hardly be imagined.

Yet the besieged in successful sallies, took and spiked the nearest guns driving away the mutineers, and retiring with little if any, loss to the trenches; but the guns were either repaired or replaced by others from the arsenal. Still though the position in the barracks was quite untenable, the mutineers never mustered the courage to assault it.

Nor were the Europeans in the trenches the only sufferers. Besides several Europeans captured in the city, many of the natives suspected of aiding or serving the British force, were put to death. A list was made of all the bankers, who were mulcted of their wealth, and property of every description was plundered or wantonly destroyed by the rebels. Up to the 26th June however, the British force held their own, though their loss in killed alone was upwards of 100, and the ladies and others were maddened by suffering. It can scarcely be wondered at, that when, on that morning, the Nana offered to treat, his proposition was listened to. It was worded as follows:—

"All soldiers and others unconnected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, who will lay down their arms and give themselves up, shall be spared and sent to Allahabad."

Captain Moor, commandig the detachment of H. M's 32nd, who had from the first directed the energies of the besieged, and invariably led their sallies, seeing the reduced state of the besieged, and relying on the word of the Nana, obtained permission to sign the paper; and, contrary to the advice

and remonstrances of many other officers, the treaty was agreed to.

Boats were immediately provided for the conveyance of the remains of the garrison to Allahabad, and to these boats they proceeded on the morning of the 27th June. And now followed the most dastardly piece of treachery that has perhaps ever been perpetrated. Only a portion of the party had taken their places in the boats, when, by previous arrangement, the boatmen set the awnings of the boats on fire, and rushed on to the bank. A heavy fire of grape and musketry was then opened on the Europeans. Out of thirty boats, two only managed to start; one of these was shortly swamped by round shot, but its passengers were enabled to reach the leading boat. Of those on board the other twenty-eight boats, some were killed, some drowned, and the rest brought back prisoners.

The remaining boat, having fifty of the fugitives on board, proceeded down the river, followed by the rebels, who kept up an incessant fire from both banks. At the distance of six miles the boat grounded; its passengers remained passive until night, when the darkness enabled them to shove her off. They pursued their way without interruption till the boat again grounded at Nujajgurh, eight miles lower down. Here again the rebels attacked the boat killing many of the passengers; but the assailants were driven off, and retired to Cawnpore. The Nana then immediately despatched two complete regiments in pursuit. At night a violent storm fortunately forced the boat from the sand bank; but from ignorance of the channel, the boat was again allowed to ground further down. When daylight came, it showed the unhappy fugitives that their remorseless enemies had followed them up, and were on the bank. They had now reached Soorujppore, thirty miles from Cawnpore.

As it was found impracticable to move the boat, a party of fourteen landed to drive back their assailants, which they did most effectually; but proceeding too far inland, they were surrounded, and on their making their way back to the river lost all sight of the boat. They accordingly followed the bank for about a mile; when being hotly pressed, they were forced to take refuge and breathing time in a small temple.

At the door of the temple, one of the party was killed; the remaining thirteen, after attempting a parley in vain, had recourse to their firelocks, and several of the enemy were killed, or put *hors-de-combat*. The rebels fearing even to attack this small band of Englishmen, brought a gun to bear on the temple; but finding that it made no impression, they had recourse to heaping up firewood before the door-way. Unfor-

tunately, the temple was round, so that the party within could not prevent their pushing the wood round to the front. The fire however did not have the desired effect; some handfuls of powder were therefore thrown on it, the smoke of which nearly suffocated the fugitives, who determined to sally out and take to the river. On their charging out of the temple, the enemy fled in all directions. Six or seven of the party who, it was supposed, could not swim, ran into the crowd and sold their lives as dearly as they could; the remaining seven threw themselves into the Ganges; two of these were shot ere long; a third, resting himself by swimming on his back, unwittingly approached too near the bank, and was cut up; and the other four swam six miles down the river, three of them being wounded. At last, the leader was hailed by two or three sepoys belonging to a friendly Rajah, who eventually proved to be Maharajah Deg Bejah Singh, a Baiswarra chief in Oudh.

Exhausted by a three days fast, and fancying from their not having been pursued for the last half mile of the flight that they were safe, the fugitives at once went to the Rajah, who protected and fed them from the 29th of June to the 28th of July. He ultimately provided for their escort to the camp, by a detachment of Europeans proceeding from Allahabad to Cawnpore, to join the force under the command of Brigadier General Havelock.)

Meantime at the Cawnpore ghât, after the partial escape of the two boats, the massacre continued. Musketry was kept up from behind neighbouring garden walls, and sowars made attacks on the helpless crowd by riding in amongst them, and slashing in all directions with their tulwars. There is an old half-caste woman now alive in Calcutta, named Murray, who in this tremendous moment was dropt full length on the sand by a ghastly sword-cut on her back. At last some person in authority, who, there is some reason to suppose, was either Bala Rao, or the Rao Sahib, gave orders for the slaughter to cease, and those who were still uninjured were all collected together and carried off towards a large house, called "Salavadar" or Savada Kotee, in the south-east corner of the parade ground. Here it seems likely the men were at once selected from amongst the women and children, and then and there slaughtered.

The women were all huddled together into an apartment, and kept close prisoners.

The boat which, as we have seen before, ran aground at Sheorajpore ghât, remained immoveable. All those who were still in her, were made prisoners and brought on shore, and

were afterwards put on country carts and taken back to Cawnpore. There appears to have been delay in procuring this carriage, for the party was seen at Aherwan by one named Thomas, himself a prisoner, some four or five days, as he says, after the massacre at the boats. Thomas estimates the number of ladies and gentlemen about eighty. This witness also tells me, that when he reached Cawnpore, he found the Nana in Savada Kotee, and large bodies of the rebel soldiery encamped between that and the Railway. I suspect the males of the Sheorajpore party were killed on arrival, and the women and children added to those already in confinement. About the 7th of July, there appears to have been a general move towards the town. The Nana occupied the then hotel, and the women and children were located in a small house, badly built, partly on a native plan, which was called "Beebeegurh," from having been erected by an officer, some years ago, for an Indian mistress. Here common matting was provided for them, and chuppatees and water were supplied them. They seem to have been suffering fearfully from disease, if we may judge from a memorandum, found in the house, of deaths during a very few days, kept apparently by a Bengallee native Doctor. I remember one entry striking me as very touching:

In the "name" column—"ek bebee"—a baby.
In the "disease" column—"ap se"—of itself.

Here then they remained till the fatal 15th. Before narrating what occurred on that day, I would just touch on two points. First, with regard to the Futtehgurh fugitives. I can only, with distinctness, make out the arrival of two batches, but I have no doubt the Futtehgurh narrative will throw light on the subject. There was the party with whom the Missionaries were. This seems to have arrived before the capitulation, and I think none escaped. They were all at once murdered.

The second, which was a larger party, got to Cawnpore early in July. My reason for thinking this is, that in the list found in the Beebeegurh, apparently written by some guard on taking over charge, after all the other names, he puts in, "from Futtehgurh," and then occur about seventy names more.

The other subject I would briefly mention is the much-disputed question of the treatment of those who suffered death or imprisonment. I entirely disavow any desire to make out a case, or to take one side of the question, or indeed do any thing but speak the truth. The alleged occurrences appear to be torture, mutilation, and dishonor.

1*st*.—With regard to torture, I simply say I have not heard of a case. Tell me of a case, and I will investigate the evidence and report on it.

2*nd*.—Mutilation. With regard to this, there appears to have been a great deal of intentional prevarication. If by mutilation, is meant cutting off the hands and feet of corpses, it is well known to be a common practice; and though I do not remember to have seen any dead body at this place in that plight, most undoubtedly they have been so seen in other stations. The other mutilation, viz., that of cutting off the extremities of living persons, is also practised by natives. There are at least fifteen mutilated natives at this moment in the Cawnpore district. A mutilated European in this sense, I have never seen nor have I heard of an authenticated case of one having been seen by any one else.

3*rd*.—Dishonor. It is surely most heartless to the friends of those who have perished to argue whether this is a circumstance *likely* to have occurred or not. The point is, what evidence have we? If the story of the girl in Calcutta brought forward by Dr. Knighton in the *Times* is authentic, this is clearly one case. With regard to poor Miss W——, if the drummer's evidence that he saw her at Futtehgurh be true, the other story of her drowning herself in a well here must be false, and *vice versa*. This case is not as yet so clear. I have not heard of any others.

But we have now to narrate the last scene in the Nana's rule at Cawnpore.

The battle of Aoung was fought early in the forenoon of the 15th, and the Pandoo Nuddee was forced to the best of my recollection, by about eleven o'clock the same day. There was therefore ample time for news of the repulse, and the steady advance of the British troops to have reached Cawnpore early in the afternoon. There is every reason therefore to suppose, that the fate of the unhappy captives was immediately made the subject of discussion. The decision arrived at is now known and execrated throughout the civilized world. It was decided that the captives should be put to death. The order was carried into execution about sun-down. There were four gentlemen, three of them of the Futtehgurh party, who by some mischance, or for some especial reason, had been reserved from the fate which had already fallen upon their male companions. These were first taken out of the Beebeegurh, and murdered on the high road. Then the general massacre commenced. It seems probable, that vollies were first fired into the doors and windows, and then that executioners were sent in to do the rest with swords. If the work

was any thing like completed, it must have taken a considerable time. At length, the doors were closed, and night fell upon what had happened. The hotel, where the Nana had his quarters, was within fifty yards of this house, and I am credibly informed that he ordered a *nautch*, and passed the evening with singing and dancing. Early next morning, orders were given for the Beebeegurh to be cleared. There must have been near upon 200 corpses. So many, I do not think, could have been thrown into the well. It seems probable, that a portion were dragged down to the Ganges. Considering the smallness of the house, and the crowded condition of the captives, it is next to impossible, that all can have been slaughtered the previous night. It is exercising, therefore, no morbid imagination and pandering to no prurient curiosity to say that I hold no doubt some of the living met a more terrible death than assassination, even by being plunged with their dead companions into the tainted waters of the well.

The small, but determined band under General Havelock, who were destined (I may say, surely, without profanity) by God's aid, to avenge the scenes described above, left Allahabad on the afternoon of 6th July. The rain fell with almost tropical violence, for some hours. We pitched the first night only a few miles out of cantonments, in a sea of mud. The next morning however was dry and clear, and the men soon getting into the motion of the march, all spirits rose again and every heart beat high with the prospect of the work that had to be done. The force consisted of about 1,200 Europeans, 150 Seikhs, and twenty or twenty-five volunteer cavalry. The marches were at first only from one encamping ground to another. Throughout the Allahabad district, we found the ruined Burdast Khanas well supplied, and the thannadars and tehseeldars at their posts. But many of the villages had been burnt by the way-side, and human beings there were none to be seen. A more desolate scene than the country we passed through can scarcely be imagined. The swamps on either side of the road, the blackened ruins of huts now further defaced by weather stains and mould; the utter absence of all sound that could indicate the presence of human life or the employments of human industry (such sounds being usurped by the croaking of frogs, the shrill pipe of the cicala, and the under-hum of the thousand-winged insects, engendered by the damp and heat); the offensive odour of the neem trees; the occasional taint in the air from suspended bodies, upon which before our very eyes the loathsome pig of the country was engaged in feasting: all these things,—appealing to our different senses,—contributed to call up such images of desolation,

and blackness, and woe, as few, I should think, who were present, will ever forget. We were at Khaga, in the Futtehpore district, on the 11th; the village was almost entirely deserted. We experienced no difficulty however in obtaining supplies. The Moonsiff of Hutgaon, Salamut Alee, was in attendance, and gave every assistance. A thanadar was appointed, and a thannah established, which has never been relinquished since. I presume the General heard during the day, that the rebel force was advancing on Futtehpore, for at midnight we marched to catch up Major Renaud, who with 400 Europeans, and about as many Seikhs, two field pieces, and eighty irregular cavalry, had preceded our General by a few days and was then a short march ahead.

The two forces were amalgamated in the middle of the night and marching on together, reached Belanda, about four miles on the Allahabad side of Futtephore, by, I suppose, 7 o'clock in the morning. Here too, we had no difficulties about supplies; Munnoo Lall, the faithful merchant, and zemindar Hunsooa, and Zoolfikar Khan, an old cavalry soldier of the same place, who had made their village the head-quarters of all those well affected to the British Government, were in attendance, and proffered every aid. Aid at Belanda, however, as it turned out, was not necessary, for a reconnoitering party soon brought word, that the enemy were advancing in force down the road; and whilst we were yet drinking our morning tea, under the shade of some trees, their guns opened and behold a battle had commenced. Here the enemy advanced their guns in rows of two or three, at a time, in a perfectly infatuated manner down the trunk road. However Maude's well-directed shrapnel from the flank, drove them in such confusion back into Futtehpore, that they scarcely attempted to hold the strong posts afforded by the garden walls and thick trees in its environs; how the misbehaviour of our irregular cavalry, nearly allowed the enemy's horse temporarily to turn our right, has all been described by persons qualified to judge of military movements. I need therefore say no more, than that, by twelve o'clock we found ourselves lying under trees a mile and half on the Cawnpore side of Futtehpore, waiting for our camp to come up from Belanda, the town ours, and the enemy miles away.

On that day Futtehpore was given up to plunder, the country people had the boldness to come in, in crowds, and assist in carrying off property, making themselves our syces and grass-cutters, when interrogated by the soldiers. The inhabitants had fled to a man, so the shops and houses were ransacked without remonstrance, and next morning, when we

marched away, the Seikhs were left behind to set the town on fire in several places at once. On the 14th we were encamped near Kullianpore, and on the evening of the same day, the irregular cavalry were dismounted and disarmed. Early on the 15th, we marched on towards Aoung, where the General had been led to suppose he should meet with considerable resistance. His information was perfectly correct,—the village was occupied in strength.

The enemy had intrenched themselves across the road, not indeed in a very formidable manner, but the village offered great cover in the walled gardens, thickly grown with trees, which flanked it on either side. From this shelter, a steady fire of musketry was kept up for a considerable time. It was in this engagement that the enemy's cavalry made more than one attempt to get round our force and cut off the baggage. Once or twice, they regularly charged, but as soon as the bullets of the baggage guard began to fly amongst them, they pulled up and galloped away in quite a ludicrous fashion. After a struggle of some little endurance, the village of Aoung was taken, and as it was supposed the enemy would try and injure the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, the General pushed on. The rebels had placed two heavy guns on the bank on the opposite side of the Pandoo, one a 12-pounder, and the other an old carronade, I think, of large calibre.

These were fired straight down the high road, but enfield riflemen were sent on through the fields to the river bank, and from that position, very soon dislodged the gunners, and the whole body then made off, leaving the guns. Some miserable attempts had been made to blow up the bridge, but quite ineffectual in their nature, and our troops marched across with perfect ease, and occupied the opposite bank. There we remained for the rest of the 15th, but by sun-rise the next morning we were again on our march. In passing through the village of Sirsoul, the zemindars came out to receive us, and promised to send on supplies after us to Aheriwan, which they faithfully did. We reached Aheriwan by noon; it was the hottest day I have ever been out of doors in; a clear, blue sky with small patches of dazzling white cloud, which seemed to serve only to reflect the heat more intensely. Nothing but the excitement could have supported the troops under such exposure. The baggage was all collected into a grove, and a body of guards left to protect it, with four guns to be worked by some men of the line who had learned the rudiments of artillery practice. The troops having rested for a couple of hours and taken refreshment, started about half-past two for the last battle, which was to decide the fate of the Nana's rule.

The particulars of the battle are well known. To us who remained in the grove, it was naturally a time of great interest and excitement. I remember we could not possibly account for the altered sound of one of the heavy guns. The fact was afterwards explained to be, that the enemy had moved round one of their twenty-four-pounders towards the grand trunk road to meet the attack on their left, by which they were finally overcome.

It was dark before the firing ceased, but no one returned, and the last firing had been the most distant; this we knew indicated advance, and therefore victory, and so we fell to sleep assured; though we had no communication whatever with the main body, till the summons came next morning for the camp to advance.

In obedience to this summons we were proceeding along the road, when suddenly, in the direction of Cawnpore, a gigantic tongue of flame leapt up as it were to lick the sky, followed by a large cloud of smoke, which, preserving somewhat the shape of a balloon, ascended swiftly; we looked at each other, and that moment experienced a slight shock, like a weak electric current, and then the mighty thunder broke in the distance and seemed to roll towards us and around us. The powder magazine had been exploded.

That day the army was encamped on the parade ground; and we, for the first time, saw the deserted intrenchment which Wheeler had occupied scarcely three weeks before.

That scene of matchless desolation, the monument at once of astounding cowardice on the part of the enemy, and of incredible courage and endurance on the part of those besieged, has been already often described. I will only observe that the cry in all mouths was, in such a position, and against such odds to have held out a couple of days, seems almost a miracle. The next morning (the 18th) the troops were ordered to march by the trunk road to the Mission premises, the most distant buildings to the west in Cawnpore, and situated close by where the cantonment and grand trunk roads join. This wise movement not only protected the station in the direction of Bithoor, but also preserved the soldiers from the temptations of liquor, as well from any desire to take vengeance into their own hands. That day, with the General's permission, I rode with two of the volunteer cavalry into the city, having the re-establishment of the British power proclaimed in several places, and meeting almost the whole mercantile population at the Cotwalee where they professed (I cannot say with what sincerity) the greatest delight at our return. We had also the great pleasure of liberating one or two East Indians,

who were concealed in remote lanes and alleys. From the city we proceeded to the hotel, which we found just as the Nana had left it. He slept on one side, and on the opposite had rooms for pooja and cooking, keeping two large centre apartments for durbar purposes. Thence we were directed to the Beebeegurh and well. And then broke upon our sight that dreadful spectacle, over the very idea of which there are still broken spirits and widowed hearts mourning terror-stricken in distant England. I have no more details to add to what is already too well known, and must dismiss the sad subject with one or two brief remarks. The stories of children found suspended on the trees, and of mutilated dead bodies lying in the enclosure, are entirely fabrications. There were no dead bodies, except in the well. The well was narrow and deep, and on looking down you could only see a tangled mass of human limbs entirely without clothing. To the best of my belief there was not a word written on the walls. I searched myself, and I know that others did so too, but without discovering any intelligible marks.

The only documents I ever heard of being found were:—

1st.—A list in Hindee, giving the names of all the prisoners received apparently on the 7th of July, and made over to some other guardian on the 11th. This list I took possession of, but careful copies of it have been taken, and it forms the basis of all lists which have been published.

2nd.—A list of sick and memo. of deaths, in the Beebeegurh, for two or three days, kept apparently by Bengalee native doctor. This was in the possession at one time of Major Gordon, of the late 6th native infantry, and was published in the *Phœnix* newspaper, August 1857.

3rd.—A skeleton diary, believed to have been kept by one of the Lindsay family, made over, I fancy long since, to survivors.

On the 19th, Major Stevenson of the Madras fusiliers, commanded a party, which went out to Bithoor. This place was occupied without the least resistance, and thirteen guns removed from it, besides a great deal of valuable property. The Nana's palace was destroyed, which was a pity, as any chance of finding treasure has been rendered far more remote. The Nana himself was far away. To the best of my information, he left Bithoor on the evening of the 17th. He found it impossible to get any of the soldiers to rally round him; they had thrown off restraint, and abused him and Baba Bhut in open terms, clamouring with threatening gestures for money, and so off, helter skelter, for Futtehgurh. That evening he embarked himself and the ladies of his family on a large boat.

He had given notice that he should drown himself, I suppose as a blind to prevent pursuit, and it was understood the signal was to be, when the light was put out. The Gungapootras were watching on the shore. About mid-stream the light was extinguished, and with a yell, that must have reached the boat the mendicant Brahmins rushed up to the palace, and commenced plundering all they could lay their hands on. The crafty Nana was disembarking in the darkness on the other side; but if in so callous a heart, any bitter reflections could arise, the ingratitude of his adherents and falseness of those he had cherished, might well have induced them.

General Neill arrived with some four hundred men, I think on the 20th, and the next day we all moved down to Permit ghat, from whence the embarkation was commenced to Oude. This took some days; meantime every exertion was made to render the new intrenchment (which had been chosen by General Havelock on the 19th,) capable of defence when the forces intended to relieve Lucknow had all crossed. General Neill was left with a garrison of less than two hundred men to hold Cawnpore. The day I entered the city, (viz. the 18th) I appointed a Cotwal, and city police, and a day or two afterwards I sent out a thannadar to Sirsoul, with a band of burkundazes. This thannah is on the Allahabad road, and has never been given up since. I was very anxious also to get outposts to the south and west, that we might as it were have police pickets on all sides of us. Two men readily volunteered to go out as thannadars, one to Suchendee, about ten miles down the Calpee road, and the other to Sheorajpore, a village on the grand trunk road towards Delhi. They both went out, attended by as many men as could be collected together. This was a most unfortunate undertaking. The 42nd regiment of native infantry, (than which no corps showed more courage or greater ferocity) having mutinied at Saugor, crossed the Jumna at Calpee, accompanied by some irregular horse, and marched directed upon Akberpore. Here it was supposed they would turn off towards Bithoor; before doing so, however, they sent a considerable body of men to destroy the temporary bridge over the Pandoo, and these men advancing rapidly, surprised the thannah of Suchendee, and capturing the thannadar put him to death, under circumstances of great cruelty. The main body afterwards marching on Sheorajpore, surrounded the thannah there also, and the thannadar, a young Mussulman of considerable personal courage, was shot, and his body hung with the head downwards from a tree. General Neill, who on taking command of the intrenchment, told me that as the occupation of Cawnpore was wholly milita-

ry, he considered it of great importance that the city police should be in the hands of a military man, that they might be made to co-operate with military movements, had already appointed Captain Bruce of the Bombay army superintendent of police, with (as I understood the General to say) the express approbation of Government. The serious gathering at Bithoor, which shortly after the departure of General Havelock, began to draw all our attention for a while, postponed any further attempts to re-establish provincial police stations. The 42nd native infantry, which after leaving Sheorajpore, had occupied Bithoor, were soon joined there by men of the 17th and other regiments, and by sowars of the 2nd cavalry and 3rd infantry. General Neill was all activity, constantly marching out in the environs of the town, with a couple of guns and all his available men; keeping the steamer moving up and down the river, (it made two warlike visits to Bithoor) and in every way showing that he was on the alert and prepared for emergencies. It is certainly untrue, though it has been often repeated, that the Nana re-crossed to Bithoor at this juncture; he has never since he first left Bithoor revisited this bank; nor do I think, as I have seen it stated, that Cawnpore was at this time in any particular danger. The enemy were numerous, but they had only two small pieces of artillery, and though their sowars did occasionally by night ride into the suburbs, it was mostly I fancy for the sake of bravado. However General Havelock considered it his first duty on returning from Oude, to turn its rebel occupants out of Bithoor. Accordingly on the 16th August, a large party, commanded by General Havelock in person, marched on Bithoor, and after an hour's cannonading entirely cleared the town. During the presence of General Havelock's force in Cawnpore, of course we had a stronger hold on the neighbourhood, and I was commencing an attempt at again establishing police posts, when I received a very kind letter from General Neill, of which the following are extracts:—"Attempting to "establish your police, is not only useless, but risking the "lives of men well disposed to the state, to no purpose. The "capture and murder of your men at Sheorajpore and Bithoor "prove this." And again, "having no soldiers to send out, "the common police under military rule Bruce is getting "together, is the best substitute." Then after very highly praising the police on the Allahabad road for having kept open communication so well, he adds—"when the sanction "of the Government is requested, the reason why must "be fully stated as above; most certainly the grounds "for sending the request will not be the inefficient state

"of the present police." The posts therefore of Bithoor, Sheorajpore and Suchendee, passed into General Neill's hands, and were garrisoned by degrees under Captain Bruce's orders with what was then called the 'Mahter police.' About the same time, General Neill also nominated Captain Young, of the 4th native infantry, to be superintendent of the grand trunk road for aiding the transit of troops. Both these appointments were sanctioned, and commissions for administering the penal acts were sent me by Mr. Chester for Captains Bruce and Young. I being already on the commission, swore them both in. I merely mention this to show that my partial supercession (of which I have no wish to complain in the least, for I think it was quite proper under the circumstances) was not only known to, but acquiesced in by the Government under whose immediate orders I was then acting. Had we been strong enough then, to have thoroughly occupied the district, I make no doubt most of the zemindars would have at once given in their adherence, and things would have quieted down. As it was, several large zemindars, amongst them Doorga Pershaud of Suchendee, began to feel their way, and to make inquiries as to whether bye-gones stood any chance of being considered bye-gones. To these, we could only guarantee a fair trial. But this did not meet their views. Gradually as it became seen that Cawnpore was only a garrison, when it was clearly known that the troops collecting at Cawnpore had not for their immediate object, the pacification of the Doab, but were intended to cross the river, this desire to conciliate died away, and the disaffected began to look towards Gwalior as affording them some hope of a second subversion of the British power, and this time, with a more permanent success. The active part taken by Doorga Pershaud and Rajah Suttee Pershaud, of Sheorajpore, heads as they were of the Chundel Rajpoots, naturally influenced the conduct of most of the higher class of Thakoors. I am afraid the most I can say of the better specimens, is, that they were neutral. The infidelity also of the Omlah, doubtless, had a very bad influence in the district. To a man almost, with the deputy collector at their head, they quietly changed sides and acquiesced in the new administration. Ram Lall, the deputy collector, took a very active part in attempting to organize the Nana's government. This marked treachery,—a treachery which ruined the whole body of officials, I punished with death on my first arrival. At the time then, that Sir James Outram arrived with reinforcements, the state of the district was this: first, as regards police, Captain Bruce held the city, Bithoor, Suchendee and Sheorajpore; had a slight hold

on Belhour, and had established one or two smaller posts in the neighbourhood, so that Cawnpore was well surrounded by a series of police pickets. In police I had the thannah at Sirsoul, and a thannah at Ghatumpore, and for a while one also at Bhogneepore. These three pergunnahs were under Mr. Griffiths, both in revenue and police. There were no tehsildars appointed, but he had two peshkars under him, at Sarh Sulem, and at Ghatumpore. The Pundit Umur Nauth, was appointed sudder tehsildar. We collected in the huzoor tehsil and Bithoor, and got a little money in from Russoolabad and Sheorajpore. When the force left us on the 19th October, for the relief of Oude, and when many days passed without any intelligence being received from Lucknow, considerable anxiety was naturally felt in the town ; but the glorious news of the capture of Delhi raised our prestige again, and the large preparations which were being made for carriage and commissariat stores, re-assured the people that the *gorah log* were not so completely run out of soldiers as ill-disposed agitators had tried to lead them to believe. No material change took place in our position. We could not strengthen our hold on the district; Bhogneepore, and Secundra, and Akberpore, were very much under the influence of the trans-Jumna rebels, whilst the large clan of Mew Thakoors were to a man in open rebellion, and two malcontents, the Rajah Bhao, and Kalundur Gir Gossain, managed to keep the whole of that part of the district in a disturbed state. In Russoolabad, there was a strong party, headed by Pem Singh, and Duriao Singh, (since hung at Gwalior) against us, and connected with a rebel party in Etawah ; but there were some influential men for us. Sheolee and Sheorajpore were subject to inroads from sowars connected with the Nana and Nurput Singh, and were kept in constant disturbance and excitement. Bithoor was strengthened by the proximity of Cawnpore, but still on the Dusseera the enemy from the other bank managed to surprise Captain Bruce's police, and killed a considerable number of them, including the superintendent. A party from Akberpore also attacked Suchendee about the same time, and killed the thannahdar and several burkundazes. The capture of Delhi drove the fugitive rebels down the country, and the large party (diminished though I fancy on the road) which crossed at Muttra under Bukt Khan, advanced into this district as far as Sheorajpore. Brigadier Wilson, however, went out to meet him on 19th October, with 600 infantry and several field pieces. There was scarcely an engagement, as after firing a few shots the enemy made off, but although little harm was done to him then, there is reason to suppose the check received at Sheoraj-

pore, threw back into the jaws of Greathed's column, that body of rebels that were annihilated on the morning of the 23rd October near Kanouj. Soon after this brush, in upon us, full of life and vigour, and flushed with victory, part of the glorious band that had expelled the rebel from his fastness, had upraised again the British flag in the deserted halls of Timoor, the 'pursuing column,' as it was called, first commanded by Greathed and afterwards by Grant, arrived on the 26th of October, and doubtless the sight of so large a body of men would have tended entirely to pacify the district, had not ominous whispers from the south-west, told us of the advance of the large force and powerful artillery, that was to introduce another disturbing element into all plans. But days passed on, the 'pursuing column' crossed the river; infantry, and cavalry and guns came up and crossed and disappeared, and at last, the Commander-in-chief himself made a start, and the relief of Lucknow commenced.

What occurred during his absence has been often related. Time fails me to give more than the merest outline. Taking advantage of the comparatively unprotected state of Cawnpore the Gwalior contingent, after many hesitations, at length crossed the Jumna and marched upon the station. On the 26th November, General Windham went out to meet them at Bhoutee, about ten miles down the Calpee road, gave them a very decided repulse, and brought in one of their ten-inch howitzers in which they placed such reliance. The next morning, the enemy again advanced, and turning off the Calpee road crossed by Rawutpore to the grand trunk road, where being joined by a considerable force of rebels, which had crossed from Oude at Sheorajpore, made a joint attack on Cawnpore.

The endeavours to keep them off were not that day, as is well known, altogether successful, and the troops slept at night inside the intrenchment. A sally however was made on the 28th, and with considerable success on the left. But the advantages gained could not be sustained with the force available, and when Sir Colin rode into Cawnpore, on the evening of the 28th, he found the entire force within its intrenchments, and the enemy in possession of the whole city and station. It was on the 1st December that Captain Bruce received a staff appointment, and wishing to be at once relieved of his police duties, he wrote to ask me to take over charge. I went over to his house, which formed part of the intrenchments; I think the enemy had got some idea that the Commander-in-chief was staying there; but however that may be they selected this wretched house for a target, and I wrote my letters with round shot whizzing over our heads. Fortunately the enemy were

not very good shots, but they carried away part of the balustrade of the roof twice. I should not think it has happened before for a magistrate to take charge of a district, a few hundred square yards only of which were then in British possession, and to sign the usual papers under a heavy cannonade playing on his predecessor's house.

Here as Captain Bruce's administration ended, let me venture to bear my tribute to its vigor and its justice. Much has been said, I understand, about the executions at this place. All I can testify is, that I believe the executions to have been far less numerous here than at most other places which the rebels had had possession of. Fair and careful trials were always accorded, and I never heard the natives complain of the result of any, except that of Azim Ally Khan. In that case Captain Bruce asked my opinion, and it confirmed his own, that the Khan Sahib was guilty. As for myself, I trust I was of some use in collecting Commissariat stores, building carts, &c., and keeping up a *Liliputian* correspondence with Agra. I also attempted, not wholly without success, to keep order in the Futtehpore district, and when Mr. Probyn was made magistrate in October, he found all the thannahs and tehseelees restored. But I draw to the close of my narrative. On the 6th of December, Sir Colin arose in his strength, and scattered the Gwalior contingent in every direction, taking all their guns. The delusion was over, the district saw that British supremacy was inevitable; and sick of misrule and confusion and disorder, it finally succumbed. The column under Brigadier Walpole, which marched on the 18th December, was received with apparent pleasure by the people. Captain Bourchier writes:—"The whole population flocked to see us." The ousted zemindars began to see that their dream of getting rid of auction purchasers was over, and they must submit to their fate. These men were made our enemies by circumstances. We ruined them to be sure, but it was in our attempt to benefit them, and if our desire to liberate them, from the yoke of the talookdar, had subjected them to the ten-times more disastrous yoke of the Borah, still the consummation was one we never contemplated. The selling up of estates however was doubtless one of the principal causes that gave the rebellion that popular phase it gradually assumed. Bacon has remarked with rare sagacity, that "it is certain so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles." This must be remembered with regard to confiscated estates too, as well as those the civil court has laid its hand upon.

Opportunity was taken of Brigadier Walpole's column, to re-establish thannahs and tehseelees, at Akberpore, Russool-

labad and Derapore, which have stood ever since. Mr. Griffiths re-established his thannahs at Sirsoul and Ghatumpore, and when the chief advanced towards Futtehgurh, Sheorajpore and Billour had their establishments restored, which have never since been disturbed. Bhogneepore and Secundra, continuing under the influence of Calpee, although they were kept out of active mischief by the moveable column under Colonel Maxwell at Akberpore, were too disturbed to admit of government servants being located there, and it was not till the fall of Calpee in May, that by their complete subjugation, I was enabled to report to the Commissioner, *ubique pax.*

That peace, with God's blessing, I hope we shall be able not only to maintain by armed force, but to ensure gradually on a much firmer ground, by pressing upon the people the conviction, that a Christian rule is synonymous with a wise and just one.

I do not think I have omitted any thing of importance, bearing on the general aspects of the rebellion in this district. I recall the burning of Russoollabad tehseelee by the fugitives, after the battle of Khujwa in Futtehpore; I recall a raid of Rao Sahib, from the Ganges to the Jumna, and an attack on Russoollabad by Etawah zemindars; but these were detached incidents, scarcely calling for notice in a narrative of this kind. I followed but the other day close upon the retreating footsteps of Feroze Shah, but I found the ploughman in the field; the boy singing at the well as he urged the bullocks down the slope; the old woman sitting at her door, twisting her little cotton gin, (I fear with scarcely velocity enough to compete with the new world) and her daughters grinding the millet, all supremely unconscious of the descendant of Timoor, who with somewhat unseemly haste had made but yesterday a royal progress through their fields and villages.

The taste for misrule has clearly for the time departed. The people have seen that neither Rajah nor Nawab can construct a practicable administration, and the old rule seems better than none.

I trust experience may teach us to amend those parts of our administration, which may be oppressive or distasteful to the people, so that they may accept our rule, not only as inevitable, but also as that with which they are best satisfied.

MEMORANDUM.

By Lieut. Col. Williams, Military Secretary to Government, N. W. Provinces.

The investigations regarding the out-break at Cawnpore in June 1857, have been temporarily closed.

Forty-two depositions from individuals of all classes and creeds, Christians, Mahomedans and Hindoos have been recorded, and valuable evidence obtained from respectable and influential residents in the city. These depositions together with the native journal of a city resident, have been translated, and relate the first attempts made by the Nana to tamper with the troops; his ready success; the earliest meeting held by the conspirators; and their proceedings on, and subsequent to their mutiny, from the 1st of June, to the advance of the British force in July.

It is proposed to have these printed; and from them to draw up a report cast in the form of a narrative, showing all that the evidence contained in them proves.

The evidence shows the Nana's brother, Bala Sahib, to have taken as (if not more) active and prominent a part as even the Nana himself.

There are no traces of any conspiracy prior to the arrival of the Nana at Cawnpore on the 22nd May 1857, with two guns, and 300 horse and foot, for the avowed purpose of aiding in the maintenance of order. But about that time, it would seem, that two sowars, the one named Raheem Khan, of Bishenpore, near Bithoor, the other Muddut Alee, of Banda, and in the service of the Nana, were employed by Bala Sahib, to corrupt the fidelity to the troops. The 2nd cavalry already ripe for mutiny, needed but little persuasion. Soobadar Teeka Singh, havildar major Gopal Singh, and sowars Shumsh-ood-deen Khan, Shaik Boolakie, Sirdar Beg, and Rai Singh, are said to have taken the lead amongst them; and at dusk on the evening of the 1st of June met the Nana and Bala Sahib at Manjee ghat where they had a consultation in a boat that lasted two hours.

Upon this fact being brought to the notice of the magistrate, the Nana plausibly accounted for it, by stating it to have been held for the adoption of measures, that should keep the troops firm and loyal; whereas on the succeeding day, sowar Shumsh-ood-deen Khan, with two or three others of the 2nd cavalry, whilst drinking in the house of a prostitute named Azeezun, informed her that in a few days the Peshwa's rule would be proclaimed, and the Nana paramount at Cawnpore, when they would fill her house not with rupees merely, but gold-mohurs.

The depositions of those attached to the 53rd and 56th native infantry, give a clear account of the out-break on the 4th June, and the events in the intrenchments.

After the mutiny of the 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry on the morning of the 5th of June, a sowar of the former, and a native officer of the latter corps, were sent to the Nana, to offer him the alternative of a kingdom, if he joined their

(the rebel) party, or death if he cast in his lot with the British.

His decision was promptly accorded, the ready reply being, "What have I to do with the British? I am with you." He then laying his hand on the heads of the mutineers, swore to be their chief, and to lead them to Delhi; after which they were dismissed with orders to carry the Government treasure to Kullianpore. A consultation was then held by the Nana, Bala Sahib, and Azeemoollah. The latter pointed out the folly of proceeding to Delhi, where their individual power and influence would necessarily cease; and recommended the Nana's recalling the mutineers, taking possession of Cawnpore and extending his authority, as far as he could, to the estward; adding, that he was thoroughly acquainted with the resources of the British, that the number of Europeans in India was scarce one-fourth that of the native army, and that the latter having mutinied, the former were powerless.

This being agreed to, as the soundest policy, was accordingly carried out; the mutineers were ordered back, and the seige of the intrenchments commenced. The evidence of some of the belcagured parties, chiefly belonging to the 53rd and 56th regiments, with that of the city people, gives a vivid picture of the state of affairs during that ever memorable period. The mutineers, it would appear, were more intent on plunder and murder, than on fair and open fight; whilst in the city and elsewhere, a reign of terror was established.

The Nana was assisted by neighbouring zemindars, and the insurgent populace finding it, after repeated attempts, impossible to take the intrenchments by fair fighting, a full council was held, and recourse to treachery resolved upon, though some of the mutineers present are said to have deprecated the adoption of foul means. Whether this be true or not, one fact is clear, none gave warning of the base impending treachery, involving though it did, the murder of helpless women and innocent children, but all joined unflinchingly in its perpetration.

The evidence regarding the massacre at the Suttie Chowra ghât, on the morning of the 27th June 1857, is clear and conclusive. A plan will be annexed, showing the positions of the guns and rebel troops, held in ambush, but which were withdrawn from their places of concealment when the deputed officers went to examine the boats at the ghât. Nineteen thousand spectators assembled from the city and neighbouring villages to witness the departure of that gallant little garrison from the intrenchments, amongst whom were many respectable city people, such as bankers, &c., some doubtless came to

view the truly novel sight of their late rulers led forth as captives, by those they had but a short time previously commanded. Some few may have been actuated by a better and kinder motive to pay their parting respects, to those they had known in happier days; for the more respectable portion of the native community, though prepared for treachery, were not aware the British would be attacked at the ghât, ere yet they had embarked, but imagined it would be lower down the river.

Even before that doomed little band had reached the fatal spot, the real intentions of the mutineers were revealed by some, unable to restrain their malignant ardour, until the stated time and spot were reached. The depositions give a painful account of the murder of Colonel Ewart, who commanded the late 1st N. I., by some four sepoys of his corps, who cut him down with bitter taunts, regarding the spectacle before him being a fine parade. His poor wife also met with a similar fate, almost immediately after. Of the fearful scenes that ensued at the ghât, the evidence of the manjees who supplied the boats, with that of many who were spectators, gives a clear account.

The most active in carrying out the arrangements, and urging on the slaughter was Teckum, a sowar of the 2nd cavalry, who having been made a rissaldar by the Nana, was doubtless anxious thus to exhibit his zeal and devotion in the cause of his benefactor. On a carpet spread on the chubootra of the temple, near the ghât, were seated Bala Sahib, Azeemoolah, Brigadier Jowala Pershad, and Tantia Toopee, a captain of the Nana's guard. The first shots were fired from the Oude bank of the river, where the mutinous 17th N. I. were posted with some guns; three more being stationed with a large force on the right bank; on the boats being set on fire by the former party, many of their occupants leaped into the water on the off-side, and notwithstanding the murderous fire poured upon them, some eighty-four or eighty-five women and children effected their escape from present death, only alas! to meet a worse fate hereafter. The wives of drummers and children, from three to ten years old, passed unscathed, not only through the seige, but even this terrible massacre also.

A man of great influence in the city, and a Government official, has related a circumstance that is strange, if true; viz., that whilst the massacre was being carried on at the ghât, a trooper of the 2nd cavalry, reported to the Nana, then at Savada house, that his enemies, their wives, and children, were exterminated. Some one present remarked, "yes, it was true, for an infant of a month old was seen floating down the

stream." On hearing this, the Nana replied, that "for the destruction of women and children, there was no necessity;" and directed the sowar to return with an order to stay their slaughter.

Reliable evidence, as far as it was procurable, regarding the massacre of the helpless captives in the slaughter-house, has been recorded, from which the following facts have been gleaned: that the mutinous troops refused to carry out the order of their destruction, though one random volley by some was, it would seem, fired; that the real perpetrators of the diabolical deed were chiefly men of the Nana's own guard; and that the cause of their destruction was fear of betrayal should any survive, and be recovered by their countrymen; that on the steady and continued advance of the British, and after the second action, in which Bala Sahib was severely wounded in the right shoulder, a hurried council was held; that fear and consternation filled the rebel camp, and dismay, the hearts of all; that this meeting was attended by many, who by loans of money, and aid in various other ways accorded to the Nana, had implicated themselves in the revolt; that many and various were the projects suggested for checking the advance of the British, and securing their own safety; some of the most timid proposing the abandonment of Cawnpore, the falling back on Futtehgurh, and the conjunction of their force with that of the rebel Nawab there; some suggested making a stand at Bithoor, while others either more courageous or desperate, advised the casting all "on a die" and fighting it out at Cawnpore. Yet, notwithstanding that all felt their hour had well nigh come, and that shortly a stern retribution would be exacted for the innocent blood, already so wantonly shed, such was the fear of detection, (by the many who had aided and abetted their chief,) through their recognition by the prisoners, particularly such of them as Mrs. Greenway and other old residents of Cawnpore, that no fear of consequences could stay them from further imbruing their hands in blood, and that of women and children, deeming that thus they secured themselves from further detection; especially those who had even at that early stage resolved, should things continue to go against the rebel faction, they would change sides, and if the evidence recorded be true, many of those present at that council are now again in Government employ. Much valuable evidence yet remains untaken. A careful investigation of all procurable would, I think, beyond doubt, implicate many at present supposed to be free from the stain of mutiny.

Adla, by birth and profession a courtesan, born at Mugrasa, resided with the Nana from 1850, and from receiving Rs. 200

per month, becoming a favourite, was, it is said, endowed with the jewels belonging to the widows of the late Peshwa, valued at Rs. 50,000. On the Nana's flight from Bithoor, she was sent in a boat some distance up the river; but returning to Cawnpore in August 1857, was secreted in a house in the Butcher-khanah, went from thence to Misreepore, Zillah Hameerpore, and is now said to be at Mugrasa, near Cawnpore, under the care of a man named Mundhoo; having promised, she states, to await one year at Cawnpore, the return of the Nana to that station.

The sister of Mundhoo, named Karneena, resides with Oojagur Dobey, of Dahabey, zillah Cawnpore, and the jewels are said to be secreted in his house.

A female spy has been sent to the Nana's Camp, to trace this girl.

The girl, called the begum, who attended on the prisoners, is one of four slave girls bought by the Peshwa, and named Hossance Khanum. She, it is said, carried the order for the massacre of the prisoners to the sepoy guard placed over them; and on their refusing to execute it, returned and fetched five men of the Nana's own guard; one of whom was her lover, Sirdar Khan.

There is evidence also of the wife of the toll-keeper at Sheorajpore, who was spared at the intercession of the widows of Bajee Rao, and was delivered of a child at Bithoor, being alive on the 17th of July, two days subsequent to the murder of the prisoners. On the Nana's flight however from Bithoor, on the afternoon of the 17th, he ordered her and the child to be killed.

A man has been sent to Rampore, the residence of the sowar, who carried off Miss W——, as he is said to have returned to his home.

Mr. Shepherd's Narrative.

Previous to the out-break at Cawnpore reports of different kinds were afloat in the station, from all of which it was ascertained that the native soldiery, whenever they should break out into open mutiny, would on no account molest or hurt the European community at Cawnpore; and the informers employed by General Sir Hugh Wheeler on all occasions confirmed the same. They reported that the three infantry regiments (1st, 53d, and 56th) appeared well disposed towards our Government, with the exception of a few sepoys of really bad character, but that the 2nd regiment light cavalry (who were discontented) were endeavouring to persuade them to rebel, when all would join and proceed in a body together to

Delhi, after possessing themselves of all the Government money lodged in the collector's treasury, which they proposed taking on as a present to the newly created king there, whom they acknowledged to be their true sovereign.

Under the above supposition the European merchants and others of the station, though they had at first provided themselves with boats and other means of escape from Cawnpore, abandoned the idea of deserting this place. The only precaution that appeared to be necessary was to avoid the fury of the mutineers at the moment the out-break might take place.

For this purpose almost the whole of the non-military residents were promised shelter in the intrenched camp, then under preparation under the General's directions. This promise appears to have completely satisfied them, and all determined to continue to stay at Cawnpore.

The General at the same time took the precaution to direct the commissariat to lay in in the intrenchment a supply of atta, dall, ghee, salt, rice, tea, sugar, rum, and malt liquor, &c., calculated to last for thirty days for about 1,000 persons. This was accordingly done, though not quite in full of indents, in consequence of some mismanagement on the part of the newly created purchasing agent, Chunna Mull.

The assistant-commissary (Mr. Reily) in charge of the magazine, was directed to blow up the magazine the moment an out-break should take place.

The collector of Cawnpore (Mr. Hillersden) was also directed to convey away all his treasure from the treasury into the intrenchment, but under certain circumstances (which I have not been able correctly to ascertain) it was not done.

About this time the 'Narina' of Bithoor offered his services, and. pretending to be a most faithful subject of Government, undertook to protect the treasury in conjunction with our own sepoy guard with a couple of his guns and about 2,000 men in his employ. Very great confidence appears to have been placed in him, and his services were accepted; and in the meantime about a lac or upwards of rupees was withdrawn and placed in the intrenchment under the plea of meeting the salaries of the troops, &c., for May, leaving about eight and a half lacs in the treasury.

The executive commissariat and pay officers, with all their records and treasure chests, were removed from the west side of the canal into bungalows adjacent to the intrenchment.

On the 3rd of June it was thought proper not to keep any public money under the sepoy guard at the office, and, accordingly, the commissariat treasure chest, containing about 34,000 rupees in cash and the Government paper, deposits of

gomashtas and others, together with the cash-book, security, deposit, and other important books, were taken into the intrenchment and placed in the quarter guard there.

About sunset on that date the 3rd Oude horse battery, which had been sent for our assistance some few days ago from Lucknow (and had been ordered to proceed towards Futteghur to quell a disturbance in that quarter, but since recalled) joined the intrenchment.

About three days previously, reports becoming very strong of the mutinous intentions of the cavalry, all the non-military Christian residents removed into the church and other buildings near to the intrenchment.

On the 4th many more important books, stock, and cash ledgers, relief report (then nearly finished), books of regulations, &c., were also taken by the commissariat officer into the intrenchment.

The 2nd cavalry, finding that they could not prevail upon the infantry regiments to join them, determined to go off, and, under the plea of having received some real or imaginary slight from the officers of their corps, on a sudden, at about 2 o'clock in the morning of 5th of June, rose in a body with a great shout, mounted their horses, and on leaving their lines set fire to the bungalow of their quartermaster sergeant. Thence, proceeding to the commissariat cattle yard, they took possession of the Government elephants, thirty-six in number, at the same time setting fire to the cattle sergeant's bungalow.

While the main body proceeded towards Nawabgunge, a few of the ringleaders went to the lines of the 1st regiment of native infantry, and used their persuasive powers so well as to succeed in getting the men (who were mostly young recruits, the old hands being away on leave, or on command) to join them.

It is to be spoken to the credit of the men of the 1st native infantry, that when they agreed to go away with the mutineers they first begged of their officers (who had been for some time in the habit of sleeping in the quarter-guard of the regiment to insure confidence) to leave them, and ultimately forced them to go away into the intrenchment without hurting them.

This corps left its lines about half-an-hour after the cavalry. As the latter left with a shout an alram gun was fired from our camp, and the non-military community all taken into the intrenchment from the church compound. Nearly all the bungalows on the west side of the canal were that day plundered and afterwards set fire to, so that there was nothing but large blazes of fire to be seen in that direction.

At about 7 o'clock A. M. three or four officers went on

horseback towards the Assembly-rooms, and on their return the 3rd Oude horse battery was ordered to pursue the rebels, accompanied by a company of European soldiers. These went as far as the canal, but were re-called, owing to an apprehension that the 53rd and 56th native infantry, who were still in their lines in our rear, might attack us, when the remaining men would not be sufficient to defend the intrenchment.

The two last-named native regiments showed signs at nine o'clock of their also joining in the rebellion, and about half an hour after nearly the whole of the native commissioned officers (about thirty or thirty-five in number) came to the General and reported that their remonstrances to the sepoys were of no avail—who had also that morning been tampered with by the cavalry, and appeared determined to go off. While they were yet speaking a bugle sounded, and presently afterwards we could see the two regiments drawn up in columns on their parade ground, showing a defying front; but a shot or two from our long gun immediately dispersed them, and sent them at a full gallop round their lines, on the outside road leading to Delhi, and branching off to Nawabgunge, where their rebellious brethren were then stationed.

The native commissioned officers were then told to take their position in the artillery hospital barrack, opposite to us, on the east side, and to make an intrenchment for themselves there, and endeavour to draw back those of the sepoys and native non-commissioned officers, who, they said, were not inclined to go, but were reluctantly compelled to join. These officers went away, with one or two exceptions, and we never heard any more about them; but I learnt afterwards that fearing the resentment of the sepoys, they took the straight way to their homes, and never joined in the rebellion.

Carts were sent at noon to bring in from the sepoy lines the muskets, &c., of the men on leave, and the baggage, &c., of the Christian drummers, who, with their families, had all come to seek protection in the intrenchment. The sick in hospital were also brought in, and the two barracks were very much crowded, so much so that the drummers and their families and native servants had to remain in the open air at night, and under cover of the cook-house, and other buildings during the heat of the day. At five o'clock in the evening all the uncovenanted (myself and my brother included) were mustered and directed to arm themselves with muskets, of which there was a great heap. This they did, and after receiving a sufficient quantity of ammunition, were told off in different sections under the command of several officers, who instructed us as to what we should have to do when occasion required it.

It is reported that when the mutineers reached Nawab-

gunge the Nana came out to receive them, and, taking them with him proceeded to the treasury, where he had all the Government elephants well laden with the public money, and while this was being done word was brought that the other two regiments (the 53rd and 56th native infantry) were also coming to join. This so pleased the Nana that he gave up the remaining cash as a general plunder to the rebels, after which they set fire to the records and to the building and destroyed the collector's cutchery.

This done, the whole mob moved on to the magazine, (which unfortunately had not been permitted by the sepoy guard, placed there, to be blown up), where they halted until carts and other carriage could be procured from the city and neighbouring villages; they then loaded their baggage, and took as much small ammunition as they could, and marched off about five o'clock in the afternoon to Kulleeanpore (being one stage on the road towards Delhi), leaving a small body of cavalry to complete the work of destruction—*i. e.*, firing the remaining bungalows that had been missed during the day, and which work they continued to perform nearly the whole night.

That same evening (June 5th) the golundazes of the 3rd Oude horse battery showed signs of disaffection, and were sent away from our intrenchment after being disarmed. Had these not left, I was told the General would have sent two guns to Nawabgunge to prevent the mutineers returning, as due information of their movements was brought to our camp; but, being well assured, according to the reports previously made by the informers, that the rebels did not contemplate attacking us, no further precaution appears to have been deemed necessary; otherwise this would have been a good opportunity to set fire to the large quantity of powder still remaining in the magazine.

The above golundazes, it is reported, then proceeded to the camp of the mutineers, and, going to the Nana, who was also there, set before him the advantages likely to be derived by attacking the English in their intrenchment, since there was so large a quantity of powder and guns of different sizes, with other ammunition, quite at hand, besides the thirty-five or forty boat loads of shot and shell lying in the canal (which on account of the unsettled state of the country were unable to proceed to Roorkee, whither they had originally been consigned from Cawnpore, and had only just returned). It was, therefore, it appears, agreed upon to return next morning and attack us, for early on the morrow, the 6th of June, information was brought that the mutineers were coming upon us, and every preparation was accordingly made for our defence.

In the meantime the rebels secured all our magazine work

people, classies, &c., and made them assist in putting up a few heavy guns in serviceable order, and employing Government bullocks, of which they had also full possession, brought out about half-a-dozen guns (two of which were 18-pounders and the others smaller), and placing them in a range, under cover of the newly built lines of the 1st native infantry, commenced playing upon us. The first shot was fired at about half-past ten A. M., and immediately on hearing the report of the gun a bugle sounded in our camp, 'all hands to your arms,' and accordingly every person, from a drummer or writer to the regimental officer, all spread themselves out under the walls or rather mounds of the intrenchment which had been hastily built up, about breast high. Here we sat nearly all day exposed to the hot winds and scorching sun of the month of June, every moment expecting an open handed attack from the infantry and cavalry. This the enemy, however, never attempted, though at times large bodies of armed men could be seen collected in different places. Our artillery kept up a brisk fire, and returned nearly every shot of the mutineers. In the meantime the latter commenced setting fire to the bungalows on our (or the east) side of the canal, and bringing round their guns closer up to us behind the riding school, and the compound walls of buildings most suited to them.

The exact strength of our own people is not known to me, but from memory I give the detail in the margin.* Those of the European soldiers I have since ascertained from daily indents in the possession of Thakoordoss, artillery gomashta, who had hid himself in the city.

We had eight guns—viz., two brass ones of the 3rd Oude battery, two 9-pounder long guns, and four of smaller size. For these sufficient ammunition had previously been taken and buried under ground. The intrenchment was made round the hospital barracks of the old European infantry (between the soldiers' church and the new unfinished European lines), and of the two buildings thus enclosed one had thatched roofing, over which a covering of tiles was hastily thrown to prevent its easily catching fire. None of the native writers—Bengalees and others in Government offices or merchants' employ—went into the intrenchment; they remained in the city,

* First company 6th battalion of artillery, 61 ; Her Majesty's 32rd regiment, 84 ; 1st European fusiliers, 15 ; Her Majesty's 84th foot, 50—210. Officers of the three native infantry regiments, cavalry, and others, with the staff—100. Merchants, writers, and others about 100 ; drummers, about 40—140. Women and children of soldiers, about 160 ; ditto of writers, merchants, and drummers, 120 ; ladies and children of officers, 50—330. Servants, cooks, and others, after a great number had absconded on hearing the enemy's guns firing, 100 ; sick sepoys and native officers who remained with us, 20—120; total 900.

where they appear to have received much annoyance from the mutineers, and some had to hide themselves to save their lives. The commissariat contractors all discontinued their supplies from the 6th, or rather were unable to bring them in from the way the mutineers surrounded the intrenchment on all sides, permitting no ingress or egress at any time except under cover of the night.

On the 7th, the enemy increased the number of their guns, some of which were of the largest size available. The 24-pounder guns, of which they had three or four, proved very destructive, on account of their proximity to us ; the shots from them were fired with such force as to bring down whole pillars of the verandas, and go through the pukka walls of the hospital barracks.

We had but one well in the middle of the intrenchment, and the enemy kept up their fire so incessantly, both day and night, that it was as much as giving a man's 'life blood' to go and draw a bucket of water; and while there was any water remaining in the large jars usually kept in the verandahs for the soldier's use nobody ventured to the well; but after the second day the demand became so great that a bheestie's bag of water was with difficulty got for five rupees, and a bucket for a rupee, as most of the servants of officers and merchants had deserted, and it therefore became a matter of necessity for every person to get his own water, which was usually done during the night, when the enemy could not well direct their shots. In fact, after the first three days' incessant firing the rebels made it a practice usually at about candlelight to cease for about two hours, and at that time the crowd round the well was very great.

There was no place to shelter the live cattle. Horses of private gentlemen, as also those of the 3rd Oude battery, were obliged to be let loose. A few sheep and goats, as well as the bullocks kept for commissariat purposes, were shot off, and in the course of five or six days no meat was to be got for the Europeans. They however, now and again managed to get hold of a stray bullock or cow near the intrenchment at night, which served for a change; otherwise dall and chuppaties were the common food of all. Several hogsheads of rum and malt liquor were also burst by the enemy's cannon, but of this there was a large quantity, and the loss was not felt.

On the evening of the second day of the firing, the 7th of June, I received a bullet wound (fortunately a spent shot fired from the riding school) in my back while standing as sentry under the walls of the intrenchment, which kept me off duty for nearly a week. However, I could observe the movements of the enemy, who had us well surrounded in the course of four

or five days with cannon; and the musketry of the infantry had no bounds, as they took possession of all the bungalows, compound walls, out-buildings, &c. that had been burnt down, and were nearest to our camp. The church, which was also fired, proved the most annoying to us, as also the newly built (unfinished) European barracks. Their encroachment, however, in the latter quarter was usually checked by the vigilance of a most brave and energetic officer (Captain Moore) of Her Majesty's 32nd foot, who though severely hurt in one of his arms, never gave himself the least rest, but wherever there appeared most danger he was sure to be foremost with his arm in a sling and a revolver pistol in his belt, directing and leading the men how to act. This officer placed scouts with eye-glasses on the top of one of the unfinished barracks, whence every movement of the enemy could be seen, and which helped our artillery to direct their shots.

The rebel sepoys usually took possession of the first three of these barracks, but whenever they annoyed us much or attempted to advance nearer, Captain Moore would go out with about a dozen Europeans in the midst of the most brisk firing, and, getting under cover of the other barracks, would pepper the enemy so as to soon rout them out of their hiding place. On such occasions the number of killed on the opposite side was considerable, whereas our men generally escaped unhurt. It was very amusing to see the way Captain Moore used to make his men and himself pass from the intrenchment into the unfinished barracks, for, whenever he found the enemy too strong for the small picket placed out to protect our scouts and keep possession of the nearest barracks, he would collect a number of more volunteers from the intrenchment, and send them out one at a time; as each man ventured out some scores of bullets would be directed towards him, and which would make him run as fast as ever his legs would allow, however the distance to run in one breath was not very great, for a lot of conveyances, bullocks, trains, &c., were placed at short distances all the way to the new barracks.

This brave officer went out on two occasions under cover of the night, with about twenty-five Europeans at a time, and spiked the nearest guns of the enemy. But for the paucity of our soldiers it would have been an easy matter to drive away the rebels, who proved themselves to be a most cowardly set of men, particularly the cavalry, for very often attempts were made to charge upon us, and notwithstanding the very large number of people collected on the enemy's side, apparently with that intention, under cover of the buildings and compound walls nearest to our camp, they seldom dared cou-

rageously to come out, for whenever they advanced a few charges of canister would soon disperse and make them all run away as fast as ever they could.

For the first four or five days of the out-break our artillery kept up a brisk firing, but after that it was considered unadvisable to exhaust our magazine, for the rebels took great care to always keep well under cover, and we could not do much execution among them.

The heat was very great, and what with the fright, want of room, want of proper food and care, several ladies and soldiers' wives, as also children, died with great distress. Many officers and soldiers also were sun-struck from exposure to the hot winds. The dead bodies of our people had to be thrown into a well outside the intrenchment, near the new unfinished barracks, and this work was generally done at the close of each day, as nobody could venture out during the day on account of the shot and shell flying in all directions like a hail storm; our intrenchment was strewed with them. The distress was so great that none could offer a word of consolation to his friend, or attempt to administer to the wants of each other. I have seen the dead bodies of officers and tenderly brought up young ladies of rank (Colonel's and Captain's daughters) put outside in the verandah amongst the ruin, to await the time when the fatigue party usually went round to carry the dead to the well, as above, for there was scarcely room to shelter the living, the buildings were so sadly riddled that every safe corner available was considered a great object.

The enemy now commenced firing live shells well heated, with the intent of setting fire to the tents of officers in the compound, as also to the thatched barrack, which, though hastily covered over with tiles, was not proof against fire. The tents therefore had all to be struck, as several had thus been burnt, and at last, on the 13th of June, the barrack also took fire; it was about 5 P. M., and that evening was one of unspeakable distress and trial, for all the wounded and sick were in it, also the families of the soldiers and drummers. The fire took on the south side of it, and the breeze being very strong the flames spread out so quickly that it was a hard matter to remove the women and children, who were all in great confusion, so that the helpless, wounded and sick could not be removed, and were all burnt down to ashes (about forty or upwards in number). The whole of the medicines were also there and shared the same fate. All that the doctors could save was a box or two of surgical instruments and a small chest of medicines, so that after that was expended the sick could get no medicine. It was perfectly impracticable to save any of the wounded or the medicines

in consequence of the insurgents collecting in very large bodies in the adjacent compounds and buildings, with their muskets and swords, ready every moment to pounce down upon us, and the men were compelled to keep their places under the walls of the intrenchment, and could not bear a helping hand to those in the barracks.

The enemy on this occasion were upwards of 4,000 in number, as a reinforcement had only just been received by them from the neighbouring stations, and it appears that they had come with full determination to make a charge on that occasion, for they made several attempts, but were successively repulsed by our artillery. Had they come on, there is no doubt they would have defeated us, but it is quite certain that we should have slaughtered more than half of their strength, for every man of us was determined to sell his life dearly, and our arrangement was a very good one, for each individual had five or six muskets ready charged at his command always standing against the wall, besides swords and bayonets.

Subsequent to this, almost daily attempts were made on the part of the rebels to take us by storm, but they could not stand our artillery, and therefore all their cannon were directed upon our guns with the intention of disabling them. In this they so far succeeded that out of eight two sound ones remained when the intrenchment was vacated, as will hereafter appear.

One morning, I believe it was the 21st of June, a very great mob was seen collecting all round our intrechment, their dresses were of diverse patterns and descriptions (for the regular corps of infantry never came out to fight in their full dress; some few had on their jackets and caps, others even without the former, and nearly the whole dressed like recruits), for a number of Oude soldiery, or rather 'tag rag and bobtail,' had joined them. It was their intention, as I afterwards learnt from the city pepole, not to spare us that day even if they should all die in the attempt; and the newly created subahdar major of the 1st native infantry had sworn upon the Gunga-jull either to take us or die. The enemy brought large bales of cotton with them, and placing them out they lay under cover of the same, attempting to approach us in that manner by pushing the bales on, at the same time keeping up a brisk fire with their muskets. While this sort of thing was being done towards the south-east side from the church compound, the three new barracks were filled with upwards of 500 men, endeavouring to drive away our picket and take possession of the rest, where Captain Moore again appeared as usual, and, previously arranging with our battery to send

grape from the south-west corner, he took about twenty-five more men from the intrenchment, and advancing under cover of No. 5 barrack he sent a few volleys, then going ahead behind No. 4 barrack he managed to drive them all into Nos. 1 and 2, where a few rounds of canister routed them out entirely, killing about thirty-five or forty of their number. In the meantime, about 100 of the wretches, under the cotton bales, from the church compound, advanced in that manner to within 150 yards of the intrenchment. This was intended as an advance force, for shortly after the insurgents in the rear gave a fearful shout, and jumping off the compound walls, &c., advanced towards us, led on by the above mentioned subadar-major, who was a well-made, powerful man. However, almost the very first shots from our musketry caught him, and immediately after a few rounds of canister direct towards the enemy did great execution, killing and wounding about 200 of them, and thus causing a general dispersion. About the same time as the above, the intrenchment on the north-east corner of us caused much annoyance, for here about 200 of the enemy kept up a dreadful firing, and it took us about an hour and a half. I was attached to this corner, under Captain Kempland, together with Messrs. Schorne, Sheron, Jacobi (coach-builder), Duncan (hotelkeeper), and others, without musketry to silence them.

This day I saw a very daring and brave act done in our camp. About midday one of our ammunition waggons in the north-east corner was blown up by the enemy's shot, and while it was blazing the batteries from the artillery barracks and the tank directed all their guns towards it. Our soldiers being much exhausted with the morning's work, and almost every artillery-man been either killed or wounded, it was a difficult matter to put out the fire, which endangered the other waggons near it. However, in the midst of this cannonading a young officer of the 53rd native infantry (Lieut. Delafosse), with unusual courage, went up, and, laying himself down under the burning waggon, pulled away from it what loose splinters, &c. he could get hold of, all the while throwing earth upon the flames. He was soon joined by two soldiers, who brought with them a couple of buckets of water, which were very dexterously thrown about by the Lieutenant, and while the buckets were taken to be replenished from the drinking water of the men close by, the process of pitching earth was carried on amid a fearful cannonading of about six guns, all firing upon the burning waggon. Thus, at last, the fire was put out, and the officer and men escaped unhurt.

It may easily be imagined that by this time our barracks were so perfectly riddled as to afford little or no shelter; yet

the greater portion of the people preferred to remain in them than to be exposed to the heat of the sun outside, although a great many made themselves holds under the walls of the intrenchment, covered over with boxes, cots, &c. In these, with their wives and children, they were secure, at least, from the shots and shells of the enemy, though not so from the effects of the heat, and the mortality from apoplexy was considerable. At night, however, every person had to sleep out and take the watch by turns; so that nearly the whole of the women and children also slept under the walls of the intrenchment, near their respective relatives. Here the live shells kept them in perpetual dread, for nearly all night these shells were seen coming in the air and bursting in different places, often doing mischief. Thus the existence of those that remained alive was spent in perpetual dread and fear.

The soldiers had their food prepared by the few remaining cooks, but all the rest had to shift for themselves the best way they could, and it was sometimes a difficult matter for many who had uncooked rations served to them to provide a mouthful of victuals for themselves and children. The soldiers cooked and the drummers occasionally lent a helping hand that way, but not without demanding and receiving high prices for their labour. Thus I have repeatedly paid a rupee and a half and two rupees for the cooking of one meal of dall and chupatties, and that too often not properly done.

It is beyond description to attempt to give a detail of the innumerable troubles and distresses to which all in the intrenchment were subjected. The poor wounded and sick were objects of real commisseration, for their state was exceedingly wretched.

The stench also from the dead bodies of horses and other animals that had been shot in the compound, and could not be removed, as also the unusually great influx of flies, rendered the place extremely disageeable.

Thus it will not be wondered at when I say that many persons were exceedingly anxious to get out of the intrenchment and go into the city, thinking from want of better information that they would be very secure there; in fact, several went out quietly in the night under this impression, and, as I afterwards learnt, were murdered by the rebels.

Among others my own family (consisting of wife and a daughter, my infant daughter having died from a musket shot in the head on the 18th), two nieces, Misses Frost and Batavia, both of seventeen years of age, a sister and her infant son, a brother twenty-two years old, and two old ladies, wished very

much to leave, but could not do so on account of our large number. It was therefore considered expedient that one should go and ascertain how matters stood in the city.

With this view I applied to the General on the 24th of June for permission to go, at the same time offering to bring him all the current information that I might collect in the city; asking as a condition that on my return, if I should wish it, my family might be allowed to leave the intrenchment. This my request was granted, as the General wished very much to get such information, and for which purpose he had previously sent out two or three natives at different times under promises of high rewards, but who never returned. He at the same time instructed me to try and negotiate with certain influential parties in the city so as to bring about a rupture among the rebels, and cause them to leave off annoying us, authorizing me to offer a lac of rupees as a reward, with handsome pensions for life, to any person who would bring about such a thing. This I have every reason to think could have been carried out successfully, had it pleased God to take me out unmolested; but it was not so ordained (it was merely a means under God's providence to save me from sharing the fate of the rest,) for as I came out of the intrenchment disguised as a native cook, and, passing through the new unfinished barracks, had not gone very far when I was taken a prisoner and under custody of four sepoys and a couple of sowars, all well armed, was escorted to the camp of the Nana, and was ordered to be placed under a guard; here several questions were put to me concerning our intrenchment (not by the Nana himself, but by some of his people), to all of which I replied as I was previously instructed by our General, for I had taken the precaution of asking him what I should say in case I was taken. My answers were not considered satisfactory, and I was confronted with two women servants who three days previously had been caught in making their escape from the intrenchment, and who gave a version of their own, making it appear that the English were starving and not able to hold out much longer, as their number was greatly reduced. I, however, stood firm to what I had first mentioned, and they did not know which party to believe. However, they let us alone. I was kept under custody up to the 12th of July, on which date my trial took place, and I was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in irons with hard labour, from which I was released by the European troops on the morning of the 17th idem. The trial and distresses I experienced and the many narrow escapes from death I have had during the time I was in the hands of the enemy will

form a distinct part of this narrative, as, from its being of a personal nature, and fearing it may not prove interesting to the public, I have omitted it here.

Before proceeding further upon what took place in the intrenchment after I left I must not forget to mention that our people dread nothing more than the setting in of the rains, which would have been a calamity exceedingly distressing, for in the first place the holes dug in the ground by the soldiers and others to secure themselves and children from the effects of sun and the shots and shells of the enemy would have been filled up. Secondly, the walls of the barracks, which till then afforded some little shelter, were in danger of coming down, having been well shaken in many places by the twenty-four and eighteen-pounder shots so incessantly fired for eighteen days; and again, our muskets would have been rendered useless, for there were a great many of them, and the men were quite unable to clean them all. These muskets were always kept ready loaded, so that when occasion should require it each man could use upwards of half a dozen. In a word, one good shower of rain (such as generally takes place at the first fall), would have rendered the place perfectly uninhabitable and extremely insecure.

It is true there were provisions yet left to keep the people alive on half-rations for the next fifteen or twenty days. Of grain we had a large quantity, and it formed the principal food of all the natives with us, which they preferred to otta and dall, as it gave them no trouble as regards cooking, for a little soaking in water was sufficient to make it fit to eat, and many scrupulous Hindoos lived the whole period entirely upon it. But, taking into consideration all the distressing circumstances related above, our brave men repeatedly requested permission to sally out at night and take possession of the enemy's guns, or in case of failure die an honourable death rather than be thus tormented by a set of cowardly natives. Many officers, also, were of the same opinion; but from a false hope of receiving a reinforcement from Lucknow, and the exceedingly great, though natural, attachment of the women to their respective husbands, fathers, and brothers, such a course was put off from day to day, which, if attempted, would, without doubt, have been attended with complete success, as I learnt that latterly the cannons used to be almost entirely abandoned by the soldiery during the night, and only a few Golundazes kept loading and firing them; the musketry was kept up by a handful of sepoys placed here and there, more for appearance sake than with any intention of doing us much injury, though during the day it was not so; but on the contrary, every exertion appeared to be

used by the wretches to torment us, and, as I now find, it was a matter of wonder and astonishment, not only to the rebels, but to every person in and near Cawnpore, how it was possible for a mere handful of people to exist so long under such difficulties without suing for peace or offering terms. However, such a course was in contemplation in the intrenchment when I left (as above, on the 24th of June); but, instead of a proposal of this nature coming from our camp, that same afternoon a message was sent by the Nana to General Wheeler, offering to let him and all his people go to Allahabad unmolested if he would consent to vacate the intrenchment and abandon Cawnpore, and at the same time make over to him all the public treasure, the guns, and magazines in the camp. This message was brought by a very aged European lady, Mrs. Greenway, who, with one of her three surviving sons, Edward Greenway (of the firm of Greenway Brothers), and some others of her relatives, had sought refuge in a village belonging to the firm, called Nujjub Gurh, about sixteen miles from Cawnpore, thinking that the insurgents would not proceed so far away to molest them. In this, however, they were mistaken, like all the rest in Cawnpore, for the Nana soon found them out, and would have killed them there and then, but for a promise on their parts to give a ransom of a lac of rupees; they were kept alive and taken care of.

Thus this poor aged and respectable lady was made the medium of communication between the rebel chief and the British General at Cawnpore. I would here beg to be understood that what I now write has been gathered from different sources, for I was placed in gaol, and had not the opportunity to see for myself; however, I have taken care to convince myself of the authenticity of the information I herein insert.

The following day (June 25) was fixed by the General for an interview with any person whom the Nana might appoint to arrange matters; and accordingly at about noon a man named Azimoollah, with a few of the ringleader sowars of the 2nd light cavalry, came to the camp and were received by the General in one of the unfinished barracks outside the intrenchment. Azimoollah, who could read and write English, attempted to open the conversation in that language, but was prevented from doing so by the sowars. It was agreed upon on the part of our General that all the Government money, the magazine in the intrenchment, with the guns (two only of which were in serviceable order, the rest having been injured and rendered useless by the enemy's cannons) be made over to the Nana, and in return the Nana should provide tonnage and permit every person in the intrenchment to proceed to Allaha-

bad unmolested. This agreement was drawn up in writing, signed, sealed, and ratified by a solemn oath by the Nana.

All hostile proceedings were stopped on both sides from the evening of the 24th. The 26th was employed by the English people in preparing for their journey, and a few officers were allowed to go on elephants to see the boats provided as above.

On the morning of the 27th a number of carts, doolies, and elephants were sent to the intrenchment by the Nana, to enable the women and children and sick to proceed to the river-side. It is reported that the persons who came out that morning from the intrenchment amounted to about 450, and a general plunder took place of what property the officers and others were obliged to abandon in the intrenchment. The men and officers were allowed to take their arms and ammunition with them, and were escorted by nearly the whole of the rebel army. It was about 8 o'clock A. M. when all reached the river-side,—a distance of about a mile and a half; those who embarked first managed to let their boats go; thus three or four boats got off a short distance, though deserted by their crews, but the rest found difficulty in pushing them off the banks, as the rebels had previously had them placed as high in the mud as possible on purpose to cause delay. In the meantime the report of three guns was heard from the Nana's camp, which was the signal (as previously arranged) for the mutineers to fire upon and kill all the English, and accordingly the work of destruction commenced. The boats' crews and others were ordered to get away, some of the boats were set on fire, and volley upon volley of musketry was fired upon the poor fugitives, numbers of whom were killed on the spot, some fell overboard, and attempted to escape by swimming, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoys, who followed them on shore, and in breast-deep water. A few boats crossed over to the opposite bank, but there a regiment of native infantry (the 17th), just arrived from Azimghur, had placed itself in such a manner as to prevent their escape. The boats were then seized upon on both banks, the river not being very broad, and every man who survived was put to the sword. The women and children, most of whom were wounded, some with three or four bullet shots in them, were spared and brought to the Nana's camp, and placed in a pukka building called 'subada ke kothee,' and for the first three days no attention was paid to them, beyond giving them a small quantity of parched grain each daily for food and water to drink, leaving them to lie on the hard ground, without any sort of bedding, mats, &c.

One young lady, however, was seized upon, reported to be General Wheeler's daughter and taken away by a trooper of the 2nd light cavalry to his home, where she at night, finding a favourable opportunity, secured the trooper's sword, and with it, after killing him and three others, threw herself into a well and was killed.

At sunset of the same day (27th of June) the Nana had a general review of all his troops, said to consist of corps, or portions of corps noted below,* and which had joined at Cawnpore from time to time since the 5th of June, 1857, which assembled on the plain of Subada, on the north of our vacated intrenchment. Here three salutes were fired from the heavy guns, one of twenty-one guns for the Nana as sovereign; nineteen guns for his brother, Balla Sahib, as governor-general; seventeen guns for Jowalla Pershaud (a Brahmin), as commander-in-chief, after which the so-called governor-general gave a short speech to the army, praising them for their great courage and bravery in obtaining a complete victory over the British at Cawnpore, and promising them a lac of rupees as a reward for their labours, which however, was put off from day to day, and the army never saw a pice of it.

The Nana and his staff then returned to their tents under the same salutes.

In the meantime people followed after the advance boats, which had gone adrift at the first setting off, and which contained a good number of officers, soldiers, and their families; they went a few miles, but returned without success. The boats did not, however, escape altogether, but were captured by the zemindar of Dowreea Kheyra, named Baboo Rambux, near Futtehpore, and the fugitives, about 115, were all sent back on carts to the Nana. They reached on the 1st of July, and on the evening of the same day all men and officers, about seventy-five or eighty were killed in cold blood. An officer's lady with her child clung to her husband so that it was impossible to separate them, and they were killed together. The women and children on this occasion amounted to about thirty-five in number, making a total of prisoners, including

* 2nd light cavalry, the 1st, 53rd, and 56th regiments of native infantry, of Cawnpore; 1st and 2nd Oude irregular cavalry, and two regiments of Oude native infantry, from Lucknow; 17th regiment of native infantry and 13th irregular cavalry, from Azimghur; 12th regiment of native infantry, 14th irregular cavalry, and No. 18 field battery, from Nowgong; a detachment of the 10th native infantry, from Futtehghur; a detachment of the 6th native infantry, from Allahabad; three regiments from Lucknow; two half regiments of newly-raised infantry at Cawnpore; besides a great mob of Zemindars, &c., of neighbouring districts, who came well armed to assist the Nana.

the old lady, Mrs. Greenway, her son Edward, and three members of their family, about 150 in all. These were then removed from the Subada kothee into a small building (near the Assembly Rooms), out-buildings of the medical depôt, lately occupied by Sir George Parker, where they remained in close custody, receiving only a small quantity of dall and chuppaties daily for food for the first few days, after which a little meat and milk for the children was allowed, as also clean clothes were issued from those forcibly taken from the washerman of the station, who had them for wash previous to the out-break. A sweeper woman and bheestie were also allowed some. Five of the sufferers died in bondage from want of care and attention. It is not easy to describe, but it may be imagined, the misery of so many helpless persons, some wounded, others sick, and all labouring under the greatest agony of heart for the loss of those so dear to them, who had so recently been killed, perhaps, before their own eyes, cooped up night and day in a small low pukka-roofed house with but four or six very small rooms, and that in the hottest season of the year, without beds or punkhas, for a whole fortnight, watched most carefully on all sides by a set of unmannerly, brutish, rebellious sepoys.

It is reported that the lives of the poor women were spared by the Nana from bad motives, and that he appointed a wicked old hag to persuade the helpless creatures to yield to his wishes; this message, I learn, was conveyed to the women with great art, accompanied by threats and hopes, but it is pleasing to find that it was received with great indignation and a firm resolution to die, or kill each other with their own teeth if any forcible means were employed to seduce them.

All this while the Nana continued to receive many more troops, which after mutinying had left their respective stations and poured from all sides into Cawnpore, so that about the 10th of July there were near upon 20,000 armed fighting men of all classes at his command, and the depredation they committed in the city was excessive; many rich Mahajuns were plundered and reduced to beggary, and the poorer classes of people suffered in proportion; every person who appeared respectable or well to do in the world was assailed, and his house searched under the plea of having Europeans hid in it, but really for no other purpose than to plunder whatever property he might have worth taking. It is impossible to describe all the wickedness these wretches committed during so short a time.

Fresh corps were being raised and recruits daily entertained; a new horse battery was formed. The zemindars all around

were directed to bring in the revenue due by them; new offices were created and bestowed daily upon favourites. The Ganges canal (built with so much trouble and at so great a cost to Government) was bestowed upon the villian Azimoollah, who, together with about 150 of the Mussulman troopers of the 2nd regiment light cavalry and Tuka Sing, subadar of the same regiment, created a brigadier-general of the Cawnpore division at the time, were at the bottom of all mischief; it was through their instigation that the Europeans were killed in cold blood, as described above, as also the gentlemen and ladies with their families, that had arrived from Futtehgurh while our intrenchment was besieged, who were also murdered in the most inhuman manner by the above wretches.

The Nana caused to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom throughout Cawnpore and its districts that he had entirely conquered the British, whose period of reign in India having been completed, they were defeated at Delhi, Bombay, &c., and dare not put foot in Cawnpore any more, as he was well prepared to meet any number and drive them away from all India. He, however, soon found out his mistake, for it was not long before intimation was received of the arrival of British forces at or near Futtehpore. 10,000 troops were sent to meet it and beat it back to Allahabad, but the cowardly wretches soon found out to their cost how miserably inferior they were in courage to the European soldiers. The result of the fight is too well known to require repetition here. Reinforcement after reinforcement was sent by the Nana, but to no effect, until at last he himself headed a fresh reinforcement and proceeded to the seat of war, which had approached within twenty miles of Cawnpore; but on arrival he found his own courage no better than the rest of the villainous rebels, and that there was nothing better for him than to run for his life. He did so, and with him the whole of his boasting army. On arrival at Cawnpore the entire population was so panic-struck that, leaving house and property, every man that had a hand in the rebellion took to his heels, and it is stated that there never was seen so great a flight as on that occasion. People deserted their families on the way to escape with their own lives. From noon till midnight nothing but immense mobs were seen rushing away as fast as possible towards the west. Some crossed over to Lucknow from Bithoor Ghaut, others went towards Delhi, and the most part of the city people hid themselves in the neighbouring villages, where they were nicely robbed by the Zemindars.

The sepoys are said to have been possessed of an immense deal of money, mostly in gold mohurs, which they purchased

at a great premium, having paid as much as twenty-eight or thirty rupees for one usually of the value of twenty rupees. These men paid a rupee a head to the ferry to cross the river, on the banks of which they pitched away their muskets, coats, pantaloons, &c., and dispersed in different directions into the districts.

Just after the defeat at Futtehpore of the rebels, a few spies (whether real or imaginary it is not known) were brought to the Nana as being the bearers of letters supposed to have been written to the British by the helpless women in the prison, and with it some of the mahajuns and the Bengalees of the city were believed to be implicated; it was therefore agreed that the said spies, together with all the women and children, as also the few gentlemen whose lives had been spared (said to be six in number out of seventeen officers, who had been captured about the 10th or 11th of July on their way by water from Futtehgurh to this, and whose deaths were also delayed under promise of a ransom), should all be put to death, and that the baboos of the city and every person who could read or write English should have their right hands and noses cut off. The first order was carried out immediately—*i. e.*, on the evening of the 15th of July, and a decree was issued to apprehend the natives, baboos, &c., after the Nana's return from the field of battle, where he proceeded, as described above, on the 16th of July, after causing the murder on the 15th of the English prisoners.

The native spies were first put to the sword, and after them the gentlemen, who were brought out from the out-buildings in which they were confined and shot with bullets; thereafter the poor ladies were ordered to come out, but neither threats nor persuasions could induce them to do so. They laid hold of each other by dozens, and clung so close that it was impossible to separate or drag them out of the building. The troopers therefore brought muskets, and after firing a great many shots from the doors, windows, &c., rushed in with swords and bayonets. Some of the helpless creatures in their agony fell down at the feet of their murderers, clasped their legs, and begged in the most pitiful manner to spare their lives, but to no purpose. The fearful deed was done most deliberately and completely in the midst of the most dreadful shrieks and cries of the victims. There were between 140 and 150 souls, including children, and from a little before sunset till candle light was occupied in completing the dreadful deed. The doors of the buildings were then locked for the night, and the murderers went to their homes. Next morning it was found on opening the doors that some ten or fifteen women with a

few of the children had managed to escape from death by falling and hiding under the murdered bodies of their fellow-prisoners. Fresh order was therefore sent to murder them also, but the survivors, not being able to bear the idea of being cut down, rushed out into the compound and seeing a well there, threw themselves into it without hesitation, thus putting a period to lives which it was impossible for them to save. The dead bodies of those murdered on the preceding evening were then ordered to be thrown into the same well, and 'jullads' were employed to drag them away like dogs.

It is too horrible to recount further on this subject; on the night of the 16th of July, the station was deserted by the rebels, as stated above, and early next morning the English troops took possession of it, but not before the wretches had set fire to and blown up the magazine, which was done by the last guard left by the Nana at about 8 A. M.

Cawnpore, Aug. 29.

P. S. I forgot to mention that when the Nana broke up his camp, after the English intrenchment was vacated, he proceeded to his seat at Bithoor on the 5th of July, where he caused 800 guns to be fired as a salute in honour of the king of Delhi, eighty guns in memory of his late adopted father 'Bajee Rao,' ex-Peishwa of Poonah, Sattara, and sixty guns for himself on being placed on his throne. Twenty-one guns were also fired as a salute for the Nana's wife, and a like number for his mother.

Lieutenant Delafosse's Account.

Some time before any disturbance broke out in Cawnpore, and it was only suspected that there might be an out-break amongst the troops, General Wheeler ordered over from Oude a regiment of irregular cavalry, which was quartered in different parts of the cantonment. At the same time officers were ordered to sleep in the lines with their men, and assistance was asked from the Rajah of Bithoor, who sent some 200 cavalry, 400 infantry, and two guns, which force had the guarding of the treasury. A few days later the Oude irregulars were ordered out of the station, as the General found he could not trust them, and were relieved by a company of the 32nd regiment from Lucknow. General Wheeler now gave the order for all the European inhabitants to sleep near the 32nd barrack, also for the artillery to be ready to move down at any moment. On the 2nd June two companies of the 84th regiment arrived from Allahabad, but on the morning of the 3rd, General

Wheeler gave orders for one company of the 84th, made up to its full strength, together with the Company of the 33nd regiment to march to Lucknow, so that we had left in Cawnpore

60 men, 84th regiment.
15 ditto, 1st fusiliers.
70 ditto, 32nd regiment, invalids.
59 ditto, artillery, six guns.

On the morning of the 4th June, the officers of the cavalry, 1st and 56th regiments were told to discontinue sleeping in the lines, but the 53rd being considered loyal, the officers of that regiment were still to stay with the men. On the afternoon of the Sunday (same day?) Lieutenant Ashe arrived with half a battery of Oude horse artillery (two 9-pounder guns, and 24-pounder howitzers) having been obliged to retire on Cawnpore, as the troops that were with him on his way to Futtygurh had mutinied on the road. On the 5th June, the trenches being finished the guns were placed in position, and provisions for twenty-five days were ordered in. At about 11 o'clock that night the cavalry rose, taking with them their arms, and two horses each—early next morning the 1st regiment was reported to have gone. The 53rd and 56th regiment appeared still loyal, remaining still in their lines, but as none of the officers were with the men, and there was no one to look after them, they also were off, without any one missing them, between 8 and 9 o'clock, taking with them the regimental treasure, colors, and as much ammunition as they could carry—that afternoon every house was burnt, fires were to be seen in every direction. We could do nothing but stay where we were; being too few in numbers to meet the rebels, as all the golundauz belonging to the artillery had gone away soon after Lieutenant Ashe's arrival, volunteers for the artillery were called for from the infantry. Next morning, 7th June, a letter was received from the Rajah of Bithoor, who was supposed to be on our side, saying he meant to attack us; soon after two guns opened upon us from the north-west, and musketry from all directions.

On the 8th, three more guns were brought against us, the number of guns against us increased daily, and on the 11th, the enemy had playing upon us night and day, three mortars, two 24-pounders, three 18-pounders, one or two 12-pounders, the same number of 9-pounders, and one 6-pounder. On or about the 12th June, the insurgents by firing carcases set the large barrack in which all the women of the 32nd regiment and the wounded were placed, on fire. No sooner was the fire perceived than the assembly was sounded, and every man had

to stand to his post, as we expected to be attacked. There was no place for the wounded and children to go to but in the trenches, where many of them had to remain night and day: there was no shelter for the men now anywhere, during the day, and from this date we lost five or six men daily by sunstroke. On the 25th of June, after having been on half rations for some days, the Rajah sent an East Indian woman with a note into the trenches to the effect, that all soldiers and Europeans who had nothing to do with Lord Dalhousie's Government, and would lay down their arms, should be sent to Allahabad. General Wheeler gave orders to Captain Moore to act as he should consider best. Captain Moore that evening signed a treaty to the effect that the Rajah should provide boats and carriage for the wounded and ladies, down to the river bank, whilst on our side we were to give up what treasure we possessed, together with guns and ammunition. On the 26th, a committee of officers went to the river, to see that the boats were ready, and serviceable. Every thing being reported ready, and carriage for the wounded having arrived, we gave up our guns, &c., &c., and marched out on the morning of the 27th, about 7 o'clck in the morning.

We got down to the river and into the boats, without being molested in the least; but no sooner were we in the boats and had laid down our muskets, and taken off our coats, in order to work easier at the boats than the cavalry gave the order to fire two guns that had been hidden; they were run out and opened fire on us immediately, whilst sepoys came from all directions, and kept up a heavy fire. The men jumped out of the boats, and instead of trying to get the boats loose from their moorings rushed to the first boat they saw loose; only three boats got safe over to the opposite side of the river, but were met there by two field pieces guarded by numbers of cavalry and infantry. Before the boats had gone a mile down the stream half of our small party were either killed or wounded, and two of our boats had been swamped. We had now only one boat crowded with wounded, and having on board more men than she could carry; the two guns followed us the whole of that day, the infantry fired on us the whole of the night. On the second day a gun was seen on the Cawnpore side, and opened on us at Nujubgurh, the infantry still following us both sides. On the morning of the third day, the boat was no longer serviceable, we were aground on a sand bank, and had not strength sufficient to move her; directly any of us got into the water, we were fired on by thirty or forty men at a time; there was nothing left but for us to charge and drive them away, so fourteen of us were told to go on shore and do what

we could. Directly we got on shore the insurgents retired, but having followed them up too far we got cut off from the river and had to retire ourselves, as we were being surrounded; we could not make for the river but had to go down parallel with it, and came at the river again a mile lower down, when we saw a large number of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the other bank should we try to get across the river. On the bank of the river, just by the force in front, was a temple; we fired a volley, and made for the temple, in which we took shelter, losing one man killed and one wounded; from the door of the temple we fired on many of the insurgents that happened to show themselves; finding they could do nothing against us while we remained inside, they heaped wood all round, and set it on fire; when we could no longer stay on account of the smoke and heat, we threw off what clothes we had, and each taking a musket charged through the fire. Seven of us out of twelve got into the water, but before we had gone far two poor fellows were shot, there were only five of us left now; we had to swim whilst the enemy followed us on both banks wading and firing as fast as they could. After we had gone about three miles down the stream, one of our party, an artilleryman, to rest himself, began swimming on his back, and not seeing in which direction he was swimming, floated to the shore and got killed. When we had got six miles, firing on both sides ceased, and soon after we were hailed by some natives from the Oude side, who asked us to come on shore, and they would take us to their raja, who was friendly to the English. We gave ourselves up and were taken six miles inland, to the raja, who treated us very kindly, giving us clothes and food. We stayed with him about a month, as he would not let us leave, saying the roads were unsafe. At last he sent us off on the 29th July, to the right bank of the river, to a zemindar of a village, who got us a hackery, and we took our departure on the 31st for Allahabad, but met a detachment of the 84th under the command of Lieut. Wodehouse, before we had gone ten miles, and marched up with them to Cawnpore. I enclose a list of killed and wounded, as far as my memory could serve me, also the ladies that were in the station.

Engineers.—Capt. Whiting killed in boat, Lieut. Ferris, ditto.

Artillery.—Major Larkins, Mrs. Larkins and children; Lieut. Dempster killed; Mrs. Dempster and children; Lieutenant Ashburner missing; Lieut. Ashe killed in a boat; second Lieut. Martin wounded; second Lieut. Sotherby wounded; Doctor Macaulay brought back.

Cavalry.—Major Vibart, Mrs. Vibart and family; Capt. Seppings, Mrs. Seppings and child; Capt. Jenkins killed; Lieut. R. Quin, fever; Lieut. C. Quin wounded; Lieut. Harrison killed; Lieut. Manderson; Lieut. Wren; Lieut. Daniell wounded, brought in boat; Lieut. Balfour wounded; Lieut. Mainwarning wounded; Lieut. Boulton killed and Lieut. Stirling.

Her Majesty's 32nd.—Capt. Moore killed in boat; Mrs. Moore brought back; Lieut. Wainright; Mrs. Wainright; Miss Wainright; Ensign Hill; and Mrs. Hill.

Her Majesty's 34th Regiment.—Lieut. Sanders.

1st Fusiliers.—Lieut. Hanwell killed in boat.

1st Native Infantry.—Col. Ewart wounded; Mrs. Ewart and child; Capt. Athill Turner wounded, brought in boat; Mrs. Turner died of fever; Capt. Elms; Capt. Smith killed; Lieut. Satchwell died in boat; Lieut. Wheeler killed; Doctor Newenham and children, and Mrs. Newenham fever.

53rd Native Infantry.—Major Hilldersden wounded; Capt. Reynolds killed; Mrs. Reynolds fever: Capt. Belson and children; Mrs. Belson fever; Miss Campbell; two Miss Glasgows; Lieut. Jellicoe and child; Mrs. Jellicoe fever; Lieut. Armstrong; Lieut. Master wounded, brought in boat; Lieut. Bridges; Lieut. Thomson; Lieut. Prole killed; Lieut. Delafosse escaped; Ensign Dawson; Ensign Forman wounded; Doctor Collyer.

56th Native Infantry.—Col. Williams apoplexy; Mrs. Williams wounded; Miss Williams fever; two Miss Williams; Major Prout sun-stroke; Mrs. Prout; Captain Kempland; Mrs. Kempland and children; Lieut. Goad; Lieut. Fagan wounded, brought in boat; Lieut. Mooris; Lieut. Warde; Lieut. Henderson, wounded; Lieut. Jackson; 67th N. I.; Mrs. Jackson; and Lieut. Battine, 14th N. I.

General Wheeler, commanding; Lady Wheeler; two Miss Wheelers; Mrs. Blair; two Miss Blairs; (one died of fever); Mrs. Fraser brought in boat; Mrs Evans; Mrs. Darby and infant; Miss Bisset; Miss Swinton and three children; Miss Crips; Colonel Hillersden killed; Brigadier Jack fever; Jack, Esq. killed; Col. Wiggins killed in boat; Major Lindsay fever; Mrs. Lindsay fever; Capt. Williamson; Mrs. Williamson and child; Revd. Moncrieff; Mrs. Moncrieff; Doctor Garbett fever; Doctor Allen; Mrs. Allen; Doctor Harris: Mrs. Harris: Miss Brightman fever; Doctor Bowling; Mrs. Bowling and child; Doctor Chalwin (vet. surg.) killed; Mr. and Mrs. Chalwin; Miss White; Lieut. Harris; Mrs. Wade, fever; Mrs. George (Lindsay?); three Miss Lindsays; Ensign Lindsay; Mr. Cox (late 1st Fussilers) killed; Mr. Hillersden, and child, fever; Sir George

Parker sun-stroke; Mr. McKillop killed; Mr. Stanley (?) wounded, Capt. Angelo wounded; Mr. Baines, Mr. Nelson (?) brought in boat; Mr. Latouche; Mr. Killurdon wounded; Mr. Gum, (?) brought in boat; Mr. Anderson; Mrs. Anderson; Mr. Cooke; Mr. Campbell; Revd. Haycock; Mrs. Haycock; Mrs. Christie; Mr. Christie and family; Mr. Fagan; Mrs. Fagan and family, Mr. Shaw, and Mr. Therman.

The whole of the married women and children; H. M.'s 32d regiment.

1st company 6th battalion artillery, married women and children of the company.

Mrs. Shore, Mrs. Jackford, also many persons who came into the station with their families, and whose names I do not know.

Dr. Boyes, Mrs. Boyes.

STATEMENT OF MARIAN AYAH.

On the 3rd of May all the native infantry and cavalry regiments at Cawnpore mutinied and ran off to *loot* the treasury, which they took. They then burnt the collector's house and proceeded to Kulianpore seven miles from Cawnpore, and encamped there. At this place the Nana Saheb met them, and said to the mutineers, "you receive seven rupees from the British Government, I will give you fourteen. Don't go to Delhi, stay here, and your name will be greater, kill all the English in Cawnpore first, and I will give you each a golden bracelet." On hearing this, all the mutineers agreed to the terms of the Nana. They made a subadar of the first regiment, general, and he again made all the havildars, naicks, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns. The Nana said, "I will supply you all with food." On the following day, the Nana with the above regiments proceeded to Cawnpore, *looted* all the residents' houses and then set fire to them. All the residents were in the entrenchment; those who did not go there were all murdered, together with the drummers and native Christians. It was the intention of some of the officers to blow up the magazine, and for this purpose proceeded into the station. When they reached the canal, all the regiments fired on the party, killed one officer, adjutant of 2nd cavalry, and the rest escaped to the entrenchment for their lives; they unfortunately left a gun behind them, which they had taken from the entrenchment. On the party reaching the camp, fire was opened on the English people by the mutineers, and cannons were placed on the three sides of the entrenchment. On the canal side a 24-pounder, on the hospital side an 18-pounder, on the third side near subadar, two 12-pounders were placed.

There were only six guns inside the entrenchment, only nine-pounders. The guns from the entrenchment only fired for twenty-four hours, being injured by the heavy shots of the enemy. The mutineers fired day and night for twenty-two days. Many of the English people died from wounds from cannon balls, musket balls, hunger and thirst, and *coup de soleil.* Nearly all the bhistees were killed by cannon balls. The chief well being outside the entrenchment, the people got very little water to drink, except what the soldiers drew for them under fire of the guns.

After ten days a ball burst on the roof of the pucka house in the entrenchment, which set the building on fire; all the good clothes and other articles belonging to the ladies and children were burnt; for this reason they were reduced to the greatest straits, and very little food was cooked, as nearly all the servants ran away from fright. The soldiers used to cook for the ladies and children, but for several days they took no food at all. During this period about 150 men, women and children died from natural causes and wounds, particularly women and children; some died from the falling of walls, and others from anxiety, fatigue, and exposure. Mr. Jacobi's wife was hiding in one of the Nawab's houses, and was discovered by a sowar, who took her to the Nana Saheb in Hindoostanee clothes, having caught her in one of the ghauts crossing to Lucknow, the Nawab was sending her there for safety. The Nana imprisoned her with one Mrs. Greenway. The sepoys were by this time becoming disgusted at the fight continuing so long, and told the Nana, "if you don't keep your promise with us, we will kill you." On this the Nana Saheb said, "don't be alarmed, I will give you more than I promised." He then said to Mrs. Jacobi, "will you take a note to General Wheeler?" she said, "yes," the letter was written and sent by Mrs. Jacobi to the General. She was not at first allowed to come near the camp by the soldiers, but when they heard the English voice, they allowed her to do so. The contents of this letter were—"it is far better for you who are alive to go at once to Allahabad, unless you wish to continue fighting; if so, you can do so. Let Cawnpore be given up, and you shall be saved." On reaching the entrenchment General Wheeler went to meet Mrs. Jacobi, and when he read the note, he said, "I cannot agree to anything sent this way by letter; if the Nana has any propositions to make, tell him to make it in person." Mrs. Jacobi took the reply back to the Nana. He said, "if the Europeans will cease firing, I will go and send a reply." The General said, "let both sides cease firing during the conference;" this was agreed to. On

the following day the Nana, his brother, Babba Bhut, and nephew and a large party of soldiers came up to the entrenchment. General Wheeler was ready to meet them. The Nana said, "take away all the women and children to Allahabad, and if your men want to fight come back and do so. We will keep implicit faith with you." General Wheeler said, "you take your solemn oath according to your custom, and I will take an oath on my Bible, that I will leave the entrenchment." The Nana said, "our oath is that whoever we take by the hand, and any one who relies on us, we never deceive, for if we do, God will judge and punish us." General Wheeler said, "if you intend to deceive me, kill me at once—I am not armed." The Nana replied, "I will not deceive you, rely on us, I will procure food, &c., and convey you to Allahabad." On this the General went into the entrenchment and consulted with the soldiers, who said, "there is no reliance to be placed on natives; they will deceive you." A few said "trust them, it is better to do so." On this the General returned and said, "I agree to your terms; see us only as far as Futtehpore, from thence we can get easily to Allahabad." The reply was, "no, sir, I will see you all safe to Allahabad. Twenty boats were then ordered with covers to them. When the Nana saw all was settled, he said "don't let the treasure be taken away, send that to me." The General said "you may have the money." There were three lacks in cash at this time. The Nana said "You will breakfast on board the boats at 10 A. M. to-morrow, and also dine on board, and leave the intrenchment clear by 11 A. M." The General assented to this. They were all ready, when a message from the Nana came, saying, "the boats will not be ready to-day, you must leave to-morrow, you had better leave in the evening, &c. "the General's reply to this was, "I won't leave at night, as you may play us false." The Nana then said "very well, you can leave at 4 P. M." On the following day the Nana took away all the treasure. At this time some delay again took place in their departure. All the ladies and children were dressed and ready. The General asked the Nana, "are all our servants to go with us? or do you supply us with servants?" The reply was, "yes, you can take them." The next day, though suspicions were entertained of the faith of the Nana's party, still they hoped all was right. The Nana sent word on Sunday to say the servants were not to go; that the ladies and women could look after themselves. On this being heard, they were all alarmed. At 7 A. M. the mutineers surroundod the entrenchment, and all the English were in their power. The servants ran away and were cut down; a few escaped; all were alarmed. The rebels entered the entrenchment, and said, "come to the

boats, all is ready." The ladies and children were sent on elephants, *doolies*, &c., and the men marched to the river, and then embarked in the boats. When they all saw food prepared and all comfortable, they were delighted. When a few had gone on board, and others were waiting to embark on the river side, a gun opened on them with canister shot (this gun and others had been masked); one boat took fire, and then another gun was opened, and four boats were fired. Those who escaped the fire, jumped into the water. The sepoys also fired with the muskets. The sowars entered the water on horse back and cut numbers down; fifteen boat loads of the English were massacred; 108 women and children escaped this massacre, but many of them were wounded. The Nana said, "don't kill those, put them in prison." One boat in which was General Wheeler was paddled off by the soldiers. The poor people were crying in the boats, and when in the water were calling out on God for help. A daughter of General Wheeler was taken off by a sowar, and put into his house along with his wife near the Chowel Church. This girl remained with this man till night. He went out and came home drunk and fell asleep. She took a sword and cut off his head, his brother's head, two children's heads and his wife's, and then walked into the night air where she saw other sowars, and said to them "go inside and see how nicely I have been rubbing the Ressalla's feet." They went inside and found all of them dead. She then jumped into a well and was killed. From fear, seeing what this girl had done, none of the rebels would have anything to say to the Englishwomen, whom the Nana at first proposed to give to the soldiers. 115 women and children were imprisoned with scarcely any food for six days; they eat gram and such trash. The boat containing General Wheeler and other ladies and gentlemen got off far, about twenty-two miles, and were then seized by the zemindars. "Jaagenhow" had their hands tied behind their backs, and sent them back to the Nana. Mr. Reed, Mr. Thomas Greenway, Mr. Kirkpatrick, Mr. McKenzie, and Captain McKenzie, Dr. Harris and several Europeans were among this party. The Nana was much pleased. "Owing to the General's old age," he said, "loosen his arms." Hoosal Sing, Kotwal of Cawnpore, said, "don't do so." The Nana then said, "take him to the guard, and let the others remain where they are." A sepoy and a sowar then killed each European. Dr Harris was wounded with two balls. He abused the rebels before he died, said "shoot me or kill me, my countrymen will revenge my death before long." Two sowars then cut him down and he died. If the zemindars had not seized this boat, all would have been saved in it. Those ladies who were first in the Nana's prison, he ordered

them food of the worst description from the bazar. Ten days after this he sent them to a house, the Assembly rooms. The Nana then wrote to the rebels at Delhi mentioning the number of women and children he had taken prisoners, and soliciting instructions regarding them. A reply was received that they were not to be killed. The Nana then entertained servants for the prisoners. Again, shortly after the mutiny at Allahabad, a sowar came and reported to the Nana that one of the imprisoned ladies had written to Allahabad, and that a large body of Europeans was advancing on Cawnpore; on this the Nana gave orders to kill every one, and to spare none. This took place on the 15th July; but the General and others who were brought back were killed on the 2nd of the month. When the prisoners heard of the Nana's orders to kill them, they tore their clothes, and with the shreds fastened the doors. One of the sowars killed the native doctor, then the cook and methranee; then one sowar jumped from over the wall and began the slaughter, and other sowars then came through the door. All the prisoners were killed. This was duly reported to the Nana, who ordered the ladies to be cast into a well, and the twenty-five women and children who remained alive under the heap of dead bodies, were killed by executioners; and some of the little children were dashed to pieces against the ground. This took place early on the morning of the 17th July, and in the evening the Nana ran off to Bithoor. Many wounded women were thrown into the well alive with the dead bodies and earth. Before the Nana retreated they blew up the magazine.

Deposition of James Stewart, Pensioner, late 56th N. I.

I am a pensioner and was in the lines of the 56th regiment N. I., at Cawnpore, awaiting for my pension pay and papers, being invalided in April last, when the mutiny took place at Cawnpore on the 4th June 1857. Entrenchments having been first prepared as decided, symptoms of disaffection were manifested by the native troops. On the break-out the whole of the Christian troops and inhabitants were directed to take shelter in the entrenchment. At 2 A. M. the cavalry and 1st, 53rd, and 56th N. I., proceeded to the treasury at Nawbgunge and gutted it and then proceeded to *loot* Nana Nawb, Aga Meer's son; then commenced the work of devastation, laying every bungalow and house in ashes, after removing everything valuable; the jail at the same time was opened, the authorities cutting for their lives. The Christian inhabitants, such as remained outside the entrenchments, were all slaughtered, *i. e.* the mutineers made a very diligent search, so that hardly any escaped. On the 5th they prepared three batteries, one on the

east of the church, the second at Puck Sarie on the north, and the third on the Sawada Kootee, south of the entrenchment and opened fire, which they kept up for fourteen successive days and nights. All the buildings in the entrenchment were almost knocked down, or so much damaged that it was unsafe to be in the shelter of the walls; the severest firing was kept on the walls; loss in killed among the besieged by the firing was great, and the dead were cast in the well. The suffering from the extreme heat was very dreadful and indescribable. General Sir H. Wheeler on the 14th day put up a flag of truce (no sortie had been made as has been stated, or he wounded) as we had, *i. e.* the drummers of the three regiments had, the removal of all the dead, and had no more than on one occasion personally conversed with him, and received gram and a glass of brandy daily and hourly encouragement from that gallant officer. The only article of food was grain, which was steeped in four buckets and placed in such a position that all could help themselves. The term of the truce was that all in the entrenchment were to proceed by boats to Allahabad, and boats were procured by Nana Sahib, and the whole embarked; two boats only had let go, four guns were opened on them, and when they showed themselves volleys of musketry were poured on them, the boats on the ghaut shared the same fate, some sunk, others were burnt, the poor Christians there, those that esaped being shot, were either drowned or taken prisoners, and these, mostly women and children, were tied and carried before Nana Sahib, who was encamped on the Dyee Plain. The prisoners were tied and huddled together and shot. Some ladies and children were reserved for future proceedings. I, my wife, and a Mrs. Lett who were in one boat which was foundered by shots, we immediately slipped to the far side of the boat, and thereby bobbing our heads and keeping quiet, we were saved, and as soon as they moved off with their prisoners we had to strip and run in that condition, made for Allahabad, after enduring incredible hardship, what with want and exposure and dread of pulling into other brands; in twelve days we reached that station. I have managed by begging at last to be able to make my way to Dinapore, and here am I with a wife cast on the sympathies of the generous public, as I am without pay, and no prospect of any for some time.

Myoor Tewaree's Narrative.

He was one of our spies, and belonged to the 1st N. 1. When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpore he was with three companies of his regiment (the 1st or "Gillies' pultun") at Banda. On the breaking out of the sepoys at Banda, Myoor Tewaree saved the life of Mr. Duncan and his wife, (Mr. D.

was a writer, and instructed this man in English) by concealing them in his hut, and afterwards reporting to the rajah that they were willing to turn Mussulmans. For this the sepoy fell into ill odour with his comrades, and when the mutineers, amongst the number, marched into Cawnpore, the Nana took away from him all he had, about Rs. 350, and confined him with four more sepoys in the same house with the Europeans. At the fight of Futtehpore he was released by the Nana, went back with him to the Gondir nuddee, and from thence came over to the English. His account of the Nana's treacherous attack on the boats and the escape and re-capture of the one boat, is as follows:—

When the Nana's guns opened on the boats, one boat in which Wheeler Sahib, the General, (it has now been fully ascertained from servants and others who were with the English party, that General Wheeler was not dead, but was put wounded on board the boats,) cut its cable and dropped down the river, it was pursued by two companies of infantry and two guns along the banks of the river. Some little way down the boat got stuck near the shore. On coming up the infantry and guns opened fire; the large gun they could not manage, not knowing how to work the elevating screw. With the small gun they fired grape tied up in bags, and the Infantry fired their muskets. It did not hurt the sahibs much, for they returned the fire with their rifles from the boat, and wounded several of the sepoys on the bank, who thereupon drew off. Towards evening the sepoys procured a very big boat into which they all got and dropped down the river. Then the sahibs fired again with their rifles and wounded more sepoys in the boat, and they drew off and left them. At night came a great rush of water in the river, which floated off the sahibs' boats, and they passed on down the river, but owing to the storm and the darkness of the night they only proceeded four coss. In the meantime intelligence of the sahibs' defence reached the Nana and he sent off that night three more companies of a native regiment (1st Oude infantry;) these people in their boats surrounded the sahib's boat, and taking them brought them back to Cawnpore. There came out of that boat fifty sahibs, twenty-five mem sahibs, and four children, (one boy and three half grown girls). The Nana then ordered the mem sahibs to be separated from the sahibs, and the sahibs to be shot by the "Gillies' pulton" (1st B. N., I). But the Gillies' pulton said,—"we will not shoot Wheeler sahib, who has made the name of our pulton great, and whose son is our quarter-master; neither will we shoot the sahib Cory—put them in prison." Then said the native pultons, "what word is this?—put them in prison? Now we will kill them all. So the sahiblogue were seated on the

ground, and two companies of the Halner pulton placed themselves over against them with their muskets ready to fire. Then said one of the mem sahibs—she was the Doctor's wife (question—what Doctor? I do not know his name, but he was either superintending surgeon or medical storekeeper)—"I will not leave my husband, and if he must die I will die along with him." So she ran over and sat down behind her husband, clasping him round the waist. Directly she said this, the other mem sahibs said, "we too will die with our husbands." Then their husbands said, "go, go," but they would not, but going over they all sat down behind their husbands. Thereupon the Nana ordered his soldiers, and they pulled them forcibly away, seizing them by the arms, but they could not pull away the Doctor's wife, who there remained. Then just as the sepoys were going to fire, the padree—chaplain—called out to the Nana, and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nana granted it, and the padree's bonds were loosed so far as to allow him to take a small book from his pocket from which he read, but at this time one of the sahibs who was shot in the arm and leg, kept crying out to the sepoys—"if you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it; be quick, and get the work done at once, why delay?" After the padree read a few prayers he shut the book, and the sahibs then shook hands all around. Then the sepoys fired. One sahib rolled one way and one another; but they were not dead, only wounded. So they went on, and finished them with swords. After this the whole of the women and children, including those taken out of the other boats, to the number of 122, were taken away to the yellow house, which was your hospital; this was the Bithoor raja's house in the civil lines, where I and four more sepoys were confined, and where I had the opportunity of speaking to the sergeant major's wife. After this when I was taken down with the rajah to Futtehpore, the women and children were taken away to the house, where they were afterwards murdered.

Question.—"Were any of the women dishonored?" No, none that I am aware of. As they were taking the mem sahibs out of the boat, a sowar (cavalry man) took Miss Wheeler away with him to his house. She went quietly, but at night she rose and got hold of the sowar's sword. He was asleep, his wife, son, and mother-in-law were sleeping in the house with him; she killed them all with the sword, and then going out threw herself into the well behind the house. In the morning when people came and found them dead in the house, the cry arose, "Who has done this?" Then a neighbour said that in the night he had seen some one go and throw himself down the

The Young Lady's Story.

Sir,—*The Friend of India* of the 20th May 1858 contained the following remarks:—

"The *Indian Empire* states that the young lady we mentioned some time since as having escaped from the rebels (at Cawnpore) was taken captive by the same sowar who carried off Miss Wheeler. For the truth of this we cannot vouch, but it is certain that there is one survivor of the massacre of Cawnpore. She has as yet been unable to give a connected narrative of that dreadful occurrence, the recollection is still too overpowering."

This narrative I am enabled to send to you by the kindness of a former pupil of mine, Mr. George W. Stuart, of the Sudder Court, Allipore, Calcutta.

The young lady's name, and a few particulars of her family, I enclose for your private satisfaction, not for publication.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

W. Knighton, L. L. D.

The College, Ewell Surrey, August 9.

Narrative.

I was sixteen years of age when I accompanied my sister and her husband to Cawnpore, about six months before the mutiny broke out, and suffered with the Christians under General Sir Hugh Wheeler. Accounts had reached us on the 17th of May of the disasters at Meerut, and then we were apprehensive of an out-break at Cawnpore. We were gathered into the barracks on the 21st of the same month and suffered dreadful privations from want of provisions and water, and from the frequent attacks which were made by the mutineers on our small body of men about 450 altogether, consisting partly of officers of native regiments and sixty artillery-men.

An unfortunate treaty was entered into between General Wheeler, and the Nana Sahib on the 24th of June, the latter swore by his gods and upon the Gunga to protect us and have us safely taken to Allahabad in boats. We entered these joyfully, never for a moment expecting treachery, and were taken quite by surprise when we were fired on. The river in many places in the middle had no more than six feet water so that most of the boats were soon aground. Some of the small ones managed to push on and even then with difficulty. The firing at first was irregular, but after a while the balls came whizzing past us as thick as hail, sinking many boats. I was on the deck of my boat seated stupified with terror and amazement, when

I was further convinced of immediate danger by seeing a party of sepoys enter the boat I was in. I was seized in an instant by the arm by one of these savages—for savages and ruffians they looked. I was asked to deliver all I possessed; money and jewels to the amount of 400 rupees, the sum I managed to take with me when I proceeded to the barracks, was now snatched from me; on replying in the negative to questions, whether I had more money and valuables by me, my person was searched rudely. My senses had very nearly forsaken me. I was in a sort of stupor. The search was made on my person while I was standing, but to speak more exactly I was made to stand while I was searched. The ruffian, as if to tantalise me let off his gun over my head and shoulders in the most deliberate and cold-blooded manner. They afterwards shot two sweet little girls, sisters, who were between the ages of six and eight. The poor creatures were clinging to each other when they committed this diabolical act. Next they shot an Eurasian whose name was Kirkpatrick, a merchant in Cawnpore. How many others were killed by the miscreants I could not know, for I felt dizzy, and sank on the deck. For what time I remained in this state I have no idea. I returned to consciousness by feeling myself suddenly and rudely seized and thrown into the river. The next moment I was buffeting with the water. I managed with some difficulty to get to land and scrambled on shore. I crawled on my hands and knees till I reached a tree about half a mile from the banks, and hid myself as well I could. My thoughts, oh heavens! were agonising. My sister, her husband and children had, I had not the slightest doubt, been ruthlessly murdered. I shuddered to think of their dreadful fate. My thoughts next reverted to myself. What was I to do? where could I escape? surrounded as I was on all sides by the dreadful, revengeful and blood-thirsty enemy. I had no hope of escape. I offered up a fervent prayer to God—Gracious and merciful Father, Thou wilt not desert me in the time of need! Oh Lord, have mercy on me! and such like prayers burst forth from my innermost soul.

I fell by degrees into a sort of drowsy fit occasioned perhaps from weariness, from which I was aroused by approaching stealthy footsteps; on an instant I sprang to my feet, but instead of the ruffians whom I expected to see, to my great relief the well-known face and form of Miss Wheeler, the General's daughter, was before me. In a few words I understood that she had been dealt with in the same way as myself *i. e.* thrown into the water by the men who perhaps thought she was not worth a bullet—that being insensible she would soon sink to the bottom of the river. Our agitation and fear, however, were

so great that we had not much of consolation to offer each other. We had not been together more than an hour, I should suppose, when a party of the enemy surprised us. We were dragged in different directions, and of Miss Wheeler's fate I knew nothing till very lately. I was pushed and dragged along and subjected to every indignity. Occasionally I felt the thrust of a bayonet, and on my protesting against such treatment with uplifted hands, and appealing to their feelings as men, I was struck on my head, and was made to understand, in language too plain that I had not long to live; but before being put to death, that I would be made to feel some portion of the degradation their brethren felt at Meerut when ironed and disgraced before the troops. After a walk of about four hours I was brought to a place about four miles from Cawnpore, very near Bithoor, where some of the mutineers were encamped. I was almost in a state of nudity, for my clothes, had been torn to pieces when I had been dragged along by the men, and I had the mortification of being made a spectacle before these heartless and cruel wretches clapping of hands and cries of 'khoob kee!' (well done!) burst upon my stupified senses. A circle formed round me. I sunk on the ground and buried my face in my hands. Oh, the agony of those moments! At length I heard a voice speaking to my persecutors in rather a conciliatory tone. Spare the poor creature, and have compassion on her. Let her alone; she seems dead already. I looked up, and saw an African. There was something mild and compassionate in his look. He relieved me in a great measure from the shame I was suffering, by throwing a covering or chuddur on me. He asked me to accompany him. I immediately followed and was ushered into a tent, where I was desired by my benefactor to take rest. He made me understand that he would do all in his power to have my life spared. I thanked him for his kindness. After a while he procured me a suit of native clothes, which he said I should put on. 'You are very unwell,' he said, 'your eyes are bloodshot, and face very much flushed.' I knew that I had a strong fever on me, and felt exceedingly weak. I replied that a little sleep would perhaps do me good. I laid my aching head on the mattress and fell fast asleep.

On waking I still felt so weak that I could hardly lift my head. I had a chupattie, or hand bread, and a little dhall served to me, which I could not eat. My sable benefactor I saw no more till I went to Lucknow—he was an eunuch in the king's employ and arrived in Cawnpore as an *avant courier* with some despatches from Moulvie Ahmedoollah, Shah of Fyzabad, to Nana Sahib.

I heard of some ladies whose lives had been spared, and who were in a building called the Assembly-room. How I wished that my sister, at least, was among the number.

I had been some time now with the mutineers, and was treated brutally. How I survived my severe illness, having no proper nourishment given to me or care taken of me, is a source of wounder to me now. Sinful as was the wish, I wished and prayed for death, but Providence willed it otherwise.

As I understood the Hindustanee language thoroughly, I managed to glean from the conversation of the men that spies had come from Allahabad with news that the British were making arrangements to march on Cawnpore. A ray of hope shot through me at the prospect of being thus relieved from the hands of these merciless men.

On the morning of the 15th of July, on getting up, I found that our camp was in an unusual bustle, news having reached the Nana that the victorious British were marching on Cawnpore, after having routed the rebels first at a place called Khaga, about five miles from Futtehpore, on Monday, the 12th of July; then at Aong on the 15th; and finally at the bridge on the Pandoo Nuddee, or stream.

An order was issued by the Nana for the women, children, and sick to be removed half way to Lucknow. I vainly hoped to have been excluded from forming one of the number. I was dragged and pushed along in my weak state, and when I actually sank from fatigue I was put on a cart, but not before I had accomplished thirty miles on foot without shoes. On the 21st, we were joined by nearly the whole of the mutinous troops who had evacuated Cawnpore and Bithoor, and I could easily guess from our hurried marches for days that we were in full retreat. Whenever the news came of the pursuing gorahs, or white soldiers, the flight was continued with a perseverance worthy of a better cause. It can be easily imagined from this in what dread the sepoys held our soldiers.

I had to accompany the flying enemy, and made a detour of a great portion of the North-West Provinces on foot, viz., Bareilly, Rohilcund, Futteghur, Shahjehanpore, and the district near Delhi. After travelling through all these places we joined the mutineers at Lucknow. On our arrival here I met my sable benefactor, who informed me that Moulvie Ahmedoollah Shah, commonly called the Fyzabad Moulvie, was one of the principal men or generals among the mutineers, and he was certain that the Moulvie would shelter and protect me if I wrote to him stating my hard case. The Moulvie, though he had a very great antipathy towards Christians,

especially English, was still in every way a good, feeling, warm-hearted man, and had declared his intention of protecting women and children. As a steadfast believer of the Koran, he thought it outrageous to harm them. Very different was the case with the Nana Sahib.

As the Moulvie could read and write English, I had not much difficulty in making him understand my deplorable condition. On a piece of dirty paper, in which some salt had been served to me, I managed to scribble with a bit of charcoal a few lines to him, stating my case in a few words, and begging of him in the name of his prophet, Mahommed, to help me, as it was impossible to drag on my miserable existence with the native soldiers, whose conduct to me was cruel in the extreme. The kind African, under whose advice I acted, not only promised to take my note to the Moulvie, but to plead my cause for me. A day after he brought me a verbal reply from the Moulvie to the effect that the Begum, his mother-in-law, would take me under her protection, and that I should be one of the ladies of her household.

The following day a suit of clothes similar to those worn by Mahommedan ladies of distinction was brought to me, and I was instructed to bathe and proceed to the Begum's palace at the Kaiserbagh.

I shall briefly pass over the particulars of my conversion to the Mahommedan faith and installation as a lady of the household, as I feel pained to think of this period of my eventful existence; suffice it to say that I had to contend with sufferings enough to bend and subdue any woman. The effect of the ill-treatment I had endured tended to make me a downright hypocrite. I could have been made to do anything, and I played my part as a convert to the Mahommedan creed in a style at which I feel astonished now. I was obliged to learn by heart portions of the Koran (Mahommedan Bible) and had mornings and evenings, to get through my devotions. If I excited the least suspicion in the minds of those about me of being a Christian, instant death would have inevitably followed. When I accompanied the troops I was at one time ordered to be blown from a gun, but on account of a hasty retreat I fortunately escaped, though at the time I was glad of the order, for my life then was well nigh intolerable.

In every respect I was well cared for and treated by the begum. My health rapidly improved, and the desire to live was now strong in me. I was well aware that the British would relieve the garrison of Lucknow, and that troops were on their way from England to punish the mutineers.

I have already mentioned that I became a hypocrite. The

begum and the ladies of the household believed me to be a devout Mahommedan. I was much praised when I said that I thought the English would not be able to relieve the garrison or even to approach Lucknow.

Things progressed very favourably with me. The approach of General Havelock gave me some hope of escaping. I was here, I might mention, during nearly the whole seige, and oh, how often did I offer up my silent prayers for the little band of heroes struggling for life against an overwhelming force. "The way of God is in the sea, and His path is in the great waters; His footsteps are not known. But, although thou sayest, thou canst not see Him, yet judgment is before Him, therefore trust thou in Him."

Great was the boasting around me because General Havelock had twice to fall back upon Cawnpore, but they miscalculated his perseverance. On the 23rd of September, he and General Outram fought their way into the Residency. The mutineers retreated hastily in every direction. Even the little British force consisting of only 2,500 men, and these infantry and artillery, with merely handful of volunteer cavalry intimidated their enemies, who appeared very numerous, in fact, countless; all that the miserable sepoys could now do was to occupy loopholed houses found in the garrison, and keep up an incessant fire.

Nearly a month had elapsed thus, and reports were rife that the Commander-in Chief of the British forces, Sir Colin Campbell, was advancing effectually to relieve the garrison, and the way in which he afterwards achieved his purpose has been aknowledged by all as excellent.

The begum, with whom I was now putting up, was a grim and suspicious woman, and, when thwarted or annoyed, acted with prompt cruelty. She understood well her position, and on rumours reaching her of the frequent defeat of her troops by the British, she was irritable to the last degree. On the approach of the Commander-in-Chief, her equanimity entirely forsook her. She treated me with great severity, and abused me frequently, calling me kaffir or unbeliever, a hypocrite, a slut, and a serpent who would yet sting her benefactors. Her treatment of me at last became cruel, I tried to bear up with her ill humour as well as I could, for to have said a word to her would have been useless. Death, I knew full well, stared me in the face should my conduct be in the least offensive.

One morning she entered my apartments in a frantic state and commenced, as usual, calling me names. I thought it was one of her usual fits, but my eyes were opened when she said your General is approaching, but he will find it no easy task to

take Lucknow, for we have done all in our power to strengthen our defences. You are, I am sure, very pleased to hear of his coming. I can see it in your very countenance wretch, you shall die rather than escape, I therefore advise you to prepare yourself to-day, and make your peace with Allah, for to-morrow at dawn of day you shall be shot. The reader can imagine my state of mind at this unexpected and appalling news. To die now, when I had survived so many hardships. But God in His wisdom sent me succour and consolation in my own servant.

The ladies of the begum's household are allowed servants or golams, slaves as they are called. The one in attendance on me proved a faithful creature to me in my time of need. This poor ill-used creature entertained an affection for me, because I was kind to her; the slaves are not generally treated well; they are frequently thumped, kicked, and abused by the ladies. They approach their mistresses with trembling and fear, so that the slightest kindness goes a great way with them. On hearing from me my sentence she said with tears in her eyes, 'Mistress, I will try to make you effect your escape from this place, for what the begum once says is never recalled. I heard before I entered these apartments that you were to be shot to-morrow: but thank God there is yet time enough to act. You must go into the garden by the back door, and I will wait for you at midnight under the pepul tree at the further extremity of the garden, where you must change your clothes for coarse apparel which I will provide for you. The guards know me, and will allow us to pass without molestation, we will proceed to the Moulvie Sahib, and when we are once under his protection, the begum dare not touch you. I will provide you with a few rupees, which you must present to him on your approach as nuzzur or present. He will be pleased if this respect is shown to him. Use flattery, and approach him as if you were his slave.'

I accordingly waited till the appointed time, and when I was convinced that all was quiet, I made my way in the dark from the palace as noiselessly as I possibly could. I met my faithful companion at the appointed spot. After changing my apparel, I threw the clothes I had taken off into a well. After wending our way along an avenue or grove of trees, we were challenged by a sentry on duty. My companion explained, that we were proceeding to join our husbands at the Moulvie's camp. We were allowed, after due search, to proceed on our way. At dawn we reached the Moulvie's camp. The General Sahib, we were informed, was not to be seen till 8 o'clock, at which time he would drill his men. After waiting with feverish anxiety for two hours, there was a bustle among

the men, and I was informed that they were preparing for drill, and were to have a sort of sham fight. In a short time the plain was covered with infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The bugle sounded the assembly, and those who had not joined the ranks, rushed to them from all quarters. The hum of voices suddenly ceased, as I perceived a cavalcade proceeding from the Moulvie's quarters. I was informed that the General and his staff were approaching. Moulvie Ahmedoollah Shah was a middle aged man and had a somewhat distinguished mien. I could see that he had won the respect and confidence of his men. After riding with his staff from regiment to regiment, inspecting them, the infantry were made to go through some manœuvres. The cavalry had to wheel round trot and charge the infantry, while they formed squares, and knelt to receive the charge, and when the troopers were within a short distance fired a volley into them; they wheeled and retreated, and then the artillery opened fire on them.

Various other manœuvres were gone through. The infantry regiments marched in open column, while the bands played, 'The Blue Bells of Scotland' to their slow march; the troops and horse artillery on the right and left. The force assembled, I was informed, consisted of 20,000 men of all arms. Marching in this fashion, they reached the General Moulvie's palace, when the order was given to halt, front dress advance for general salute, and to my utter astonishment, 'God save the Queen,' was struck up briskly. After lodging arms the whole force was dismissed, the men cheering on, and the Moulvie expressing himself satisfied with the way in which the manœuvres were gone through.

After the parade, I approached with the rupees in my hands, with suitable phrases I won the Moulvie, to interest himself in me. 'Nobody,' said he graciously, but in an upstartish way, 'will molest you. Take apartments in the palace and have the slaves to attend you. You have followed our creed, and we must protect you.'

I was very comfortable so long as I remained at the Moulvie's palace, and was free from all espionage from the men as well as women, for the Moulvie was a despot, and could order any person under him to be put to death, and his orders would be cheerfully carried out by his soldiers; in fact, he was a determined sort of person, and as he had taken an interest in me, I was not interfered with.

I had made my escape from the Begum's palace in the beginning of November, and remained under the Moulvie's protection till the 12th of that month, when he went out with his troops to meet Sir Colin Campbell, then advancing to the relief of Lucknow. Before his departure he sent me again to the Be-

gum, with strict orders that I should be well-treated. She was still residing at the Kaiserbagh, and received me with moody silence.

My feelings during the combat which ensued in Lucknow may be imagined. I would have escaped at its commencement if I dared, but to have attempted it, would have been certain death.

After a dreadful combat it became evident that the British would be everywhere successful, and then began a frightful route in our camp.

Horses, camels, elephants, and carriages were prepared for the begum and her household. The mutineers were flying in all directions. In the confusion I escaped through a loophole of the palace, but the shots and shells were still whistling around. I knew not what to do. It was evident I was little cared for or thought of in the confusion which reigned around me from pursuit, therefore, I had nothing to fear, but how to reach the English camp I knew not. I advanced a short distance, but to have continued my course in that direction was to encounter certain death as an incessant shower of grape was pouring in from every side. In this extremity I had to join a body of mutineers who took the direction to the north. I wandered about I cannot exactly say how long. We made a *detour* to Oude, I journeyed on foot, and put up with coarse fare, I thought the *chapattees* and *dhall* now *bonna bouche*. I was strong, and I was well treated, and able to bear any amount of fatigue. Our numbers could not have been less than 1,000 men, with two guns; but they were augmented by fugitives joining in twos and threes daily. If the British, after the retaking of Lucknow, immediately had continued pursuing the enemy for days in every direction, they would by this time have been totally extinct. As for me my safety lay in accompanying them, nor would they have let me depart.

Councils of war were held among the chiefs; but having no regular leader to guide them and bring their discussions to bear upon their movements, they wandered about a regular set of fugitives, until we were nearly thirty miles from Allahabad, when they came to a stand still. They were now in a fearful state of mind, and being exceedingly stupid, could be made to believe anything, for all they cared for was to have their lives spared. The British never before contended with such contemptible foes. I kept very silent for days; but when I found that the men were so ready to take in every thing, I spoke to them and called for a council. They were eager to hear me.

I explained to them that as their only hope was in the clemency of the Company Bahadoor, the best plan would be to

send me with a proper escort to Allahabad, where I would explain their cases to the Governor-General through the magistrate of Allahabad, who I said was my cousin. I said that if they allowed me to manage their affairs, they would come off with their lives and liberality. I made them understand that though a Mahommedan now, I had once been a Christian, and having influential relatives, would urge their kindness to me, as a sufficient ground for their lives being spared. I tried to convince them that the British looked more upon their sparing the life of one female than the slaughter of 500 men.

After reasoning and discussing the matter they at last consented to let me go. They were in fact like drowning men eager to catch at a straw to save their lives. I was made to give before I started to the chiefs or captains certificates that I had been well treated, for they said it was better to have something, in case I played them false. I readily agreed to this, and drew up about thirty certificates accordingly as they cost me nothing, and I was very anxious to get away from them. I left them with a light heart and journeyed on foot with about ten men. Oh, I cannot sufficiently describe my feelings when I left them. I offered up a silent prayer of thanksgiving to God, that He had safely brought me out of such sufferings, degradation, and misery. After I crossed the Ganges, zemindars, landholders, thanadars, heads of mofussil police, one and all rebels at heart, perhaps, and disaffected, hearing that I had important despatches from the rebel's camp for the Governor-General, readily supplied me with palkies and bearers, and heaped presents on me. I arrived safe on the third day at my uncle's factory a day's journey from Allahabad. The old man and his family at first could not recognise me; my Mahommedan costume, sun-burnt face, and emaciated form tended effectually to disguise me; but this was only for a few moments, and then I was clasped in their warm embraces. I shall leave the reader to imagine the joy of that meeting.

Synopsis of Evidence of the Cawnpore Mutiny.

By Lieut. Colonel G. Williams.

[We are enabled, through the kindness of Government, to publish the following clear synopsis of evidence, which has been prepared by Lieut. Col. Williams, from the numerous depositions taken by him, as well as from every available source, regarding the mutiny and massacre at Cawnpore. Most of the facts have been published before, but not in the connected and indisputably authentic form in which they are now given]

In April 1857, disbanded sepoys of the 19th N. I., when passing through Cawnpore, openly stated they had a difference with Govern-

ment, regarding the introduction of the new (and what they considered) defiled cartridges. In consequence, the receipt of the news of the Meerut outbreak and the taking of Delhi, caused much excitement, not only in the city, but amongst the native troops in special, who already discontented, appear to have commented both freely and approvingly, on the mutinous conduct of their brethren, since about the middle of the month the officer commanding the station was informed, that the son of a 2nd cavalry trooper attending the school of Teeka Ram, had stated to his companions, that the troops at Cawnpore would follow the example of their comrades at Meerut There was also a disturbance in the 2nd cavalry, caused by a sepoy of the 56th N. I., named Jaun Mahomed, of the 8th company, inciting the men to rebel, by stating that the native troops would all be blown away from guns. This propagator of evil reports was however confined, and the disturbance quelled. General Wheeler at this time informed Sir Henry Lawrence by telegram that he thought the 2nd cavalry disaffected, but hoped the N. I. regiments were true. The civil police appear to have evinced zeal, for mutineers with plundered property from the north-west were apprehended and sent in prisoners by the thanadar of Shewrajpore, and even the cantonment police, owing to the energy of Sir George Parker, behaved admirably, not a single case of theft occurring within cantonments.

The troops however daily showed an increasingly insubordinate spirit, and Sir Hugh Wheeler on the 20th of May applied to Lucknow for aid, in consequence of which fifty of the 32nd Foot, under Captain Lowe, were despatched by dák carriages. On the 22nd May, Nana Dhoondoo Punt (summoned from Bithoor to aid the civil authorities in maintaining order,) encamped at Nawabgunge with a force of 300 horse and foot, and two brass guns.

On the 23rd General Wheeler telegraphed to Lucknow that it was almost certain the troops would mutiny during that night. In consequence of which impression it appears that many ladies took refuge in St. John's Church, which had been appointed as a rendezvous in case of alarm.

On the 26th, however, General Wheeler again telegraphed "all well, very well, and likely to continue so unless some startling event should occur—the Police under Major Parker, admirable,—not a single case of theft in cantonments." But notwithstanding this, precautions appear to have been taken, as the contractors were directed to send in supplies with the least possible delay.

The magazine admirably adapted for defence was neglected, whilst a slight mud-wall, barely four feet high, was thrown up around two buildings between St. John's Church and the unfinished European barracks.

On the 27th two squadrons of Daly's and Gall's horse who had come over from Lucknow, left Cawnpore to clear the grand trunk road. Their subsequent mutiny at Kerowlee, on the 1st June, with the murder of their European officers (Lieut. Carey alone escaping) is on record. This detachment was followed by another squadron of Gall's horse with two guns, but in learning of the mutiny of the first

party fell back on Cawnpore, and from thence returned to Lucknow. Lieut. Ashe with his two guns was however detained by General Wheeler, and materially aided in the defence of the entrenchments. Captain Lowe with the fifty men of the 32nd and Captain O'Brien with fifty men of the 82nd foot were also ordered to Lucknow. Thus Sir Hugh Wheeler to assist Sir Henry Lawrence in over-awing a large and disaffected Mahomedan city, chivalrously weakened his own already inefficient European force at the very time when he himself was at the brink of a volcano about to burst and overwhelm in one common ruin, all who bore the name of Christian.

The Nana called in to aid the British was false and treacherous in heart, imagined himself injured by Government, hence hated those he was called on to support, and therefore seeing that the native troops, considered the stay of their empire, were notoriously disaffected, and, in many stations in open mutiny, thought it a fitting time to turn against a Government, from whom he had assuredly sustained no injustice, but on the contrary received kindness and consideration. It is difficult to specify the exact date on which he first commenced tampering with the troops, for it is impossible to get the evidence of any individuals who were directly implicated in these treasonable proceedings; we must therefore be contented with second hand hearsay evidence, and where such is corroborated from other and various sources, also bearing the impress of truth, it may fairly be considered reliable. Suffice it then to say that parties opposed to the Nana, previous to the revolt, hearing from public rumours his evil intentions and hatred to the Government, and naturally dreading his ascendancy, sought information of his proceedings from his personal attendants. It need scarcely be stated here, that most natives, especially those employed in a menial capacity, are open to bribery. Evidence of their secret meetings was thus obtained from a favorite attendant of the Nana's (now a rebel with his master) named Ramdeen. Whilst the 2nd cavalry men do not appear to have attempted concealment of their treason—information regarding which was as usual obtained through abandoned women—a favourite courtezan of the trooper named Azeezum was told of the plot to raise the Nana to the throne, and related it to her particular friends.

No traces are visible of any conspiracy previous to the arrival of the Nana; but about that time it would seem, that two sowars in his service, one named Raheem Khan of Bishenpore near Bithoor, the other Mudud Ali of Banda, were employed to tamper with the troops. The 2nd cavalry already ripe for mutiny, needed but little persuasion. Subadar Teeka Singh, Havildar-major Gopal Singh, and sowars Shumsoodeen Khan, Shaikh Bolakie, Sirdar Beg and Rai Singh are said to have taken the lead amongst them. Meetings were held at the house of Shumsoodeen Khan, and sometimes at that of Teeka Singh. A resildar of the Nana's sowars Jwala Persaud was a constant visitor at the Havildar-major's Gopal Singh; the Hindoo Subadar Teeka Sing was also admitted, to interviews with the Nana and his brother Bala Rao, at one of which the Subadar is stated to have said, that the Hindoos and Mahomedans of the army had united as one for the

defence of their respective religions, and to have asked how the Nana could side with the British by guarding their magazine and treasury, who is said to have replied he was at the disposal of the army. A meeting is also stated to have been held at Sookha Muleas' ghaut at dusk, at which the Nana and his brother Bala Azeem Oollah, the two sowars Raheem Khan and Mudud Ali, with the leading conspirators of the 2nd cavalry, met in consultation for the purpose, we suppose, of fixing the day on which the troops should mutiny, since on the next day one of the conspirators named Shumsoodeen, who was drinking in the house of Azeezum, the favourite courtezan of the 2nd cavalry troopers, told her that in two or three days the Peshwa's rule would be proclaimed, and the Nana be paramount, and that then he would fill her house not with silver, but with gold mohurs; which boastful speech was repeated by Azeezum and her servant Buctawur. The magistrate appears to have been informed of these meetings being held, but the Nana plausibly accounted for them, by stating their object to be the concerting of measures for pacifying the troops, who, it would, however, appear, though determined to mutiny, sought some pretext wherewith to justify their insubordinate proceedings, in addition to that of the then common cry, their religion being endangered by the compulsory use of defiled cartridges; and which General Wheeler sought in every and the most convincing manner, to do away with, sending his son and A. D. C. to the native officers of his own regiment, the first native infantry, to reason with them on the folly and absurdity of the charge; even giving four cartridges to Lalla Budree Nauth, the commissariat gomashta, as proof of what he asserted. Hence the precaution of raising a slight wall as an entrenchment in case of necessity, was advanced as proof of want of confidence in the native troops by the Europeans; again the unfortunate incident of a cashiered officer named Christie, firing on a patrol of the 2nd cavalry on the night of the 2nd June, and his acquittal after trial on the following day, on the plea of being unconscious at the time from intoxication, caused great dissatisfaction; the mutinously inclined cavalry declaring openly that perhaps their fire arms might also be discharged by accident some day. The violent and insubordinate conduct of the troops, particularly of the cavalry, though they still ostensibly took duty, caused many to take refuge in the entrenchments. The European officers however had tents pitched in the lines of their men, and with their families remained amongst them during the night; thus evincing, notwithstanding their alleged want of confidence in the men, a loyalty and devotion unsurpassed in history. On the 3rd of June the unwonted sight of the corpses of a lady and gentleman floating down the river, and arrested near the mouth of the canal, created much excitement, and doubtless tended to stir up the minds of the disaffected to evil, whilst filling the hearts of others with sad forebodings of the coming storm.

On Thursday, 4th of June, the 2nd cavalry having determined to mutiny sent away their families to the city, and at about half past one A. M. of the 5th, Subadar Teeka Sing who was on picquet duty with fifty sowars, near the entrenchments, led off his party towards

Nawabgunge. The discharge of pistols and the bright light of the quarter master sergeant's bungalow and horse litter set on fire by the troopers, gave the alarm. The mutinous sowars on demanding the colors were opposed by Subadar-major Bhowany Sing, who was severely wounded by one of them named Dabee Sing. The 1st native infantry being delatory in their movements, a message was sent to the havildar major of the corps from Gopal Sing, havildar major of the 2nd cavalry, enquiring the cause of the delay, on which the regiment marched and joined the mutineers, notwithstanding the remonstrances and earnest endeavours of Colonel Ewart and his officers to keep their misguided men true to their colors; they however seem not to have attempted any violence, but merely to have marched off and joined their mutinous comrades at Nawabgunge. The 56th regiment on being joined by their officers drew up on their parade in an orderly manner, and after remaining under arms from 2 A. M., and being at daybreak dismissed, assisted in recovering the horses and arms abandoned by the troopers. Subadar-major Bhowany Sing, who had evinced such noble devotion and fidelity, was removed into the entrenchments, where he subsequently perished during the seige from wounds inflicted by a shell; thus though an alien to both our race and creed, he gave his life freely for the Government he had long and honorably served. The two corps of native infantry still remaining with their officers, though outwardly obedient, were evidently tainted by the plague spot of mutiny ; the line of the light company of the 53rd, and those of the grenadier company of the 56th, adjoined each other ; four or five men of the latter slote over to the former and got into conversation with Havildar Bunda Pandy and Madhoo Misser Pailwan of the light company. About this time, *i. e.* at 9 A. M. a trooper of the 2nd cavalry rode up to the lines of the 53rd N. I. with a message from the company of their corps that guarded the treasury, to the effect that they would not allow it to be plundered until their corps joined ; at this movement the above-named havildar and sepoy of the light company shouted out " glory to the great God, be prepared ye braves,"on which a rush was made to the quarter guard for the colors and treasure chest. Subadar Bhowan was wounded in opposing the mutineers, and the uproar that ensued in both regiments, becoming very great, two shots were fired from the entrenchments into the lines of the 53rd, and one into that of the 56th N. I. A sepoy of the latter grenadier company named Gunga Raie, a Bhat, shouted out, they would all be killed, on which the entire corps dispersed and fled in disorder, but do not appear at that time to have dreamt of resistance, as even a commissariat sergeant with Budreenauth, the gomashta, getting rum from the commissariat godowns, was warned by the guard whilst deliberately loading their arms and divesting themselves of their uniforms to fly and save his life ; many of the men also concealed themselves in the ravines close at hand, who readily joined on the sounding of the assembly by an officer of the 53rd. This corps appears to have been the least tainted, and we may in charity suppose that many even of those who deserted and joined their mutinous comrades, did so from fear of being implicated in the consequences of the revolt, notwithstanding the con-

fidence in them evinced by their officers. As far as can be ascertained the numbers that remained faithful even after the return of the mutineers from Kullianpore, are as follows, but the list is not of course a complete one, and no depositions having been received from any of the 1st N. I., their numbers are not known :—2nd cavalry, one subadar, two havildars, four sowars, one native doctor; 53rd N. I., six subadars, four jemadars, nine havildars, six naicks and twenty-two sepoys; 56th N. I., one jemadar, three sepoys, one musician and one native doctor: all these performed good service on the day of the outbreak, bringing in arms and ammunition from the regimental magazines. The mutineers having fled without plundering the houses, the Europeans sent their servants to place all their property on the boats that had been kept in readiness at the ghats for proceeding to Allahabad, coolies not being procurable ; some of the sepoys even who afterwards joined the rebels, helped the servants on this occasion. It being confidently affirmed that the troops would after mutinying proceed direct to Delhi, some officers, and amongst them Sir George Parker, returned to their houses near the entrenchments.

On the 53rd and 56th joining the other two regiments at Nawabgunge, the treasury was plundered ; the prisoners in jail set free, and the houses in the vicinity fired and rifled, and then the rebels marched to Kullianpore. Mr. Murphy, road overseer, was wounded by a party of the troopers, but succeeded in escaping to the entrenchments. On the afternoon of this day the native artillery of the Oude horse battery under Lieut. Ashe having shown signs of disaffection, were disarmed and turned out of entrenchments, and at once joined the mutineers at Kullianpore. All houses west of the canal were now burnt and plundered. The assistant commissary Mr. Riely had been directed to blow up the magazine, but was unfortunately prevented by the sepoys on guard there.

A deputation of native officers from the 2nd cavalry and 1st native infantry, the two leading corps in the mutiny, are said to have waited on the Nana, and to have invited him in the following words to take the chief command, and lead on the rebels to Delhi :— "Maharaj, a kingdom awaits you if you join our course, but death, if you side with our enemies ;" the ready reply to which is said to have been, "what have I to do with the British, I am altogether yours ;" and that then laying his hands on the heads of the native officers he swore to join them; when quite satisfied they departed for Kullianpore. A consultation was then held by the Nana, his brothers and Azimoollah, when the latter pointed out the folly of proceeding to Delhi, where their individual powers and influence would cease, and recommended the Nana's recalling the mutineers, taking possession of Cawnpore, and extending his authority as far to the eastward as he could, adding that he was thoroughly acquainted with the resources of the British, that the number of Europeans in India was scarce one-fourth that of the native army, and that hence the latter having mutinied the former were powerless. This advice being agreed to as of the soundest policy, was accordingly carried out. The Nana with Baba Bhut and Azeemoollah proceeded to Kullianpore, and by offers of unlimitted

plunder, and a gold bangle to each sepoy, gained the ready consent of the troops to their proposed plans. The commands of their respective corps were assumed as follows : by Subadar Teeka Sing of the 2nd cavalry with the title of General; by Jemadar Dugunjun Sing of the 53rd N. I., and Subadar Gungadeen, of the 56th N. I.; of the 1st N. I. no information has yet been gained. The above names prove that in the rebel force at Cawnpore the Hindoo faction was dominant.

Saturday, 6th June.—The mutineers, headed by the rebel Nana Dhoonda Punt, returned to Cawnpore. A number of guns with a large supply of ordnance-stores, intended for Roorkee, and lying in boats in the canal, were taken possession of by the mutineers, who with the aid of the magazine classies and artificers, placed some heavy guns (in serviceable order) on carriages, and by means of the Government bullocks despatched them to the entrenchments. The first shot fired was from the subadar's tank at about 8 A. M., against the house of Azeem Ali, who was together with his son brought prisoner to the Nana, as were also Nizamud Dowlah and Bauker Ali by the sowars ; shots were likewise fired against the houses of the Nuwdy Nawab, who was taken prisoner, and his property plundered, from which it is evident that the Mahomedan faction did not willingly amalgamate with the Hindoo. The main body of mutineers then marched to the entrenchments. Sir George Parker, and some officers who were residing in a house in the vicinity, had barely time to get in, and an old gentleman supposed to be a merchant with his wife and two children, one a boy of about sixteen, and the other a little girl on being found secreted in a house near the Dawk bungalow, were shot by the troopers in front of the latter. Four office writers living in a shop on the banks of the canal finding retreat cut off defended themselves bravely, beating back the assailants, but the house being set on fire they were obliged to abandon it, and were murdered as they fled. Another European (unknown) found hid in a garden near the subadar's tank was shot by the troopers, who being mounted were indefatigable in the search after Christians ordered by the Nana ; proclamation being made to the effect that if Europeans, Eurasians or any Christians were sheltered, and not given up, the houses in which they were found concealed would first be plundered, and then razed to the ground. This gave the mutineers a pretext for searching and plundering many respectable houses in the city, and amongst them that of the commissariat gomashta, Lalla Budree Nauth, who was accused of secreting Lady Wheeler and her daughter. The bridge-of-boats was also broken and some of the boats wantonly burnt.

Bapoo Datar with twenty horse was sent to Bithoor to proclaim the Nana's rule, and Chowdree Choonne Singh, an old servant of the Nana's, was appointed thanadar.

The agent of the Peshwa's widows named Goordeen, and his family were blown away from the guns, and Bulwunt Rao, the Peshwa's brother-in-law, with other obnoxious individuals were put in irons. Preparations were also made for the siege of the entrenchments, guns and ammunitions being brought from the magazine for the protected batteries, whilst from the guns already at hand, firing was at once

commenced, the first shot fired (at about 10 A. M.,) carrying off the leg of a kidmutgar who died during that afternoon.

The Nana now took up his residence in the house lately occupied by Mr. Duncan situated north of the entrenchments, where a gun had already been placed, and now opened fire on the besieged. The mutineers were however more intent on plundering than on fighting in earnest.

Sunday, 7th June. The mutineers added to the number of their guns, some being of the largest size procurable ; the twenty-four pounders did great damage to the buildings within the entrenchments.

Mr. Green, superintendent of the bridge, who had been concealed in the contractor's house, obliged to leave his shelter, was murdered by the mutineers, as was also Mr. MacIntosh, a merchant, with his wife and child, who were found secreted under a bridge, disguised in native clothes, and were killed by the insurgents during the afternoon on the road leading to the custom's ghat.

The principal sudder ameen and moulvie Salamut Oolah were taken by force to the Nana. Notices in Oordu and Nagree, said to have been printed at the press of Mustafah Khan by the Nana's orders, were issued calling on all Hindoos and Mahomedans to unite in the defence of their religion and present themselves for service. Shah Ali, the cotwal, who had been in a state of great alarm, having fled, Kaziwan-oo-deen was appointed city-cotwal.

The residents of the butcher's ward raised the Mahomedan or green flag, and were joined by the scum of the population. Sir Hugh Wheeler applied to Lucknow for aid, the letter was received on the 9th, and the bearer of it, a subadar of the 1st N. I., received a reward of 1,000 rupees.

A detachment consisting of two troops of the 7th cavalry and two companies of the 48th N. I., proceeding from Lucknow to Futteghur encamped at Chobeypore, twelve miles from Cawnpore.

Monday, 8th June. The Nana removed from Mr. Duncan's house to a tent pitched for his accommodation in the south-east corner of the Sovada house compound. Mr. St. George, a road overseer, who had been severely wounded and sent in with his wife and family from the Nawabgunge thanna to Sovada, were shot by the Nana's orders. A party of mutineers sent to Nujjufghur for the capture of Mr. Greenway's family, met with determined opposition from Captain Holland, a cashiered officer, until his ammunition was exhausted, when he desired the enemy to put an end to his life, preferring death to being made a prisoner, and was consequently shot.

Mr. Edward Greenway, his wife and two children, with Miss Rosa Greenway, were brought in prisoners and confined in the Sovada house, with the expectation of extorting a ransom fixed at two lacks for securing their lives.

The family of Zahaurie, Abkary contractor, who was helping the British by sending in supplies, were made prisoners, on the plea of their being Christians, but released through the intercession of the city residents who proved that they were sweepers.

A Mahomedee Jhunda, or green flag, raised near the house of Moulvi

Salamut Oolah, was from thence removed to the open square near the Mogul serai, accompanied by a large body of Mahomedans, the leading members of which faction are also said to have been present. Kazie Wasi Oodeen mounted and escorted by ten troopers of the mutinous 2nd cavalry, Zamool Alideen, Naib Bunsi, with a body of thirty burkundazes and chowkeedars, and Azeezum, the favourite courtezan of the troopers, also appeared on horseback in male attire, armed with pistols and decorated with medals. The moulvi seated by the flag absorbed in prayers and pious meditations, decided that the day was not propitious for an attack on the infidel host, which must therefore be deferred for the present. This pendant resolve was, it is affirmed, somewhat accelerated by a shot from the entrenchments, that came bounding in amongst this valorous assemblage of true believers. The gun placed at the Mogul sarai on the 6th was moved nearer the entrenchments on the high road, and another posted in front of the 1st N. I. lines. A deputation from the detachments of native troops, encamped at Chobeypore, are said to have presented themselves and offered their services to the Nana.

Tuesday, the 9th of June. Hajjie Khanum was appointed cotwal.

The squadron of the 7th cavalry, under Captain Staples and Lieut. Boulton and Martin, with the quarter-master-serjeant (name unknown) and two companies of the 48th N. I., under Captain Burmester and Lieut. Farquharson, encamped at Chobeypore, mutined at about 2 P. M. Of all the officers Lieut. Boulton only escaped, three being overtaken and cut down by the sowars assisted by insurgent villagers, and the remaining two having, it is said, fled towards the river, perished there. Mr. Joseph Carter, keeper of the Sheorajpore toll gate and his wife were made prisoners by the above detachments, carried to Bithoor, and there presented together with the heads of the three Europeans murdered by them, to Pandoo Rung Rung Rao, the Nana's nephew; the captors demanding the lives of the captives. Mrs. Carter being however pregnant was spared at the earnest intercession of Rajie Rao's widows, who threatened to destroy themselves if the lady was in any way injured. She was therefore placed in the old residency under a guard of the 7th cavalry troopers, and her husband with the three heads was ordered to be sent in to the Nana on the following morning. A portion of the Futtehghur fugitives in their boats, who left that station on the morning of the 4th, managed late in the afternoon to pass Bithoor, though fired on from thence, and repeatedly ordered to stop, but their progress being arrested some five miles below, they brought to on a sand-bank in the river, a little above Nawabgunge, and attempted to open communication with General Wheeler, but failed.

Wednesday, the 10th of June. Lieut. Boulton of the 7th cavalry, escaped from the mutineerrs, contrived to enter the entrenchments by leaping his horse over the low mud walls. Mr. Carter and the three heads sent in from Bithoor were presented to the Nana, who ordered the heads to be thrown away, and Mr. Carter to be shot.

The Nana's cutcheries were opened under special charge of Baba Bhut and Ram Loll Deputy Collector, and orders were issued for all

Government officials to attend. Kalka Persaud (Mr. Thomas Greenway's Moonshee) was sent to the Sovada with orders to arrange with Mrs. Greenway for the payment of the two lacks of rupees demanded as ransom; an order on Calcutta for one lack was offered by Mrs. Greenway on condition of her being allowed to reside in her own house; this was, however, refused; the Moonshee notwithstanding being detained at the Nana's tents in the hopes of extorting money through him, took advantage of the opportunity thus afforded and supplied Mrs. Greenway with food cooked by his master's Khansama and son, both of them old and faithful servants. Hoolas Sing, formerly city cotwal, but who had lately been suspended from the thanna of Tohsur, and was at this time residing on the premises of the Nunkey Nawab's mother, was appointed city cotwal partly by the request of the city mohajuns, but more especially at the instigation of influential men, such as Shew Pershaud, the present treasurer; Gunga Pershaud, tent-maker; Jogul Kishore, Jeweller; and Biddee, Pawn seller; Moolla, the blind, by caste a kulwar, was appointed chowdree.

Thursday, 11th June. The gun placed by the mutineers on the 8th in front of the 1st N. I. lines was removed nearer the entrenchments; the firing by the British which had hitherto replied briskly to that of the enemy, was now slackened that the supply of ammunition might not be exhausted, and in consequence of their finding very little damage was done to the rebels, who kept themselves but too well covered.

Mr. Williams, a writer in one of the public offices, found secreted in Colonel Gunge, was brought to Sovada and murdered; this was the last of those who had not taken refuge in the entrenchments.

The Futteghur fugitives sought permission to pass on their way, but the only reply sent was a party of mutineers with guns by way of Nawabgunge to capture them; the guns suddenly opening fire caused them to take refuge in some high grass growing on the bank, but this being set on fire two ladies and a child perished, and the rest rushing back to the river were taken prisoners by a party of 2nd cavalry men, who tied their hands behind them, attached them all to a long rope, and thus marched them off to the subadar's tank, where they were obliged to halt forthe night; the children being exhausted and the ladies unable to proceed without shoes and stockings, and with cut and bleeding feet. They appear to have been treated with needless cruelty, no food whatever, and only a small quantity of water being supplied them.

Friday, the 12th June.—The mutineers being in want of saltpetre confined Juggunnath, seller of that article, in order to extort the requisite supply. Shells were prepared by Emaun Ali, son of Junglee, an invalid subadar of artillery, and were heated in the barrack near the racket court for the Nunkey Nawab's battery. A desperate but unsuccessful assault was made on the entrenchments, the rebels being repulsed with loss. The cavalry men appear to have been shy of exposing themselves, though on this occasion they did dismount and join in the assault, losing two of their number, the sepoys however suffered the most. The greater part of the mutineers were engaged in plundering, and but few attended the batteries regularly, which were

guarded by Zemindars and insurgent villagers. Munsub Ali of Russoollabad joined the Nana with a large band of followers.

The Futtehghur fugitives having been furnished with hackeries, were taken before the Nana, to whom they pointed out the folly of murdering them, as he could not expect to exterminate all the Europeans in the country; he is said to have been inclined to mercy, to merely imprisoning them, but the evil counsels of his brothor Bala prevailed, and he gave orders for their execution. They were then taken to the plain west of the Sovada house, and at about 2 or 3 P. M. were killed by musketry; Bala Rao, seated on a chowbotra, is said to have witnessed this cruel massacre, which was perpetrated by men of the 2nd cavalry, and 1st and 56th regiment N. I.; the 53rd are not mentioned. The bodies of the slain were carried on carts to the river, and there cast into the stream. A list of those who left Futtehghur on the 4th of June is annexed, from which it appears, that most of the parties were non-combatants, from whose death, but for the insane idea of exterminating the race, nothing could have been supposed to have been gained. The party that first left Futtehghur was large, but being opposed by rebels at Kahoosuntpore, some sixteen ladies and gentlemen returned to Hurdeo Bux, zemindar of Dhurinpore, and eventually to Futtehghur; the remainder twenty-six gentlemen, thirty ladies and a number of children, continued their voyage after paying a ransom of 500 rupees, and successfully resisting an attack from some insurgent villagers, several of whom were killed, one only of their party, a Mr. Ives, being wounded by a matchlock ball in his thigh.

Saturday, the 13th of June. The head of Mr. Duncan (son of the hotel-keeper) murdered by Ghunsham Sing, zemindar of Janan, was presented to the Nana, a reward of ten rupees was given to the murderer, and two to the man who carried the head. A mine was commenced by Ghunsham Sing, jemadar of the barrack department, aided by the Subadar Dulla and Gunga Naick with other invalided men of the sappers and miners.

The thatched barrack in the entrenchments was set on fire by a ball from the Nunkey Nawab's battery, fired by Reaz Ali (son of Kurreem Ali, the one-eyed) an invalid subadar of artillery, for which he received a reward of ninety rupees and a shawl. This incident caused great distress in the entrenchments, several of the sick and wounded perishing in the flames, there not being any men available for their removal, as all were standing to their arms at their respective posts, momentarily expecting an attack. Most of the medical stores and surgical instruments were also destroyed, so that many subsequently perished from want of proper treatment. Five men and one woman are said to have been killed in the preparation of live shells by an explosion in the barrack in the Nunkey Nawab's battery. Shah Ali, the late cotwal, was appointed head of the intelligence department, with the rank of quarter-master-general.

Sunday, 14th June. The beseiged made a sally, and beat back the enemy with loss. The intrepid daring of the British is spoken of with astonishment by all, who declare that if they had offered battle, the whole

of the rebel army would have fled, for they were desperate at their want of success, and though the Nana promised gold bangles and large rewards at the taking of the entrenchments, yet the mutineers were chiefly intent on plundering, and were ready to combine with the zemindars and their insurgent followers in plundering the city, the troops for the sake of the wealth it contained, and the zemindars and villagers to revenge themselves on the mohajuns, who held mortgages on their lands. Hoolas Sing, cotwal, remonstrated, asking over whom the Nana was to rule, if the city were plundered, and suggesting that the British would in all probability take advantage of the troops being scattered to make a successful attack on the batteries. General Wheeler wrote about 2 P. M., to Lucknow, for help, stating that with 200 Europeans he could punish the rebels. This letter reached Lucknow, but no help could be afforded.

Eleven men and two women, who had been employed by Zahooree, abkary daroga, to take supplies of bread, eggs and milk into the entrenchments, were seized during the night.

Monday, 15th June. Orders were sent to Narain and Jankie, bridge contractors, to prepare boats for the transit of two regiments with artillery expected from Oude. The party seized the night before, on leaving the entrenchments, i. e, Kulloo, Lalla, Ramdheen, Kidree, Boodhoo Mohna, Ramjanie, Bachoo, Mugna, Peeroo, Muddoo, with Murrya and Kullooa women, were blown away from guns ; a baker who supplied bread to the British, was also executed. Mrs. Carter, wife of the late toll bar keeper was delivered of a daughter, and both the mother and her infant appear to have received every kindness from the Peshwa's widows, who ordered a Mahomedan nurse to attend upon them.

Tuesday, 16th June. The Nadree regiment, under command of the Meer Nawab, and the Aktarie regiment commanded by Feeda Hoosein, with some horse and artillery, joined the rebels and vauntingly said that they would take the entrenchments in two days; they were consequently in great favour with the Nana, who directed them to be feasted with sweetmeats, and to be treated with distinction and consideration. Zahooree, abkary daroga, left for Allahabad, where he delivered in safety, a ring and note entrusted to him by Major Larkins of the artillery.

Wednesday, 17th June. A court composed of Baba Bhut, Azeemoolla, Sha Ali, Jowla Pershad and Ahmed Ali Khan Vakeel, was formed for the decision of criminal cases. Nunkee and others were paraded through the city on donkeys, and their houses razed to the ground for disreputable modes of livelihood, and a man of the Bawria caste had his hands cut off for theft.

Thursday, 18th June. A battery erected south of the entrenchments, and commanded by the Meer Nawab, caused great damage and inconvenience to the beseiged, disabling their guns, making the drawing water from the well, a service of still greater danger, and altogether debarring access to the tank south-east of the entrenchments, from which water used occasionally to be procured, although with great danger and difficulty. An attack was made on the entrenchments in which the Nadaree regiment with its artillery took a prominent part. One of the British guns was disabled from the fire

of the Nunkey Nawab's battery. The courage of the British was highly extolled, and the mutineers greatly depressed at their repeated failures; those of them who had already acquired wealth by plunder, sought opportunities for slipping away to their homes, while such as had wives and families would not attend the batteries, nor willingly join in the assaults made on the entrenchments, but by far the greater number, the Nadarie and Aktarie regiments excepted, took their ease seated in the shops along the banks of the canal, plundering the supplies brought in, eagerly helping themselves to large quantities of sugar, and drinking shurbut to their heart's content.

Captain Moore answered Mr. Gubbins's letter of the 16th, that replied to General Wheeler's communication of the 14th, soliciting aid, in which the former states, General Wheeler was prepared to hold out to the last.

Friday, 19th of June. Sheo Pershaud, the present treasurer, and Futteh Ram Mahajun were sent by Shah Ali to arrange Mrs. Greenway's ransom. After a long consultation at Sovada, the treasurer offered to advance 60,000 Rs. on a note of hand, and to make arrangements with Futtah Ram for 40,000 more, but two lacs being the amount demand the negociation failed. Sheo Pershaud took fruit and tobacco to Mrs. Greenway, but Baba Bhut ordered the sepoys to turn him out. Dyakut Ali, the Moulvie, from Allahabad presented himself to the Nana.

Saturday, 20th of June.—News was received of the approach of the 17th N. I. with guns and treasure from Azimgurh; a consultation was held at the Nana's and attended by Baba Bhut, Azimoollah, Shah Alee, Ahmod Allee Khan Akbur Allee, Ehmudoolla, and brigadier Jewala Pershaud, general Teeka Sing and the Allahabad Moulvie, at which, the use of the stratagem for inducing the Europeans to quit the entrenchments, when they might easily be massacred, was suggested on the plea that fighting was inconvenient since guns were thereby lost, and that all Europeans must eventually perish. To this, however, some would not agree, and a division in consequence arising, another meeting was proposed.

Sunday, 21st of June.—Proclamation was made by beat of drum that the Peshwa's Government had been established at Poonah in the name of the Nana, and that the rebels ruled the city of Lucknow. A number of Bengallee writers were released from confinement.

A heavy fire was maintained against the entrenchments this afternoon; at midnight, Major Vibart, of the 2nd cavalry, wrote to Sir Henry Lawrence that in three hours upwards of thirty shells had been thrown in, and that they were in want of nine pounder ammunition. The enemy were strongest in artillery, not numbering more than 400 or 500 infantry.

Monday, 22nd June. The mutineers decided on making a general assault, and stated that if the entrenchments were not evacuated in four days they must be taken. The prisoners of Sovada were sounded as to the probabilities of a capitulation being effected.

Tuesday, 23rd of June. An assault was made on the entrenchments which as usual failed, and the troops in consequence were dispirited.

Azeemoollah, Brigadier Jewala Pershaud and Shah Alee held a consultation at Sovada with Mrs. Jacob and the other prisoners; the former had been captured whilst attempting an escape to Lucknow disguised in native clothes, and had been confined in Sovada; she promised to get the entrenchments vacated.

A messenger from Lucknow, with a letter from Major Halford, 71st N. I., to Major Wiggins, deputy judge advocate general, reached the besieged safely.

Sepoy Ghous Mahomed, of the 56th N. I., ordered by General Wheeler to gain information, left the entrenchments at 8 P. M., and by crawling along the ground, thus avoiding the mutineers' piquets and patrols, succeeded in reaching Colonelgunge.

Wednesday, 24th of June.—An European of dark complexion disguised as a native was seized on leaving the entrenchments, and taken to the Nana, who after questioning him, ordered him to be confined. Mrs. Jacob was taken to the Nana's tent, and arrangements were made for sending her on the following day with a letter to the garrison.

Thursday, 25th of June.—Mrs. Jacob left Sovada at 9 A. M. for the entrenchments, and on her return had a long interview with the Nana, Azimoolah, Brigadier Jewala Pershaud and Shah Allee, after which it was rumoured about that an agreement had been entered into with the British who were to give up their guns and treasure, and were in return to be provided with boats to convey them to Allahabad. The Nana directed Hoolas Singh by purwanah to provide boats for the transport of the British to that station. At sun-set a consultation was held in the Nana's tent at which Bala, Azeemoolah, Brigadier Jewala Pershaud, Shah Allee and Ahmed Allee, Vakeel, were present, when it was decided that the British should be massacred at the Suttee Chowra ghaut.

At half past 8 P. M., Lieut. G. Masters, of the 53rd N. I., wrote to his father Colonel Masters, of the 7th cavalry at Lucknow, informing him of the capitulation. This note reached Lucknow on the evening of the 28th June.

Friday, 26th of June.—The treaty was ratified and oaths taken on both sides to prevent treachery. Casim Allee, General Wheeler's mahout, was employed, together with a Christian woman supposed to be Mrs. Jacob, to take a letter from the Nana to Sir Hugh Wheeler.

Twenty-four boats laying at the customs ghaut were seized, and every exertion was made to prepare them for the reception of the British on the following day. Goordial and Lochun, ghat manjees, with Boodhoo, commissariat boat contractor, were engaged under the cotwal Hoolas Singh; Badul Jemadar, an old servant of the Nana's, with Dabee Deen Chowdree of boatmen, Ram Deen Choonnee and Garreeha, boatmen of Bithoor, with 400 men, were employed in expediting the work. The boats were moved down to the Suttee Chowra ghaut, and there inspected by a committee of three officers, who directed certain necessary alterations to be made. Kalka Pershaud on visiting his master, Mr. Thomas Greenway, in the entrenchments, and being told to procure Rs. 300 for the trip, informed

him of the meditated treachery, stating all he had heard whilst waiting at the Nana's tent. The uninjured guns and the treasure amounting to one lac and 30,000 Rs, were made over to the Nana.

In the evening Tantia Topee was closeted with the Nana, and on leaving issued orders for the troops to march to the Suttee Chowra ghaut, two hours before daybreak. The rebel zemindars with their followers were also warned to be in attendance at the ghaut. Brigadier Jawala Pershaud remained during the night in the entrenchments as hostage.

A musket accidentally discharged by a mutineer alarmed the whole rebel force, who immediately opened a heavy fire on the entrenchments, but ceased on receiving a message from Jawala Pershaud.

Saturday, 27th June. Orders having been issued the previous night, the arrangements for the destruction of the doomed garrison were carried out as follows :—At an early hour in the morning, some five hundred mutineers, with two guns, marched to the Suttee Chowra ghaut. One gun was placed with a party of sepoys in the ruins of the house lately occupied by Mr. Christie, and which being built on a height, commanded the whole line of boats. A body of mutineers were placed in the Chore ghat nulla running between the above named house and the village of Suttee Chowra ; another party of twenty-five were secreted behind some timber, whilst a party of sowars were drawn up south of Hurdeen Julliea's (or the fisherman's) temple ; at which the chief executors of the Nana's orders (the principal of whom was Tantia Topee) were seated attended by an armed body of retainers. About a quarter of a mile below the first fisherman's temple, there is a second named after its founder Bhugwan Doss, at which a gun with a company of mutineers was posted during the siege for protection to the ghat, but were withdrawn, whilst the officers inspected the boats, lest suspicions were excited. This gun with a large band of rebels and insurgents re-occupied its former position on this occasion. About eight hundred paces below this again at Koila ghat, a third gun and its attendant party were placed. The two latter pieces commanded the river for some distance both above and below, and could hence rake the boats as they lay at the Suttee ghat, as also any that might succeed in getting away and floating down the stream. Still further precautions were taken on the Oude bank of the river; the 17th N. I, 13th native cavalry, and two guns being concealed there behind a sandy ridge, the former to intercept any fugitives attempting to escape towards Lucknow, and the latter to fire upon any of their unhappy victims seeking shelter on the outer or river side of the boats ; a party of horse and foot were also told off to follow the garrison, and on their reaching the wooden bridge, which commanded the Suttee Chowra ghat, to form up there in line as a firing party ; thus every avenue of escape was guarded with fiendish acuteness, and the doomed band completely hemmed in by their bloodthirsty yet cowardly foes.

These arrangements were carried out by Tantia Topee with the assistance of General Teekah Sing, Brigadier Jewala Pershaud, and a Russeldar named Tukkee.

Carriage was sent to the entrenchments for the transport of the

Europeans, and what in any other circumstances would have been a delicate mark of respect, evinces in this instance a cool and revolting feature of gross treachery.

The elephant generally used by Sir Hugh Wheeler, with its howda and driver, Kassim Khan, was sent for the General's accommodation, and was occupied by Lady Wheeler and her two daughters. The evacuation of the entrenchments commenced at about or a little before 6 A. M. A truly sad spectacle must it have been to see that noble little band that had for twenty long days in the hottest season of the year kept at bay their numerous blood-thirsty foes, defended simply by a low mud wall, barely four feet high, with a shallow ditch, not worthy the name of entrenchments, and yielding only at last from compassion to the weak and helpless innocents, whose sole reliance was their brave hearts and sturdy arms, with a vain hope of shortening their sufferings and securing their retreat; sturdy men, delicate women that had never hitherto known an hour's privation, tenderly brought up children, whose every want had been anticipated; sad indeed, must it have been to see them now reduced by privation, soiled with unremitting labour, and the absence of even the common necessaries of life, scorched by an Indian sun and the fierce simoom, tattered and torn, weak and wounded, hastening on with eager steps and beating hearts to the cruel fate awaiting them, all unconscious of the base treachery planned by their foes for their destruction.

Anxious doubts and fears may, however, have troubled the minds of some, since the Nana had once already proved himself false, and now might well be doubted. It is said that Mr. Thomas Greenway's Moonshee informed his master of the impending treachery, and we have no reason to doubt this statement, though no notice having apparently been taken of it (nor can we tell if the information were passed on to others or not) it would appear to have been discredited, as the British passed on their way in seeming confidence and trust, surrounded though they were by thousands of mutineers and rebel insurgents. That many who came to witness the evacuation of the entrenchment were aware of the sad fate hanging over its late gallant defenders, we cannot doubt; for when it was rumoured that a capitulation had been effected, the ready suggestion to most minds was, that the Nana and his myrmidons meditated treachery: yet we may in charity hope that all were not alike, but that some few even amongst that cruel crowd came with better and kinder feelings to see perhaps the last of those whom they had known in happier and more prosperous days, for evil though all men by nature are, and cruel in heart, as too many showed themselves to be, yet there is proof that even at Cawnpore there were amongst that blood-thirsty set, not wanting those who were willing to aid our (to them) alien race. We behold a servant of the late Colonel Williams earnestly striving to appear before his mistress to enquire after the welfare of the family, and that, moreover, the said interview obtained at length, was gained by urgent entreaties to mutineers themselves. Havildar Major Amundee Misser, though stating himself unable, through shame, to appear before the wife of his murdered Colonel, yet granting the pleader's

request, who is then despatched by his mistress to procure the attendance of another faithful domestic, both of whom arrived in time only to witness the opening of that base tragedy, of which can they for a moment be supposed to have been aware !

Amongst the mutineers even some, as they meet their officers, enquire the fate of missing ones, and whether in truth or base pretence, yet with strange inconsistency express commisseration for their condition, as well as wonder at and praise the noble defence made by the garrison. Kasim Khan, the driver of General Wheeler's elephant, after taking Lady Wheeler and her two daughters to the first boat on the line, returned for the General, whom, meeting on the way mounted on a galloway, he likewise conveyed to the boats. A Government camel sowar from Agra, who had faithfully brought and safely delivered a despatch from that station for General Wheeler the previous night, was told by Sir Hugh, to wait at the boat side for a reply, and both mahoot and camel sowar remained till the firing commenced, which they would scarcely have done to peril their lives had they suspected treachery.

The mutineers, however, unmasked their intentions ere yet the time for action had arived, to many observant eyes, amongst the thousands that followed in the rear of the ill-fated garrison, who witnessed the following scenes of violence and bloodshed, perpetrated whilst yet their victims were on the road to the place of execution.

Lady Wheeler's ayah was at once deprived of a large sum of money bestowed upon her by her mistress for her continued fidelity in the hour of trial. An event still more significant even of the mutineer's intentions than the above, which merely arose from the love of plunder, was the following :—A jemadar, three sepoys and native doctor of the 56th, who, with true devoted loyalty, had remained with their officers throughout the seige, and left the entrenchments in their company, preferring rather to share their fate than to be numbered amongst mutineers, were seized and carried off by their perjured comrades, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of their Adjutant, Lieutenant Good. They were taken before Subadar Meer Bux, then styled Major, and commanding a battery of five guns at the mess house of their corps, who said, these faithful men should not have been taken prisoners, having become Christians, but ought at once to have been slain.

But deliberate murder, attended with revolting coolness, as related below, revealed still more clearly the intended treachery of the rebels. The gallant Colonel Ewart, borne on a litter by four coolies, being severely wounded and followed by his sorrowing wife on foot, falling into the rear, was, when passing St. John's Church, stopped by seven or eight sepoys of his regiment, the 1st N. I., who ordering the litter to be placed on the ground, thus tauntingly addressed their late commanding officer— " Is not this a fine parade, and is it not well dressed up ;" then by the swords of two of their party cut him to pieces, and turning to Mrs. Ewart said, " Go, we will not kill you, for you are a woman, but throw down all you have." She took out a small packet concealed in her dress, perhaps some stored relics valuable only to her, and threw it at the feet of the

wretches, who, however, not desiring plunder only, but thirsting for European blood, likewise slew her also. Col. Ewart had entertained throughout a presentiment that he would fall by the hands of his own men, and thus strangely lost his life by their hands, instead of perishing in the indiscriminate slaughter at the ghat. Two of these cowardly wretches are known to have been Bijornath Singh Thakoor and Rambhut Aheer, of the 5th company 1st N. I.

The fiend who now held undisputed sway was meanwhile alone, (a few Marhattas and Ahmed Ali Vakeel only being in attendance) whilst his compeers in blood and treachery, Bala Azeem Oolla and a host of sirdars, who had mounted their horses on the Europeans moving out of the entrenchments, were then seated with Tantia Topie, and his party at the fisherman's temple. How rarely do we see a native pacing up and down, particularly one of such obesity as the Nana, but thus in anxious thought did this man of blood meditate on the results of his treachery to a noble but confiding emeny ; his black heart longing eagerly for the first sound that told of the destruction of his hated foe. His victims having already embarked, suddenly at about 9 A. M., a bugle the signal for firing, was sounded by orders of Bala and Azeemoolla ; the first shots were discharged by some troopers of the 2nd cavalry, and the parties concealed in the ruins on the height and behind the timber, succeeded simultaneously, as if by magic, by the roar of cannon along the bank, instantaneously taken up by the guns and the 17th N. I., on the Oude side. Amidst this frightful scene and hideous din, the proverbial coolness and intrepidity of Englishmen did not fail them. The fire of their hell foes was at once returned from the 4th boat on the line, and every exertion made to get themselves clear, but most of the boats were grounded in shallow water, whilst few had boatmen provided, and even those who had, were speedily deserted by their false crews, three of whom, moreover, named Ram Deen, Choomeea, and Gareelia, procured from Bithoor, and in the pay of the enemy, set fire, as previously directed, to the thatch of several of the boats, whereby many of the wounded, unable to move, were burnt to death. The others leaped into the river seeking shelter from the fierce storm of grape and musketry on the outer or river side of the boats, being unaware of the precautions taken, as already stated, to meet this contingency, on whom the guns, and 17th N. I, placed for the purpose, now played with murderous effect. As the numbers decreased from being slain and drowned, the fire slackened and the troopers posted near Hurdeen's temple, urged by Bala Rao and Tantia Topee, entering the river massacred those still alive. The Protestant and Roman Catholic Clergymen are said to have been thus cut down by a 2nd cavalry trooper, women and children were mercilessly slain, one lady spared by a sepoy fell the next moment by the club of an insurgent villager, many of whom took an active part in the massacre. The Nadrie and Aktarie regiments, from, Lucknow, also acted a prominent part, whilst the following individuals are named as having been conspicuous on this occasion : Teeka Sing subadar, 2nd cavalry, Resaldar Tukkea, Holas Singh, cotwal, Shaik

Hunneeff, formerly a coachman in Captain Nathal's employ, and Akbar Ali, who was seen to kill an European by firing a pistol bullet into his breast. Three boats floated clear off the ghat, but two being crippled and drifting on to the Oude bank, their inmates were massacred by the 17th N. I. with the exception of eighteen individuals sent in as prisoners to the Nana. The third boat got in to the full force of the stream, and notwithstanding a shot from the gun placed at the koila ghat, that struck the rudder and disabled the boat spinning it round, it floated on. A party of the 2nd Cavalry under Jemedar Sadoo Sing, was sent in pursuit and overtook the boat in consequence of its striking on a sand bank near Nujjufghur ; those who resisted were massacred and the rest sent in prisoners to Cawnpore. From statements made by two troopers named Talub Sing and Guffoor Khan who, we may suppose, were with the pursuing party, it would appear that Sir Hugh Wheeler perished here. About an hour after the commencement of the massacre at the ghat, a sowar named Mukhun Sing, a resident of Khandepore Jaj Mhow, brought a report to the Nana that his enemies were being exterminated, on which he was sent with orders for the women and children to be spared, and in consequence some 120 or 130 poor sufferers, wounded and in sore distress were brought out of the river, collected on the bank, seated on the ground, and guarded by their cruel enemies, who, however, had compassion enough to supply them with water. They were then taken escorted by the mutineers to the Nana, who ordered them to be confined in the Sovada house. Four European and three Eurasian females were carried off by some 2nd cavalry troopers, but all, with one exception, were delivered up to the Nana and placed in confinement with the rest.

A woman, named Hosainee Khanum, one of the late Peshwa's slave girls, and at that time in attendance on Adla, a favorite courtezan of the Nana's, was directed to look to the wants of the prisoners, who were under the special charge of Tantia Topee, and over whom a guard from the 6th N. I. under Jemadar Yousuff Khan, of the same corps, was placed. At 4 P. M., the sowars of the 13th irregular cavalry, brought in seventeen Europeans who had escaped from the boats and reached the opposite Oude bank; after being presented to the Nana, who ordered them to be killed, they were shot by the sepoys and sowars on the plain west of Sovada ; those amongst them who were merely wounded by the musketry, were cut to pieces by the city executioner.

Sunday, 28th June.—A review was held by the Nana, and salutes fired in honor of his victory over the British. The Nana's force consisted of the following regiments, greatly reduced however from their proper strength by desertions, and men absent on leave, 2nd light cavalry, 13th irregular cavalry from Azimghur, 1st, 17th, 53rd and 56th N. I., with two other infantry corps from Oude, and No. 18, L. F. battery from Nowgong ; as also of the following detachments of regiments—14th irregular cavalry; squadron, 7th light cavalry; 6th N. I.; wing of the 12th ditto, with the detachment of the native artillery at Cawnpore ; and two companies of the 48th N. I. at Bithoor. Tantia Topee paid Dabee Deen, chowdry of boatmen, 4,467 rupees for the boats

destroyed at the ghat, five of which without any boatmen attached belonged to the residents of Cawnpore, the remainder having come from the upper and lower provinces, had from three to five boatmen each; 500 rupees was also distributed to those of the Bithoor boatmen who first set fire to the boats.

Monday, 29th of June.—A tall European, naked with the exception of a bit of sacking round his waist, who had been hiding in the ravines near Karundea on the Oude bank, was taken to the zemindar of the village, and being famished, eagarly devoured some food offered; the better disposed of the community were inclined to further the poor fugitive's escape to Lucknow, whither he appeared anxious to go, but as he could not speak Hindoostanee, his wishes were not clearly ascertained; the more merciful party were, however, overruled by a zemindar named Chundee Sing, and the unfortunate man was escorted by a band of insurgent villagers to the Nana's tent, who sent them orders by Bala Bhut to murder their prisoner, but with strange inconsistency they refused to strike an unarmed foe, upon which a trooper of the 2nd cavalry wounding him with a sword, he was speedily cut to pieces by attendant Jellads. A sad and strange fate truly was his, escaping the dangers of the seige and of the subsequent massacre at the ghat, wandering about naked and hungry for the space of two days, even meeting with pity and kindness from some, doubtless thinking the bitterness of death was past, yet perishing at length by the hands of the cruel foe, whose clutches he had evaded but for a brief while. The Nana and Bala left for Bithoor, having directed that Baba Bhut, Azeemoollah, Brigadier Jewala Pershaud, and Shah Ali, should conduct affairs at Cawnpore.

Tuesday, 30th June.—At 10 A. M. Jemadar Sadhoo Sing, of the 2nd cavalry, and Hasmut Ali, Thanadar of Sirsour, brought in from Nujjuffghur, the party of Europeans captured in the boat that had escaped thus far, the ladies and children amongst whom were sent into the Sovada house, with the exception of one lady, who refusing to leave her husband was with her infant of about an year old killed with the Europeans, when they were shot by the Nana's orders. The Nana took his seat on the throne as Peshwa; the sacred mark was affixed on his forehead; salutes were fired; and the city illuminated at night in honor of the occasion; orders issued from Baba Bhut's cutchery for tehseeldars to send in revenue; for all individuals, not delivering up concealed European property, to be punished; for all houses suspected of having such secreted in them to be searched; and finally for arrangements to be made for distributing rewards with gold bangles to the mutineers. Rumours were prevalent that two or three Europeans who escaped the massacre, after drifting down the river, found refuge with Rajah Diryhyah Sing of Moer, Mhow.

Wednesday, 1st July.—Bala Rao returned alone to Cawnpore, the mutineers were dissatisfied at his being unaccompanied by the Nana, who had promised to remain only one day at Bithoor. The prisoners were removed from Sovada to the house in the compound lately occupied by Sir George Parker, now known as the Beebeeghur or

slaughter house; Muttoo sweeper and his wife were ordered to attend on the prisoners.

Thursday, 2nd July.—The mutineers became clamorous for the distribution of pay and the rewards promised. Pay abstracts were consequently prepared in the office of the deputy collector, Ram Loll, and a quantity of gold sent to the magazine to be converted into bangles. The mutineers feeling insecure of their plunder, invested it in gold mohurs, which command in the market twenty-four rupees and twenty-five rupees each.

Friday, 3rd July.—Pay was distributed to the mutineers, who quarrelled over the division of their spoil, and openly expressed their dissatisfaction, complaining that the Nana had taken all the treasury, and sought only his own ease at Bithoor, adding, that they were determined to make him feel the consequences of such deceit. The old feeling in favor of exalting the Nunkey Nawab as ruler, in opposition to the Nana, gained ground amongst the Mahomedan troopers. The Hindoo faction, however, proved too strong, and the Nawab sought safety in flight, but was arrested, and brought back a prisoner by orders of Subadar Teekah Sing, Shah Ali, the late cotwal, now head of the intelligence department, appointed new writers at different posts in the districts, proceeding himself to Futtehpore for information.

Saturday, 4th of July.—Edoo Goolharie, and other cooks, employed to provide food for the prisoners, representing that the ladies refused to eat the dhall and chapaties daily supplied them, as much meat was as procurable for the same price as the dhall was henceforth furnished instead.

Rumours of the advance of a British force caused much uneasiness. Apadik Dhary was directed to watch the approaches of Cawnpore with strong detachments.

Sunday, 5th of July.—Shah Ali returned from Futtehpore, with news of the advance of the British from Allahabad. Two camel sowars were sent to gain correct information regarding their movements. Much excitement prevailed amongst the troops at the Nana's continued absence, who declared if he did not immediately return, they would release the Nunkey Nawab and make him ruler. General Teekah Sing, of the 2nd cavalry, with some of the 56th N. I. proceeded to Bithoor to bring the Nana back to Cawnpore, in order that preparations might be made for opposing the advance of the British.

Monday, 6th July.—The Nana returned and occupied Noor Mahomed's hotel, next to the house in which the prisoners were confined. Moona Loll, Sooknundun and others who had plundered the treasure chest of the barrack department, were confined until they disgorged their spoil. Preparations were made to check the approach of the British. A division commanded by Brigadier Jewala Pershaud with twelve guns under Raghoo Putapta and Bashoo Punt Putter, officers of artillery, were told off for this duty.

Tuesday, 7th July.—Baba Bhut, Azimoola, and Jewala Pershaud were doing their utmost to provide carriage and supplies for the march of the mutineers. A native Christian drummer seized, whilst escaping to

Lucknow, was taken together with the loyal men of the 56th, (who were captured on the 27th, when leaving the entrenchments) and brought to the Nana at Noor Mahomed; after a few enquiries, the whole party were ordered to be shot.

Azeem Oollah, however, whispered to the Nana that the native Christian ought to be shot, but the remainder of the party (chiefly Mahomedans) should be sent to prison. They were consequently heavily ironed and sent to the old jail, whilst the drummer was taken to the compound and there killed by the mutineers as directed.

Wednesday, 8th July.—Reports were received of the British force having left Allahabad with European, Madras and Sickh troops. The mutineers of the 56th regt. N. I., held a mock, and so called, brigade court martial on their loyal brethren, seized on the 27th of June; when the latter were sentenced to the loss of their hands and noses, that they might prove a warning to all who should venture to serve the British; execution of the sentence was, however, deferred until their anticipated victorious return from Futtehpore.

Thursday, 9th July.—A portion of the Futtehgurh fugitives who evacuated the fort on the 4th July, and who had been delayed on their way down, were seized on passing Bithoor. Guns having been placed at Bhundie Mattas and Shokul Doe's ghat, for the purpose of obstructing the passage down the river of fugitives from other stations; the boat as it approached was fired on both by the guns and by a party of insurgents on the Oude bank under Jessa Sing, to which the fugitives at first feebly replied, but soon a white truce flag being waved by a gentleman, the firing ceased, and Jessa Sing's party crossing over took the Europeans prisoners, and conveyed them to Rao, whose palace they reached at 9 P. M., and who ordered their confinement for the night in the old residency. Brigadier Jewala Pershaud marched to Jugpoor in command of the rebel army consisting of the following corps and detachments:—the 2nd light and 13th irregular cavalry, detachments of other cavalry corps, a regiment of undisciplined horse lately raised, five companies of the 12th and 17th N. I., the 1st, 53rd, 56th, do (the latter greatly reduced in numbers, but strengthened by mutineers from other corps) the Nadree and Aktarie regiments, under Nawab Mooneer, and a battery of twelve guns, with a large body of attendant insurgents, who loudly boasted of the valorous deeds they would accomplish, and of their determination to exterminate the small advancing band of British.

Friday, 10th of July.—The rebel force arrived at Aong, where the news of the approach of the British was confirmed and caused great excitement, it being reported that they hung every native they met with on their way; the Futtehgurh fugitives captured at Bithoor were forwarded at 3 P. M., in charge of Kossabba Keranie Gir, Baboo Kan Kutta Koondoo Pershaud and other sirdars escorted by rebel horse and foot. On reaching Cawnpore the ladies and children were confined by the Nana's orders with the prisoners in the Beebee Ghur, and the lives of three gentlemen supposed to be Mr. Thornhill, the Judge, and Colonels Goldie and Smith, were also spared on their promising to have the

Fort of Allahabad evacuated as a ransom for their lives; the rest of the party were as usual massacred.

Saturday, 11th July.—The mutineers marched to Suktapore. The British force were reported to have reached Seenie, to have restored the telegraph, as they passed up the road, and to have hung every native in whose possession the wire was found. The Nana's well-wishers and adherents confidently affirmed he would prove victorious over the small British force that opposed him, but great consternation prevailed in the city and even amongst the neighbouring villages.

Sunday, 12th July.—The rebel force occupied Futtehpore, and on the arrival of the British were found drawn up in line on the Cawnpore side of the town with their artillery, at intervals along the road. Their cavalry, the regulars, many amongst whom were in full uniform, first showed themselves by galloping out and attempting to surround the British tent, but were speedily driven in by their guns and Enfield rifles. Some of the 13th irregular cavalry being present with the rebel force on this occasion, their loyal brethren engaged on the side of the English, refused in consequence to charge.

The British forces consisted in all of nine guns, of both the Royal and Bengal artillery ; detachments of H. M's. 64th, 78th, 84th, Madras fusiliers, and Ferozepore regiment volunteers, and 13th irregular cavalry. General Havelock though at first unwilling to bring on a fight without giving his troops breathing time after their march, on finding himself hard pressed went at and speedily drove the enemy through Futtehpore. No lives were lost on his side, save of those who sunk from exposure to the sun. The enemy fled panic-struck, and in great disorder to Aong ; many who had acquired plunder and were hence unwilling to fight availed themselves of every opportunity for quietly retreating to their houses.

Monday, 13th July.—The British force halted at Futtehpore. The news of the defeat sustained by the mutineers at this place caused great dismay at Cawnpore. But all available troops were at once directed to march to the Pandoo Nuddee and were ordered to hold that post to the last. Eight messengers seized with English and native letters for the British, were taken to the Nana, who ordered them all to be executed.

Tuesday, 14th of July.—The British advanced to Kullianpore. Bala, with as many mutineers and insurgents as could be collected, strengthened the post held by the mutineers at Aong. The three Europeans spared from among the Futtehgurh party, were taken to Noor Mahomed's hotel, and had an interview with the Nana, for the purpose, it is supposed, of making arrangements relative to the giving up the Allahabad fort, and for the arrest of the advancing British force.

Wednesday, 15th of July.—The British approached and came upon the enemy at Aong, whom they found in position on the road at about 9 A. M. They at once formed up and advanced to the attack, covered by the Madras fusiliers and Enfield riflemen of the 64th and 78th, drove the enemy over difficult and jungly ground, from one position to

another, who fell back upon their defences at Pandoo nuddee. After an hour's halt at noon the British advanced to the bridge on the nuddee, which was defended, but which the British enfilading with their guns, and pouring in grape and round shot was speedily vacated by the rebels, and at once taken possession of by the British.

On Bala Rao's return to Cawnpore, wounded on the right shoulder by a musket ball, a council was held at Noor Mahomed's hotel, at which a large number are said to have assembled, and over which the Nana presided. Much dismay and vacillation prevailed on this occasion, some proposing an immediate retreat, others even more timid, suggested a flight to Furrackabad and junction there with the force of the rebel nawab Tuffuzool Hossein, whilst others again less craven hearted, decided on making one more desperate attempt to oppose the victorious march of their foes, even proposing that the public buildings and the magazine should be mined, so that if all were lost, they might perish together with their enemies in one common ruin. The only building, however, that was mined, was the magazine, and at length it was resolved to make the last great stand at Aheerwan, a few miles south of Cawnpore. Vacillating though the council were on other projects, they are said to have been unanimous in one fearful resolve, and that was the death of the unoffending and innocent women and children numbering upwards of a hundred, as also of the five Europeans spared till now, three from Futtehgurh and Mr. Edward Greenway and his son Thomas. The horrid suggestion is said to have first come from Subadar Teeka Sing, who enquired what was to be done with their prisoners. Two reasons were advanced in favor of this brutal resolve; the one that it would probably prevent the further approach of the British, who were said to be advancing solely for the purpose of releasing such of their people as were in confinement, and of avenging the blood of those who had been slain. The second reason alleged and bearing more the stamp of probability was, that many rebels even now determining to forsake a losing cause and return to their old allegiance, trusting to the complicity of their native brethren for their own impunity, and knowing full well that many amongst the unfortunate prisoners could recognize the leaders and give important evidence against them, that others such as Mesdames Thomas and Edward Greenway, Jacob and Kirk, were intimately acquainted with nearly all those implicated in rebel proceedings, two of whom had since the 8th of June been confined in Sovada in close proximity to the Nana and his party, felt it was positively necessary to destroy all European evidence, as the only chance of evading the condign punishment their crimes so richly merited. Thence was the fate of these unhappy captives to be sealed in blood and all were to perish in one common lot. The three gentlemen from Futteghur, as before stated, with Mr. Edward Greenway and his son Thomas, were told that the Nana required their attendance, and as they left the slaughter house to meet their fate elsewhere, appear to have been perfectly composed, even though they surmised that death awaited them, which alas to those thus situated must

have been ever present) for their lips moved as if in prayer. There is clear evidence of their having been shot by the mutineers at about 5 P. M., near the wall of the commissariat godowns, Mr. E. Greenway being the last to fall.

I now approach the most painful and difficult portion of my task, over which I would glady draw a veil, but that duty forbids my concealing aught of the real facts attending the closing of the Cawnpore tragedy. Regarding the numerous massacres that took place, the evidence, with the exception of some few discrepancies, is clearly and freely given, but on approaching the last and most terrible scene, all seem instinctively to shrink from confessing any knowledge of so foul and barbarous a crime as the indiscriminate slaughter of helpless women and innocent children. Evidence that runs clear and strong from the 15th of May to 14th of July, suddenly ceases on the fatal day of the 15th of that month. Every witness was questioned on this important subject, but almost all state they were not present, and only heard by report of the massacre, which it is notoriously well-known was witnessed by thousands of spectators, any half dozen of whom could give clear and undeniable evidence against the murderers. It is, however, said that but few of the respectable residents of the city were present; consternation reigned throughout, and every door was closed. Rumours being prevalent on the one hand of the immediate arrival of a large and well appointed British army, who would take fearful vengeance for the murder of their countrymen at the Suttee Chowra ghat, and it being said on the other that if the Nana was victorious the city was to be given up to plunder in revenge for the difficulty experienced in producing supplies, and because the mahajun portion of the community had been accused of corresponding with the British. We have, however, statements made by eye-witnesses, three of whom were native Christian drummers, from whom we will first quote, as being perhaps, and on the whole most trustworthy, for though like the generality of our Christian drummers, merely nominal, and unworthy professors of a pure creed, who did perhaps by force of circumstances outwardly join the rebel cause, yet their depositions enable us to compare the statement of others, and thus to test the reliability of the whole. The guard over the prisoners was commanded by a grenadier of the 6th N. I., named Yousuf Khan, some of whom were men of the same corps. The most intelligent of the drummers states, that he was in confinement, but it may fairly be taken for granted that the restraint, if any really existed, was merely nominal. All three depose on oath that the veritable murderers were five men armed with swords, who came from the adjacent compound in which the Nana then resided. Another individual is a brahmin, named Cheerunjee, who for the committal on the previous day of a trifling offence in the neighbourhood of the Beebee Ghur, had been placed in confinement by the sepoy guard, the authority of the mutineers being paramount. He was consequently an eye-witness of the massacre, and confirms the statements of the three drummers. But we have other corroborative evidence also. The second or third day after the massacre a party of the Nana's followers passing

through the village of Oonam on their way to join his camp at Futtehpore, Chouassie, halted there awhile, and the conversation turning on the late massacre, two of the party (Hindoos) boasted before a large number of men, that they had murdered twenty-one of the prisoners for which they had received a reward of twenty-one rupees. A man called Sewra Khan of Oojoo likewise vaunted, that he had been engaged in the massacre, and entered upon the foul work of blood, when his sword being a bad weapon bent from the force of his blows, and his heart failed him; pointing out at the same time to many of those present, the blood stains, and the bend on the sword alluded to. On the restoration of the British power this man decamped, and is said to have joined the party of zemindar Mepal Sing of Oude. Those who state they heard of the massacre of the ladies affirm, that common report with two or three exceptions threw the odium upon the Nana's own followers; this is, however, on the other hand, contradicted by the depositions of two other eye witnesses who directly oppose the statements of the four above-named individuals. Kullooa, a Government servant in the abkary department, states he saw twenty-five mutineer sepoys fire a volley through the doors of the building, who were then relieved by similar parties, and that thus volley after volley was maintained until candle light. This man's whole statement, however, from the relation of his escape from Lucknow to the event now under consideration is altogether improbable, but though enquiries were made regarding his character, nothing was elicited against him.

Cheeda sweeper in Mr. Greenway's employ, who happened to be at the Beebee Ghur, first of all stated he saw the sepoys commit the massacre, but on being re-examined as to a discrepancy in his statement regarding the murder of the five gentlemen, declared that he only heard the order given to the sepoys to fire, when he fled for his life. Again, in corroboration of the former account, those who first entered the slaughter house shortly after the massacre state, they saw but few bullet marks on the walls, and many sword cuts with hair embedded in them.

The evidence of the Christian drummers declares as follows.—After the five Europeans had been removed, the woman named Hosainie Khanum, or the begum, who had the superintendence of the ladies, told them the Nana had sent orders for their immediate destruction; an appeal was made by one of them to Yousuf Khan, the jemadar of the guard, and if the statement made by these drummers be correct, these men refused to carry out the Nana's orders. Debased and brutal as many of the sepoys had already become, and steeped though their hands were in Christian blood, they yet hesitated to carry out the fiendish order of one a still greater fiend than themselves. We know of a similar occurrence at Lucknow. The sepoys over the ladies and children when the Kaiser Bagh was bombarded, thought of getting rid of their charge by cruel murder, but all refused to strike the first blow, and thus the poor sufferers escaped. I mention this fact as it renders more probable the statements made by these deponents that the sepoys refused to carry out the Nana's orders; even this, however, only clears

them from active participation in the deed as they aided and abetted the transaction by their presence, instead rather of yielding up their lives in the cause of the innocent and defenceless. The begum, it is said, on their refusal returned to Noor Mohammed's hotel, and shortly re-appeared with five men, two Mahomedans and three Hindoos (others say seven) but most of the witnesses implicate in particular, one man of the Nana's guard named Sarour Khan (a lover of the begum's) a volley is said to have been fired at random by a few sepoys, but the butchery of the women and children was committed by men sent from the Nana's compound, in executing which they were occupied from about 6 P. M. until dark, when the doors of the building were closed for the night.

Thursday, 16th July.—An accumulation of horrors ends this frightful tragedy, one of the most barbarous on record. Early in the morning the parties who had committed the massacre, went to the Sovada, attended by some three or four sweepers, to remove the ladies from the house. On the doors being opened, fearful to relate, some three or four ladies and two or three children were found still alive. Oh! who can describe and scarce even picture the agonies they must have endured throughout that awful night, lying wounded on the floor saturated with the blood of their late friends and companions, and surrounded by their mangled bodies, surviving but to meet even a more horrible death than those butchered before their eyes the preceding evening; scarcely credible is it that any could out-live the terrors of such a night, and yet retain their reason, but only truly would such seem to have been the case. Enviable must they have deemed the lot of their murdered companions, when dragged forth together with the bodies of the slain by the hand of their cruel executioners, they were cast into a dry well that lay close at hand, both living and dead buried in one common hideous sepulture, and though thousands witnessed this frightful barbarity, not one of them all in pity lifted hand or voice to stay the cruel deed, or even petition for a more prompt and merciful death for those poor quivering survivors and innocent babies, who horrible to relate kept circling round the well pursued by their demon executioners until caught, and then cast alive into that yawning grave, amongst the mass of dead and dying. But one consolation (poor though it be) is afforded us in perusing the statements regarding this period, when Satan may truly be said to have been let loose upon earth, a conviction, which I share in common with others, who like myself have had to search into the events of this ever-memorable mutiny. The most searching and earnest enquiries totally disprove the unfounded assertion that was at first so frequently made and so currently believed, that personal indignity and dishonor were offered to our poor suffering countrywomen.

We now turn to their murderers, men who thought to have trodden out in blood the very name of Christian, who with sanguinary hands and savagely exulting hearts, hastened to the battle field, some of them doubtless determined to do and die, but most as cruel men generally are, craven-hearted, chief of whom, was their leader the Nana, who now

for the first time throughout his short and boastful reign, so far braved danger as to appear in the battle field, but vain were the attempts of murderers and perjured men to overcome the raging foe who had justice and an avenging God on their side. Desperate though they were, knowing this to be their last hope for Cawnpore, the loss of which would shake the rebel cause to its basis, and though fight they knew they must and hence fight they did ; yet the wrath of God and the curse of man, of the innocent and defenceless, was on their perjured and bloody cause, and speedily were they defeated, and as thoroughly as speedily. The British force having advanced towards Cawnpore, came at about 2 P. M. within a mile of the enemy's guard battery situated where the Agra and Cawnpore roads branch off. The rebels opened fire, but the British sweeping down on them soon gained possession of their guns. On reaching the Grand Trunk Road they found the enemy had a battery near the railway, which was taken by the 64th. The British now collected at a village on the road, the enemy's cavalry were very bold, and the infantry under cover of them formed in line ; the enemy opening fire from the large gun, the 64th advanced and speedily captured it, thus the British remained in possession of the field.

The cruel craven-hearted Nana lately belching forth pompous and impious edicts from his blood-stained throne, had now, on a horse bathed in foam, to seek safety by a precipitate flight to Bithoor, accompanied only by a few attendant sowars, his hurried passage through Cawnpore giving the lie to a proclamation but just made there by the public crier to the effect, that the British had been extirminated, with the exception of 100, for whose heads Rs. 100 each would be awarded.

Friday, 17th July.—The magazine was blown up by the rebels at about 6½ A. M., and shortly after the British force marched into Cawnpore, and taking possession of the cavalry stables for the day, encamped opposite the entrenchments, exactly three weeks after the signing of the treacherous agreement by which the false Nana obtained the evacuation of the entrenchments. The well-affected to the British Government,—for whatever may be the generally received opinion, there doubtless were some such, whilst others again though formerly disaffected had been taught a fearful lesson of what rapine and lawless rule could effect, as without doubt thousands, aye and innocent thousands too, suffered deeply as ourselves from the anarchy and rapine that prevailed,—but whether truly loyal or not, many remained to welcome back their former masters, presenting themselves with presents of fruits, flowers and supplies, thus affording a marked contrast to the guilty who precipitately fled on the approach of the British, although even amongst the latter there may possibly have been some influenced by groundless fear alone ; for I know that terror stalked in grim array before the advancing foe whose arm was known to be nerved to stern retribution for the enormities inflicted on their race and kindred. But with rare exceptions those who fled did so from a guilty conscience, and afterwards slunk back to claim rewards for their asserted loyalty.

We must now proceed to Bithoor, where there still lingered in confinement a Christian woman and her baby, in the power

alas! of a cruel and remorseless foe. Mrs. Carter, the last of those doomed to suffer, had been kept prisoner under a guard of the 7th cavalry in the old residency at Bithoor. After passing the perils of child-birth, she appears to have been treated by the Peshwa's widows with consideration and even with kindness, who possessed the softer and kindlier feelings of womankind, especially towards a suffering and unfortunate member of their sex. But to the Nana pity was unknown, revenge precious, even though expended on a weak and helpless woman and unconscious babe, and though at first overlooking his poor captive whilst busily occupied in providing for the safety of his own wretched life and valueless property, in which he was greatly assisted by his old and tried servant Choonnie Sing, placing the treasure, &c. on elephants, and from thence on boats, and crossing them over to Oude by the Teekapore ghat, the craven-hearted accursed man of blood, remembering her at at length, even as he fled from Bithoor in dread, directed her equally remorseless guard, to murder their defenceless captives in cold blood, and forcibly taking with him their kind but powerless protectors and guardians, the Peshawa's widows, he was henceforth no longer seen within the halls of his adopted father.

Names of those who went into the Cawnpore Entrenchments.

Alone, Mr.
Alone, Mrs. and two children.
Allen, Doctor.
Allen, Mrs. ditto.
Anderson, J. G., Mr., E. I. Railway.
Anderson, Mrs., ditto.
Angelo, F. C., Capt., 16th N. I.
Andrews, Thos., Qr. Mr. Sergt.
Andrews, Elizabeth, Mrs.
Andrews, E. A. Miss, children of ditto.
Andrews, Amelia Miss, ditto ditto.
Ashe, G. H., Lieut., Artillery.
Ashburner, Lieut.
Armstrong, H. H., Lieut., 53d N.I.
Baines. J. C., Mr., E. I. Railway.
Baines, Mrs., ditto.
Baines, Philip, son to ditto.
Battine, C., Lieut., 14th N. I.
Battine, Mrs.
Barlow, Mr.
Batavia, Martha, Miss.
Balfour, Mr., Lieut., 2nd L. C.
Baily, Lieut., 48th N. I.
Belson, H., Capt., 53rd N. I.
Belson, Mrs., ditto.
Belson, Miss, daughter to Capt. Belson.
Bell, Thomas, Sergt.-Major, 56th N. I.
Bell, Margaret Mrs., ditto.
Bell, two sons and one daughter to ditto.
Berrill, W. Condr., Comt. Dept.
Berrill, Mrs.,
Berrill, Isabella Miss.
Berrill, T. A., Mr., E. I. Railway.
Berrill, Henry.
Bennett, Eliza, Miss.
Beestal, Mrs.
Bisset, Miss.
Blair, Mr.
Blair, Mrs.
Blair, Misses, three daughters to ditto. Miss Bella Blair died in the entrenchments.
Bothwick, Mrs.
Boulton, A. J., Lieut., 7th L. C.
Bouling, J. P., Dr, 56th N. I.
Bouling, Mrs., and child.
Boyes, W. R., Dr., 2nd. L. C.
Boyes, Mrs.

Bridges, O. S., Lieut., 53rd N. I.
Brightman, Miss.
Brierly, Edwin, Mr., E. T. Office.
Brett, Henry, Master.
Brown, R., Ensign, 56th N. I.
Brooke, Sergt.-Overseer. D. P. W.
Brooke, Mrs.,
Burn, two Misses.
Burney, F. W., Lieut., Artillery.
Burney, Mr., Horse-breaker.
Campbell, Mr.
Campbell, Miss.
Carroll, Mrs.
Calley, two boys.
Carter, Mr.
Carter, Mrs.
Carmody, Sergt.
Carmody, Mrs., Milliner.
Chandler, Emma Miss.
Chester, Mary, maid to Mrs. Prout.
Chalmers, W. A., Lieut., 56th N. I.
Chalwin, E. G., Vety.-Sergt., 2nd L. C.
Chalwin, Mrs.
Christie, Henry, Mr., Firm of Bathgate and Co.
Christie, Mrs.
Christie, three daughters.
Conway, Maria, Miss.
Consius, James, Master.
Collins, J. R., Mr., Inspecting Post Master.
Collins, Jane, Mrs.
Colonelly, Maria, Mrs.
Cockey, H. E., Rev.
Collyer, W., Dr.
Colgan, Miss.
Cooke, Mr., N. W. Dawk Company.
Cooke, Mrs. and family.
Cooke, R. B., Opium Dept., Ghazeepore.
Cox, Mr., late of 1st Fusiliers.
Cooper, H. R., Asst. Engr., E. I. R.
Cooper, Mrs. and family.
Copeman, Mrs.
Copeland, W., Master.
Crable, Mrs.
Cripps, Sophia Eliza, Miss.
Cummins, Engr., Survr., E. I. R.
Currie, E. H., Capt., H. M. 84th.
Dallas, Mrs.
Daniell, M. G., Lieut., 3rd L. C.
Darling, Mrs. and infant.
Dashey, Mrs. and ditto.
Darbey, Mrs. and ditto.
Darly, Mrs.
Davis, Mr. and four children.
Dawson, A., Ensign, 53rd N. I.
Delafouse, Lieut., ditto, escaped.
Dempster, C. Lieut., Artillery.
Dempster, Mrs. and family.
DeCruze, Miss.
DeRussett, Merchant.
DeRussett, Mrs. and two children.
Duncan, David, Merchant.
Duncan, Mrs. and infant.
Duncan, three children of ditto.
Dupton, Mr. and three children.
Dundit, Master.
Duffey, Apothecary.
Eckford, J. A. H., Lieut., Comdg. 1st Co. 6th B. A.
Eckford, Mrs.
Elms, E. J., Capt., 1st N. I.
Emnor, W., Apothy., H. M. 53rd.
Emnor, Mrs.
Evans, Mrs. and two children.
Ewart, John, Col., 1st N. I., murdered 27th June at St. John's Chapel.
Ewart, Mrs. ditto and two children, ditto.
Ewart, J. H. Lieut., 12th N. I.
Fagan, H., Lieut., 56th N. I.
Fagan, Mr.
Fagan, Mrs. and family.
Farmer, Mr., E. T. Department.
Fawburn, Mrs.
Feme, Mrs.
Fitzgerald, John.
Fitzgerald, Mary Margaret, Thomas and Ellen
Farman, J. W., Ensign, 53rd N. I.
Forsyth, W., Engineers.
Fraser, Mrs.
Freeman, Mr.
Frost, Mary, Mrs., Senior.
Frost, Rebecca, Mrs.

Frost, Emilina, Miss.
Fulton, Sophia, Miss.
Fulton, William, Master.
Garbett, C., Dr.
Garrett, M., Engr , E. I. R.
Galway, Mr., E. T. Office.
Gee, William, Mr.
Gee, Rose Anne, Mrs.
Gibson, Mrs.
Gibson, Miss.
Gill, School-master.
Gill, Mrs. and four children.
Gilpin, Mr.
Gilpin, Sarah Mrs. and 3 children.
Gladwin, H., Sergt.-Major, 2nd L. C.
Glasgows, two Misses.
Goad, C. R., Lieut., 56th N. I.
Goodwin, Mr., E. T. Office.
Gordon, W., Qr.-Mr.-Sergt., 53rd N. I.
Gordon, Mrs. and two children.
Green, Pensioner.
Granville, G. J., Lieut., 2nd Fusrs.
Green, Mrs.
Green, Edward, and his son.
Grey, Sub-Engr., P. W. D.
Grey, Miss.
Greenway, Rose Anne, Mrs., Senr.
Greenway, E. Francis, Merchant.
Greenway, Mrs., ditto.
Greenway, Francis, son to ditto.
Greenway, Leçah and Martha, daughters to ditto.
Greenway, Louisa, Miss, daughter to ditto.
Greenway, Henry.
Greenway, John.
Greenway, Fred.
Greenway, Mary.
Greenway, Samuel, Merchant.
Greenway, Mrs. and infant.
Greenway, Anne, Rosaline, daughter to ditto.
Grinsey, Mrs.
Gum, Mr., E. I. R.
Guthrie Mrs.
Gutherie, Catherine, Miss.
Harrison, J. H., Lieut , 2nd L. C.
Harris, H. P., Dr., Civil Surgeon.
Harris, Mrs. and child.
Harris, Lieut. and a child.
Hagu, Mrs.
Harkness, Mrs., School Master, and a child.
Halliday, W. L., Capt., 56th N. I., killed in the entrenchments.
Halliday, Mrs. and child.
Haycock, Rev. Mr.
Haycock, Mrs , (mother to do.)
Haycock, watchmaker.
Haycock, Mrs.
Hay, J. D., merchant.
Hay, Mrs. and infant.
Hay, two children of ditto.
Hanna, Asst. Engineer, E. I. R.
Hampton, Miss.
Hefferman, Asst. Apothy, 1st Co., 6th Bn. Arty.
Heberden, M. C., Mr.
Heron, Sergt. Major, 1st N. I.
Heron, Mrs. and 2 children.
Henderson, J. W., Ensign, 56th N. I.
Hillersden, Major, 53rd N. I.
Hillersden, C. G., Esq., Magistrate and Collector.
Hillersden, Mrs. and 2 children.
Hillings, G., Sergt Major, 1st N. I.
Hillings, Lydia, Mrs. and a son.
Hills, E. C , Ensign, H. M.'s 32nd
Hill Mary, Mrs.
Homes, Elizabeth, Miss.
Jack, Alex. C. B., Col., Brigadier at Cawnpore, 31st N. I.
Jack, Esq., brother to ditto.
Jackson, P. S., Lieut., 67th N. I.
Jackson, Jane Alex., Mrs.
James, W., Mr., merchant.
James, Mrs.
Jacobie Fred, Coach-builder.
Jacobie, Mrs.
Jacobie, Henry, Watch-maker.
Jacobie, Mrs. and 2 children.
Jacobie, Wm., son to H. Jacobie.
Jackford, Mrs.
Jellico, F. G., Capt., 56th N. I.
Jellico, Mrs. and children.

Jenkins, R. M., Capt., 2nd Cavalry.
Jenkins, Mr.
Jervis, S. C., Lieut., Engineer.
Jones, Mr.
Jones, Mrs.
Johnstone, A. R., Inspector E. I. R.
Johnstone, Mrs. and children.
Keeler, Mrs.
Kelly, Sergt., D. P. W.
Kelly, Mrs. and child.
Kempland, G., Capt., 56th N. I.
Kempland, Mrs. and 3 children.
Kinliside, Mrs.
Kinliside, Henry and Willie 2 sons to ditto.
Kight, Mrs. and 2 children.
Kirk, Mrs., Senior.
Kirk, 2 daughters and a son.
Kirk, John.
Kirk, Mrs.
Kirkpatrick, merchant.
Kirkpatrick Mrs. and infant.
Latouche, H. D., Asst. Engineer, E. I. R.
Larkins, G., Major, Artillery.
Larkins, Mrs. and 2 children.
Larke, Qr. Mr. Sergt., 56th N. I.
Larke, Mrs.
Lawrence, John, E. I. R
Lawrence, Mrs. and 3 children.
Leary, Mrs.
Leary, James and Charles, her sons.
Leath, Miss.
Lewis, James.
Lindsay, W., Major, A. C. Genl.
Lindsay, Mrs.
Lindsay, Caroline, Alice and Francis, three misses.
Lindsay, G. Ensign, 1st N. I.
Lindsay, Mrs.
Little, Mr., Merchant.
Lyell, Lacy Miss.
Mackillop, J., Esq., C. S.
Macauly, Surgeon, H. M's. 32nd.
MacCulloch, Mr.
Maclanders, Sergt., D. P. W.
Maclanders, Mrs. and infant.
MacMahon, Thos., Sergt.-Major, 53rd N. I.
MacMahon, Anne and 4 children.
Mackinonon, Mrs.
MacMaron, two misses.
Master, G. A., Lieut., 53rd N. I.
Manderson, W. J., Lieut., 2nd L C.
Martin, J. W., Lieut., Artillery.
Mainwaring, Lieut., C. Cavalry.
Maxwell, Sub-Depy. Opium Agt.
Martindell, N. Miss.
Mark, Ellen Miss.
Manville, Condr., Ordce. Dept.
Manville, Mrs. and four Children.
Miller, A. M. Resdt. Engr., E. I. R.
Morfett, Jane, Mrs.
Moncrieffe, E. I. R. Resdt.
Moncrieffe, Mrs. and child.
Moore, J., Capt., H. M. 32nd.
Moore, Mrs. and child.
Morris, W. L. G., Captn., 56th N. I.
Murphey, Plate-layer, E. I. R.
Murray, Pensioned Drum Major, 56th N. I.
Nelson, Mr.
Newenbow, A. W., Surgn,. 1st N. I
Newenbow, Mrs. and two children.
Newman, Arthur and Charlotte.
North, W.
Norris, Mrs.
O'Brien, James Mr.
O'Brien, Mrs., ditto.
O'Brien, Mrs. J. L.
O'Brien, Rory, her son.
O'Connor, Miss.
Ogle, M., Ganges Canal Dept.
Ogle, Mrs. and a large family.
Osborne, Mrs.
Parker, Sir G. Capt., 74th N. I., died in the entrenchments.
Palmer, Fred. Cutter.
Palmer, Henry.
Parker, Sergt. Overseer.
Peake, C. H., E. T. Office.
Peel, Mrs.
Peel, George.
Peters, Apothecary.
Peters, Mrs. and her sister.
Pistol, Harriott.
Pogson, Mrs.
Prale, W. G., Lieut., 53rd, N. I.

Prout, W. R. Major, 56th N. I.
Prout, Mrs.
Prout, Lieut.
Purcell, Merchant.
Purcell, Mrs. and her son Edwin.
Price, Pensioner.
Probett, Mr.
Probett, Mrs. and three children.
Quin, R. O., Lieut., 2nd L. C.
Quin, C. W. Lieut., ditto.
Ramsay, Mr., E. T. Office.
Redman, T., Lieut., 1st N. I.
Reilly, Deputy Assistant Commy Ordnance.
Reilly, Mrs. and children.
Reilly, Overseer of Road.
Reid, G. Merchant.
Reid, Mrs.
Reid, six children.
Reid, William, Bazar Sergeant.
Reid, Mrs.
Reid, N., Pensioner.
Reynolds, J. H., Captain, 53rd N. I.
Reynolds Mrs., and child.
Ricketts, Mr., E. I. Railway.
Roach, Mr., Post Master.
Robinson, Mr., E. I. Railway.
Roberts, Mr.
Rovey, Joseph, Roman Catholic Priest.
Russell, Mrs.
Russell, Eliza, Miss.
Ryan, Cantt Sergeant.
Ryan, Mrs. and three children.
Satchwell, R. M., Lieut., 1st N. I.
Sanders, T. F. G., Lieut., H. M.'s 84th.
Sanders, Mrs. and her son William.
Sepping, E. J., Captain, 2nd Cavalry.
Seppings, Mrs. and two children.
Scott, Mrs.
Schorn, John, Merchant.
Sherman, ditto.
Shore, Mrs.
Sinclair, Mr., E. I. Railway.
Sinclair, Miss.
Simpson, Henry and William.
Shaw, Mrs.
Sheridan, H., Merchant.
Sheridan, William, and baby.
Shepherd, Ellen, Mrs., wife of Mr. J. Shepherd.
Shepherd, Louisa, daughter to ditto.
Shepherd, Victoria.
Shepherd, Daniel, brother to W. J. Shepherd.
Showers. Captain, 1st N. I.
Shore, Mrs.
Slane, Assistant Apothecary.
Sliven, Mr.
Smith, H. S., Captain, 1st N. I.
Smith, Plate Layer, E. I. Railway.
Satheby, G. W. R., Lieut.
Spires, Joseph, Band Master, 53rd N. I.
Spires, David, ditto ditto.
Stacey, W. W., Deputy Collector.
Stanley, Mr.
Stevens, R., Ensign, 56th N. I.
Stake, Lucy and William.
Sterling, Lieut., 2nd Light Cavalry.
Stowel, Margaret, Miss.
Supple, J. C., Ensign, 1st I. N.
Swinton, Mrs. and three children.
Swan, Sergt., Ganges Canal Works.
Tibbetts, Mrs.
Thomson, M., Lieut. 56th I. N., escaped.
Thomson, Apothecary, H. M.'s 32nd.
Touskins, Mrs., Milliner.
Tresham, Mrs.
Tritton, Mr.
Turner, A., Captain, 1st N. I.
Turner, Mrs. and child.
Turnbull, A. M., Lieut., 13th N. I.
Twoomy, Apothecary, Med. Dept.
Twoomy, Mrs. and an adopted child.
Tress, Francis, Qr. Master Sergt., 2nd Light Cavalry.
Tress, Elizabeth, Mrs.
Vaughan, T., Merchant.
Vibart, E., Major, 2nd Cavalry.
Vibart, Mrs. and children.
Virgin, J., E. I. Railway.
Virgin, Mrs.

Vincent, T. M., Lieut., H. M.'s 8th Foot.
Viscarde, Mr., E. I. Railway.
Ward, H. J. G., Lieut., 56th N. I.
Wainwright, F., Lieut., H. M.'s 32nd.
Wainwright, Mrs.
Wainwright, Miss.
Wallett, Miss.
Warden, George, E. I. Railway.
Walsh, Mr., ditto.
Walsh, Mrs. and children.
Walsh, D., Riding Master, 2nd Cavalry.
Walsh, Mrs., and children.
Warren, Sergt., Pensioner.
Wade, F. L., Mrs., Sergt, Pensioner.
Walker, A., Mrs., aged 65 years.
Walker, Daniell.
Wells, Coach-Builder.
Wells, Mrs and children.
West, Elizabeth.
Weston, Emma and George.
Wheeler, Major General, Sir Hugh Massey, K. C. B., 1st N. I.
Wheeler, Lady.
Wheeler, two daughters.
Wheeler, G. R., Lieut., 1st N. I., A. D. C., killed in the entrenchment.
Whitings, F., Capt., Engineer, G. C.
White, Isabella, Miss.
Wheelan, Sergeant, D. P. W.
Wheelan, Mrs. and children.
Widlap, Catherine James Thomas.
Wiggins, E., Lieut. Col., 23rd N. I., Deputy J. A. General.
Wiggins, Mrs.
Willer, Mrs.
Williams, Stephen, Col. 56th N. I., died on the 8th June.
Williams, M., Mrs., killed on the 27th June.
Williams, Georgiana, Miss, ditto ditto.
Williams, Mary, Miss, died on the 15th June.
Williams, Fanny, Miss, killed on the 15th July.
Williamson, Mr.
Williamson, Mrs. and child.
Wren, F. S. M., Lieut., 2nd Light Cavalry.
Wrixon, R. B., Mr.
Wrixon, Mrs.
Wrixon, Clara Lucy, Miss.
Wrixon, Edward Bolton, Mr.
Yates, Mrs.

NOTE.—I am indebted for the above list to Mr. Shepherd one of the survivors of the Cawnpore garrison. In it however some trifling corrections have been made from information afforded by the evidence collected.

Names of those who are supposed to have perished outside the Entrenchments.

Auchin, (Chinaman), Shoe-maker.
Carter, Toll Collector, killed at Cawnpore, 10th June 1857.
Carter, Mrs., killed at Bithoor, 18th July, 1857.
D'Gama, J. X., Merchant.
Duncan, John, Supdt. of Roads, killed at Jana Ghat, 12th June, 1857.
Greenway, Thomas.
Greenway, Mrs.
Hallings, Mr., late a Captain, killed at Nujjufghur, 8th June, 1857.
Jacobi, Mrs.
Mackintosh, Charles, Merchant.
Mackintosh, Dorothy Charlotte, Mrs.
Mackintosh, Joshua Alfred, Mr.
Maloney, Pensioner.
Maling, G. W., Mr.
Maling, John, Mr.
Marshall, William, Mrs.
Williams, Edward, Mr., killed at Cawnpore, 11th June.

List of European Soldiers, Women and Children in the Entrenchments.

	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Privates.	Buglers and Drummers.	Women.	Children.	Grand Total.
1st Company, 6th Battn., Arty..	12	12	38	1	...	...	63
1st Madras Fusiliers	1	1	13	...	...	...	15
H. M.'s 32nd Regiment	7	4	78	1	41	53	176
Ditto 84th ditto	3	3	41	...	...	...	47
1st Regiment, N. I.	...	..	...	18	2	4	24
53rd ditto ditto	...	...	...	11	...	...	11
56th ditto ditto	...	...	...	15	6	4	25
	23	20	162	46	49	61	361

Names of those who left Futtehgurh on the 4th June 1857, and are supposed to have perished at Cawnpore on the 12th of that month.

Alexander, Mr.
Brierly, J., Mr., Clerk, Collector's Office.
Brierly, J., Mrs. and three children.
Barnelly, R., Mr., Boat Agent.
Barielly, R., Mrs. and one child.
Brielly, E., Miss.
Brielly, F., Miss.
Billington, J., Mr., Clerk.
Campbell, D. E., Rev.
Campbell, Mrs. and two children.
Cataniá. W., Mr., Inspector of Post Office.
Cataniá, A., Mrs. and one child.
Cawood, C., Mr. Clothing Agency.
Cawood, R. Mrs. and two children.
Elliott, Mr., Supdt. of DulleepSing's Estate.
Elliott, Mrs. and five children
Freeman, J. E., Rev., American Mission.
Freeman, Mrs.
Finlay, Mr., Clothing Agency.
Finlay, Mrs., and child.
Finlay, Miss.
Faulkner, Mr., Pensioner.
Guise, Mr., Indigo Planter.
Guise, Mrs.
Joes, J., Mr., Merchant.
Joes, Mrs.
Joes, Miss.
Johnson, A. O., Rev., American Mission.
Johnson, Mrs.
Joyce, Mr., Merchant
Joyce, Mrs., and four children.
Kew, J. B, Mr., Post Master.
Kew, Maria, Mrs., and two children
Kew, Miss.
McMullen, J., Rev., American Mission.
McMullen, Mrs.
Maclean, Mr., Indigo Planter.
Maclean, Mrs.
Macklin, Mr., Clerk, Collr. Office.
Macklin, Mrs and eight children.
Macdonald, Mrs. and three ditto.
Madden, J. R., Mr., Clothing Agency.
Madden, J., Mrs. and two children
Madden, Eliza, Miss.
Madden, Amelia, Miss.

Monckton, J., Lieut., Engineer.
Monckton, Mrs. and one child.
Palmer, J., Mr., Deputy Collector.
Palmer, Mrs. and nine children.
Ray, R , Miss.
Ray, E., Miss.
Sheils, Mr., School-master.
Sheils, Mrs. and two children.
Shepherd, E., Mrs. and 3 children.
Shepherd, Mary, Miss.
Wareham, Robert Mr.
The Head Tailor of the Clothing Agency (J. J. Kestall) and his wife and three children.
The Head Blacksmith, Gun Carriage Agency, Sergt. Hammond, Mrs. Hammond and four children.

At 2 A. M. of the 4th of July, three boats left Futtehgurh. The one in charge of Colonel G. Smith being disabled, the inmates were distributed in the two remaining boats. Whilst passing Singerampore Major Robertson's boat grounding its occupants were attacked, and all killed or drowned, with the exception of Major Robertson (since deceased) and Messrs. D. Churcher and Jones. All those whose deaths are entered under date, 4th July, at Singerampore were in Major Robertson's boat. The remaining boat reached Bithoor on the 9th of July, the inmates were sent into Cawnpore, and the gentlemen killed on the 10th or 11th, with the exception of Colonels Goldie and Smith and Mr. Thornhill, Judge, who were spared with the ladies and children till the 15th July, when they perished on the massacre of that day. Those whose deaths are entered under date 10th or 15th July at Cawnpore, were in Colonel Smith's boat.

Names of those who left Futtehgurh on the 4th July 1857.

Churcher, D., Mr., Merchant.
Churcher, T. H., Mr., ditto.
Eckford, R., Ensign, 10th N. I.
Eckford, Mrs.
Fisher, F., Rev.
Fisher, Mrs. and child.
Fitzgerald, H., Lieut., 10th N. I.
Fitzgerald, Mrs. and child.
Gibson, Mr., Road Overseer.
Gibson, Mrs. and three children.
Goldie, A. Col. Military Auditor General.
Goldie, Mr.
Goldie, Eliza, Miss.
Goldie, Mary, Miss.
Goldie, Emily, Miss.
Henderson, D. Ensign, 10th N. I.
Heathcote, T. G., Dr.
Heathcote, Mrs.
James, E.. Mr., Opium Department.
James, Mr., Junior, Merchant.
Knowles, Drummer, 10th N. I.
Knowles, Mrs. and three children.
Lowis, R., Mr., Joint Magistrate.
Lowis, Mrs. and two children.
Lang, Nancy, Miss.
Munro, R., Major, 10th N. I.
Maltby, J., Dr., Civil Surgeon.
Maltby, Mrs.
Phillimore, W. T., Capt., 10th N. I.
Phillot, J., Brigade Major, ditto.
Robertson, A., ditto, Artillery.
Robertson, Mrs., and child.
Redman, Sergt. Major, 10th N. I.
Redman, Mrs and two children.
Roach, Mr., Road Overseer.

Roach, Mrs.
Roban, Mr., Carpenter, G.C. Agency.
Roban, Mrs.
Simpson, J., Lieut 10th N. I.
Sutherland, Mr., Merchant.
Sutherland, Mrs.
Sutherland, Miss.
Sutherland, E., Miss.
Sutherland, M., Miss.
Sweetenham, C. W. Lieut, 10th N. I.
Smith, G. A, Colonel, ditto.
Smith, Mrs. and two children.
Thomson, E., Miss.
Thornhill, R. B., Mr.
Thornhill, Mrs. and two children.
Tucker, Mrs. and four children.
Vibart, E. C., Capt., 2nd Cavalry.
Wrixons, W. and R. Musicians, 10th N. I.
Waalgur, Mrs. and three children.

Names of those who left Futtehgurh with the above, but whose fate is uncertain.

Ohern, Mr., Clothing Agency.
Best, Mr.
Best, Mrs, and two children.
Basco, Mr., Pensioner.
Donald, Mr., Senior.
Donald, Mr., Junior.
Jones, Mr., Civil Engineer.
Jennings, Mr.
Jennings, Mrs., and five children.
Low, W, Capt., 10th N. I.
Whish, E. Lieut., ditto.
Reid, Qr. Mr. Sergt., ditto.
Reid, Mrs., and three children.

Names of Individuals who entered the Entrenchments, and ultimately escaped.

Lieut. M. Thomson, 53rd N. I., escaped to Morar Mhow, after the massacre of the 27th June.
Lieut. H. Delafous, ditto ditto.
Private Murphy, H. M's 86th Regt., ditto ditto.
Gunner Sutteron, escaped to do. do.
W. Mendis, Drummer, 1st N. I., taken prisoner on the 15th June and liberated 17th July.
Mr. W. Shepherd, Commissariat Dept., ditto 24th June, ditto.
Emma Horne, ditto ditto 27th June, since liberated.
Eliza Morrison, ditto ditto ditto.
Hannah Spiers, ditto ditto liberated 17th July.
Isabella Spiers, ditto ditto ditto.
Elizabeth Spiers, ditto ditto ditto.
Mrs. Murray, wounded on the 27th June and saved by natives.
Mrs. Eliza Bradshaw, escaped unhurt on the 27th June, ditto.
Amelia Bradshaw, ditto ditto.
Ellen Bradshaw, ditto (deceased 5th June 1858) ditto.
Mrs. Elizabeth Letts, ditto ditto.
Caroline Letts, ditto ditto.
Macbeal Letts, ditto (deceased 27th April 1859) ditto.
Mary Anne Ayah, ditto, and remained secreted in the city.
Khoodabux Jemadar, 56th N. I., taken prisoner on the 27th June and liberated 17th July.
Elaheebux, Sepoy, ditto ditto ditto.
Gobind Sing, ditto, ditto ditto ditto.
Metter Jeet, ditto, ditto ditto ditto.
Sahib Dad Khan, Native Doctor, ditto ditto.
Gous Mahomed, Sepoy, 56th N. I., left the entrenchments on the 23rd June, by order of General Wheeler to gain information, and remained secreted in the city till 17th July.

Residents of Cawnpore who did not enter the Entrenchments and yet escaped.

G. Abel, Pensioner, disguised as, and secreted by natives.
Mrs. Abel, and two children, do. do.
Thomas Buttress, Pensioner, do. do.
Mrs. Buttress, ditto ditto.
Mrs. Margaret Brown, and child, saved by a sepoy, 56th N. I.
Mrs. Ambrose Tarnon, secreted in a village near Cawnpore.
William Forrester, Pensioner, secreted by natives.
Mrs. Charles Greenway, spared on account of her age.
J. Ireland, Pensioner, disguised as, and secreted by natives.
Mrs. Ireland, ditto ditto.
Mr. Stephen Jones, ditto ditto.
Mr. James, ditto. ditto.
Mrs. Isabella Jacobi, ditto ditto.
Eliza Lowther, ditto ditto.
Thomas Maling, ditto ditto.
Margaret Maling, ditto ditto.
Mrs. Macmullen and child, ditto ditto.
Mr. Thomas, Pensioner, ditto ditto.
Mrs. Thomas, ditto ditto.
Mrs. Waterfield and child, ditto ditto.
Mr. E. Williams, secreted in a village near Cawnpore.

Was ever before so heart-rending a catalogue! Since the prophetic scroll was unfolded, written inside and out with "mourning and lamentation and woe," a chronicle so ghastly the world has not known. The lists of gallant lives breathed out on the battle field, fill the eyes of a nation with tears and its heart with grief. But that sorrow is assuaged by the thought that the soldier slain in war pays the life he owes to his country, and his death is crowned with glory. If there are tears for his loss, there is joy for his gain. The men that are wept for, met their fate at the hands of men, and died as the men they were. Above all, in the sad array of names are not to be found those of weak women and innocent children. But in this long and sickening roll, fathers and daughters, husbands and wives, brothers, and sisters, men, maidens and children, mothers and their infants, the infirm and helpless, as well as the young and strong, are piled together; neither was it in fair and honorable fight that these ill-fated people lost their lives, but by the brutal hands of perfidious and cowardly assassins. Grief here yields to indignation, and the thirst for revenge; yet adequate retribution can never be inflicted. The punishment of the crime is beyond the power of man. The perpetrators may be swept from the face of the earth which their existence defiles, but what compensation is the forfeit of their noxious lives for the tortures they inflicted on the dead, or the anguish which they have made the heritage of the living?

Hansi, Hissar and Sirsa.

[*The following resumé of events which occurred at Hansi, Hissar and Sirsa in 1857, when the Hurreeanah light infantry and a portion of the 4th irregular cavalry mutinied, is now published with a view to supply the imperfections of what has already appeared regarding this outbreak.*]

Up to the very last moment the men of the battalion never evinced the slightest sign of disaffection. They were paid by

me on the morning of the 29th May, when they were as respectful as ever. Many rumours had certainly reached Lieut. Hilliard, commanding the detachment at Sirsa, affecting the loyalty of his men, and although that officer at first discredited these reports, he was at last convinced that they were well founded. Subsequently, however, he had reason to believe that the men had given up the intention of mutinying, and on or about the 17th May he wrote to me, that the sepoys had volunteered to march against the mutineers. On this being mentioned to the native officers and many others on the parade ground at Hansi, they observed that they never thought of offering their services as they imagined. I was well aware that they were ready at any time to perform whatever might be required of them.

Sepoys Sunker Tewarry, Sewlall Sookull and Sadoolall Tewarry had been *privately* reported to me as having used mutinous language, which had been checked by a non-commissioned officer. It was necessary under existing circumstances to act very cautiously; an eye was kept on these men, and it was hoped that a time would have come when they might have been openly dealt with. These three men were well-known bad characters, but as they were not aware of being suspected, silence was deemed the best policy. For several days previous to the mutiny, some fanatics dressed in green, had been seen in the city of Hansi, endeavouring to excite the Mahomedan population; but the tehsildar who was spoken to on the subject, made light of the matter. On the morning of the 28th this native official informed me that Subadar Shaik Imam Buksh, who had been lately invalided, had been heard to use such expressions as clearly showed that he was not well affected towards the Government, and that he was known to have remarked to the sepoys, that it was a case of "now or never." The tehsildar also observed that it was reported that on that very afternoon the native officers would repair to my quarters, and tell me that I was to occupy the fort (with the men it was presumed,) or else, to use a vulgar phrase, make myself scarce. The afternoon came, but no native officers made their appearance. In the evening Ahmed Nubbee Khan, who had merely made his report from hearsay, seemed to think that his information was false.

When at breakfast on the 29th, I was told that a sepoy was very anxious to speak to me—I immediately went out—Goolab Tewarry was the sepoy—strange to say, this man had been frequently passed over in promotion. He declared that the Mewatees of the corps were intent upon mischief, and advised my guard being at once increased, and none but Poorbeeas being placed on it.

This was obviously impracticable and in fact useless. A few minutes afterwards a havildar named Poordil Khan,* accompanied by a mahajun came to my house, and gave information of an intended row in the city. The mahajun urged what Goolab Tewarry had done before, but the havildar observed that there was nothing to fear, as if any sepoys at all joined, it would only be a few.

I considered it advisable, in case of a disturbance occurring in the town, and to prevent the city people coming into cantonments, to place guards at the different bridges, and in order to make the requisite arrangements the havidlar major was sent for. He was, he declared, then on his way to my bungalow, with his brother. These two men Sewsunker Sookul and Gowrie Sunker Sookul (the latter jemadar) seemed very much affected, and swore that it was "all up." That the men would certainly mutiny between twelve and one o'clock (it was then past eleven) and implored me to fly without any delay. They said that there was nothing to be feared from the Poorbeeas who would remain staunch—were they not too few in number to resist the Mewatees, Ranghurs, &c. They promised to come again or write if they possibly could without exciting suspicion, and took their departure. They were never seen again; but to these two men those who escaped from Hansie owe their lives.

No time was now to be lost; intimation was given to the European residents of the impending danger, and in a few minutes a number of persons were on their way to Hissar by the new road, the old one being avoided on account of the customs' chuprassies posted along it. Dr Scott, Messrs. Tapsell and Rich remained behind with me to watch the course of events.

We were standing near my guard and orderlies; no allusion was made to the sepoys but fears were expressed of a disturbance in the city taking place; but all the sepoys present laughed at the idea of anything of the kind being likely to happen. It should have been mentioned that Serjeants Murphy and Malone had, after they had been warned, returned to the lines, to bring away Mrs. Malone and her children. Although only a few minutes could have elapsed since the Sergeants had left their bungalows they found that the whole regiment had turned out, and that it was drawn up in quarter distance column near the magazine. Several volleys were fired at the Sergeants, who immediately fled. Malone rushed into my compound, and reported what had occurred.

* Now a Subadar in the 23rd Punjaub Infantry.

All now mounted, and proceeded towards the irregular cavalry magazine from whence the sepoys were seen running here and there. After the warning given me that I should certainly be shot if I came near the lines, it was thought rank folly to attempt to *reason* with the men; as for *coercing* them no means whatever of doing so existed. It may be mentioned *en pessant*, that on two occasions, alarms (false) were given, and that the men turned out with the greatest alacrity. It was now about twelve o'clock, in a very short time, several houses were on fire. It was evident that the Hissar detachment would also mutiny, if it had not already done so, and it was necessary to stop the fugitives in advance. They were overtaken about ten miles off, where there is a canal-bridge which was crossed and a northerly direction taken. The party consisted of Capt. Stafford, wife and child; Dr. Scott; Mr. Tapsell, collector of customs; Mr. Rich, patrol; Mr. Blewett, ditto and wife; Mr. Wren, assistant patrol, wife and three children; Mr, Herdon, ditto ditto; Mr. Hickie, asst. patrol; Mr. Ives; ditto; Mr. Tapsell, clerk; Quarter-Master-Sergeant Malone; Mrs. and Miss Tapsell; Mrs. Brown and two children; Mrs. Mackey and two children; and a child of Mr. Daniell's.

Mr. A. Skinner and Serjeant-Major Murphy were seen about three miles, and Mr. J. Paul, wife and six children about seven miles, on the Hissar road. The following are supposed not to have left the cantonments, viz.: Mrs. Milne and two children; Mrs. Malone and two children; Sub-Conductor Fitzpatrick, canal department, wife and four children.

We travelled all day and all night, with the exception of a couple of hours, and arrived at Khurruck in the Jheend Rajah's territory, a little after sun-rise, on the 30th.

At a village called Mirzapore, the first one we came to after crossing the canal on the 29th, the inhabitants were very anxious for us to remain, protection being offered, but this was not accepted, especially as Hissar was seen in a blaze. A forward movement was agreed upon. After proceeding a couple of miles we heard shooting in the direction of Mirzapore, we soon discovered that we were followed by the villagers, who were no doubt desirous of robbing us of the little we had. There were three or four sowars amongst them. We had several double-barrelled guns and muskets, and we kept the cowards at a respectful distance. Mr. Daniell, Patrol of Hissar, had just joined us. From him we learnt that the collector's cutcherry had been attacked by some sowars, and that Mr. Wedderburn was supposed to have been killed. Mr. Daniell started on horseback with the intention of going to Hansie, but when he reached Sartroy, (where we

had crossed the canal,) he became aware that the men there had also mutinied. He was pursued by four sowars, whom he kept off by being armed with a double-barrelled gun; hearing what direction we had taken, he followed and overtook us, as I mentioned before.

When the sowars above alluded to discovered that there was little hope of their being able to plunder our party, they pretended to be our friends, and after some talk they consented to accompany us as far as Jheend, provided we gave them Rs. 150. Only three men came, one of them declared he belonged to the 9th irregular cavalry, but this was false, he was a discharged sowar. At Khurruck we were hospitably treated. We started for Jheend at sun-set, and reached that place the next morning, having had several false alarms on the road. An hour or so after our arrival Mr. Hallett from Hissar made his appearance. He had travelled nearly the whole distance on foot. He had with difficulty effected his escape, by concealing himself until dark in some grass, close to the supervisor's garden wall. He supposed every body to have been killed; however Dr. Waghorn and Serjeant Sheilds reached Kurnal in safety, and Mr. Taylor has also been heard of, but I much fear the under-mentioned must have been murdered, viz.: Mr. Wedderburn, collector, wife and child; Lieut. Barwell and wife; Mrs. Hallett; Mr. Jefferies, clerk, and wife, (Mr. Jefferies escaped); Mr. Smith, clerk, wife and several children, (Mr. Smith escaped): Mr. Thompson, tehsildar.

On the 2nd June we were at Safeedon, and on the 3rd at Panceput, where we joined Brigadier Graves' brigade, which we accompanied as far as Allipore. The general did not approve of so many of the fair sex being in his camp, and the Hansi refugees were directed to proceed to Meerut, as a favorable opportunity presented itself, the 4th lancers being in orders to march to that station. With the exception of myself they one and all declined to obey. Dr. Scott had an appointment with the army.

The news of the outbreaks at Hansi and Hissar was conveyed to Sirsa by a shooter sowar, who arrived there at 4 A. M. on the 30th May. All the Europeans escaped with the exception of Lieut. Hilliard and Mr. Fell. It appears that Lieut. Hilliard had left Sirsa that very morning at 10 o'clock with some infantry and cavalry on his way to Futtehabad, to quell some disturbance. At Jodka information was received of the events which had occurred at Hansi and Hissar. Messrs. Hilliard and Fell were made prisoners of and brought back to Sirsa. After a few hours they were provided each

with Rs. 150, and told to depart. They got as far as Odah, where they were attacked by some custom's peons, and compelled to return to Sohoowalla, where they lay concealed for a couple of days or so. They were entreated by the tehsildar Joseph Francis not to stir, but being very anxious to join their families, they set off, and were murdered by the Bhuttees about a mile from Sohoowalla, where their bodies were found by Captain Robertson a fortnight afterwards.

At Hansi Mrs. Milne and two children were killed in the Secunder Bagh (Skinner's garden,) on the 30th May, and also all the persons I have named as not having left the cantonments, excepting Mrs. Fitzpatrick and one of her daughters, who have been concealed by some villagers near Hansi. Mr. Paul and family were murdered near Sartroy, ten miles from Hansi. Mr. A. Skinner was captured, but saved his life by promising to pay a large sum; he subsequently escaped to Bikaneer. Serjeant-Major Murphy, who was with him for a time, was killed in a village near Hissar. Mrs. Wedderburn and child, Lieut Barwell and wife, and Mrs. Hallett took refuge on the top of Mr. Taylor's house, they were discovered, brought down to the native officer of the guard, spared by him, but afterwards murdered in a bath-room by a chuprassee.

W. J. FITZMAURICE STAFFORD, *Captain,*
Late Commandant, Hurreeanah Light Infantry.

Meerut, July, 1857.

The 4th irregular cavalry marched from Hansi on the 20th May, and had *not* left when *a* stack of grass in Lieut. Barwell's compound was fired. The men of the Hurreeanah light infantry *endeavoured* to put out the fire, but the grass was consumed. The treasury at Rhotuck was plundered by sepoys from Delhi. The mutiny at Hansi occurred on the 29th of *May.* These remarks are made with reference to the account of the outbreak at Hansi, given at page 295 of the ANNALS OF THE INDIAN REBELLION.

W. J. FITZMAURICE STAFFORD, *Captain,*
Commanding 11*th Punjaub Infantry.*

Mean Meer, 29*th December,* 1859.

BHUTTY TERRITORY, SIRSA.

Dr. P. A. Minas's Narrative.

On the 29th May 1857, about 4,000 *budmashes* collected at a neighbouring village, for plundering Futteeabad. It was

considered advisable by Capt. R. Robertson, superintendent of Bhutteeana, that a small military force should be sent out for the protection of the same; and under the command of Lieut. T. H. Hilliard, a company of the Hurrianah light infantry battalion and fifty sowars belonging to the detachment of the 4th irregular cavalry were accordingly sent out. They marched at 1 A. M. of the 30th May. At about 5 A. M. of the same day two letters were brought, one for the subadar of H. L. infantry battalion, the other for the ressildar of the 4th irregular cavalry, by two camel sowars from Hissar, containing information of the massacre, by the native infantry regiments and Jhujjer troopers, of all the European inhabitants of Hansi and Hissar, and urging these men at Sirsa to adopt the same course. The treasurer of Sirsa—Futteh Chand, *khazanche*—immediately afterwards was confirmed of the dreadful news by a *cossid* from his brother at Hissar.

As soon as the above intelligence was received, all the ladies of the station were sent out in great haste to Sahoowalla, a village about ten miles off, the gentlemen remained behind, anxiously watching the course of events. When however the infantry Pandys had taken possession of the treasury, the troopers were preparing for an attack—although it was until then believed, that the greater portion of the latter with the native officers were "staunch to the back bone,"—and a large body of the custom's peons, who were brought in by the collector of customs, for the protection of the town, refused to open the gates. By 9 A. M. the gentleman considered it prudent to fly for safety, and this was effected by leaping over a ditch which was more than half full of water, the only safe outlet, and they afterwards joined the members of their families who were anxiously and impatiently waiting for them. Captain Robertson and family wended their way towards Fazilka, but after going about forty miles, found it necessary to turn to Bhuttinda, and after a great deal of trouble reached Ferozepore safe.

When the rest of the party were preparing themselves to go towards Dhoodal in the Putteealah territory, information was received that a detachment of cavalry had left Sirsa, in pursuit of the Europeans in different directions; and that the custom's peons were plundering the town. The men of the police battalion—or jail guards—joined them, after setting the prisoners free. Without the loss of a moment the following left Sohoowalla:

Mrs. T. H. Hilliard with three children, a baby only a week old.

Mr. and Mrs. Wrottesley.

Mr. and Mrs. A. J. S. Donald, a baby and three Misses Donald.

Mr. and Mrs. P. A. Minas, and a baby.

Mr. T. W. Moore.

Mr. W. H. Bowles, old Mrs. Bowles, and two Misses Bowles.

At Goodha, a village in Bernwallee in Bhutteeana, Mrs. Bowles's property, which was in a cart, was left a little behind, and the villagers plundered it most daringly. On reaching another village at about 2 A. M., the villagers came out yelling and screaming, they followed us for upwards of two miles, but retired when a few random shots were fired at them. At 3½ A. M. of the 31st May, the party reached a village called Roree, where at *first* the lumbardars, police establishments and other villagers gave every assurance of safety, but as the day began to advance, they began to change their tone very rapidly. By 3 P. M. preparations were being made by them for attacking us. At 5 P. M. these horrible scoundrels surrounded us on every side; they were armed mostly with very long spears, gandasses, &c. Fortunately the place we were in was an old mud-built fort, with high loop-holed walls and large bastions. They were unable to use their matchlocks, for on suspecting their motives from the first, we purchased all the gunpowder from a bunneeah of that village, and supplied ourselves with provisions to last for a fortnight, and sent a letter to the Rajah of Putteealah's vakeel in the fort of Dhoodal.

It is curious to remark that seeing the determination of the villagers, the whole of the police establishment deserted us, except Bejoo Sing, the thanadar, with whom four or five persons remained faithful, and who by his courage, watchfulness, and activity, kept the whole mob at a distance. To his vigilance and adherance we owe our escape from this place. On the 2nd June, at about 2 P. M. we were safely escorted by one hundred horsemen sent by the Putteeala Raja's vakeel, to Dhoodal. Here we halted for a couple of days to recover from our fatigue, and then resumed our march. Whilst we were very quietly approaching a village in the Putteealah territory called Nuggul, the villagers taking us for plunderers, were alarmed, and each ran out of his mud hole yelling, shouting and beating tom-toms, but they were convinced of their error by a few horsemen of our escort galloping towards them, when they returned home quietly.

At Sanaum we remained for two days and got a suit of clothes made for each of us. It is an old city with filthy narrow crooked lanes. More than half of the *pucka* houses

are in a dilapidated state; facing the city is a nice large sandy plain, which in the rainy season is converted into a large *jheel.* Owing to the supply of water, there is always an abundant growth of vegetables and fruits. Here we saw Mr. Lefevre, customs patrol, of Oodha of Sirsa line. Fortunately for us we left this place at 1 A. M., for at 6 A. M. the Jullunder mutineers arrived, and began to make searching enquiries regarding *Fereenghees* or *Kafirs.* Being disappointed in their search, they went away, but returned back after proceeding a mile and a half, hoping that their second search would perhaps be more successful.

On the 10th June we all safely reached Putteealah, where, thanks to the kindness of the Maha Rajah, we were allowed to put up in that spacious garden, built by his father, called *Bara-Dwaree.* He treated us most sumptuously and generously; his reception of us was friendly; and his manner, when he visisted us, was extremely courteous. A friend at such a critical time, not only to us, but to every Christian, and to Government in particular, is deserving of grateful acknowledgment from the British Sovereign and Public. For about a fortnight we enjoyed the hospitality and protection of the Maha Rajah. All the ladies were sent from hence to Kussowlie, and the gentlemen returned to Sirsa on the morning of the 30th June.

The district villagers created unheard-of mischief; after plundering the houses of the European residents, they ransacked the town of Sirsa, and ultimately commenced fighting amongst themselves. For about seventeen days groups of villagers, Bhuttees, visited this and carried off cart loads of plundered property, not a single fold of a door, posts, &c., was left untouched; the roofs of the houses from some chance remained untouched, but the fortified cutcherry building was subjected to conflagration by the scoundrelly custom's burkundauzes, who were collected there.

On our return, no trace of any living being was to be seen at Sirsa, its city deserted, and homes tenantless. The compounds of our houses were spangled with the relics of broken glasses and plates, the remains of our fractured house-gear, and within the houses nothing remained save bare walls.

The detachment that went from Sirsa only reached a village called Jodka by 8 A. M., Lieut. Hilliard went to pass the day with Mr. J. Goulding, custom's patrol of that post, where Mr J. W. A. Fell, assistant patrol of Durbee—brother-in-law of Hilliard, joined them. The Subadar Runjeet Sing, on hearing that disturbances had already commenced at Sirsa, desired Lieut. Hilliard to march back with the detachment and Mr.

Fell also accompanied. These two gentlemen were treated very respectfully the whole day; in the evening the subadar presented to each Rs. 150, and desired them to go wherever they wished. They naturally concluded they would find their families at Saboowallah, galloped towards that village, but being late, they enquired the direction we had gone to, and where they intended to follow, but a demon son of a lumberdar of Chuttereeah persuaded them to pass by his village, where they were cruelly murdered by the infamous mob collected there.

General Van Cortlandt's force proceeded from Ferozepore, to quell this district, without meeting with any hinderance, until they arrived at Oodha, where the Bhuttees under their scoundrelly leader the Nawab of Ranneeah, a Government pensioner, who had collected three or four thousand men, with a determination to make a strong resistance, but they were routed with about 530 killed; the loss in the General's small force was one killed and one wounded. Again, about seven miles from Sirsa, in the village Khyrika, on the left bank of the canal called Ghugger, the Bhuttees were a second time defeated. The Dogras—Rajah Jowahir Sing's infantry—created an unheard of havoc, killing 300 of the enemy; the Dogra regiment had nine killed and twenty-seven wounded. Thus completely failing in all their attempts, the Bhuttees became entirely submissive.

On the 8th of July, General Van Cortlandt's field force left this and reached Hissar on the 17th, and afterwards proceeded to Hansie, where in the strong fort, he posted himself, and secured provisions for a few months, in case of emergency. The district of Bhutteeana was left in charge of Mr. J. H. Oliver, as officiating superintendent, who by undaunted courage, persevering zeal, and unparallelled activity, preserved his own district, and by striking deeply into the very core of rebellion, uprooted the evil, and in its stead restored peace and tranquillity, at a time when the flame of mutiny was spreading in the neighbouring districts. By such stringent measures, the plundered property began to be restored, revenue came in fast, and the custom's line laid down. Messrs. Goulding, Lefevre and Bowles, patroling officers of the customs, were the first to return and resume their respective duties, Mr. Goulding also officiating for the Collector.

Mahomed Azeem, assistant patrol of Bhuttoo, in the Hurrianah customs, taking advantage, like others of the same creed, of these disturbances, and assuming the dignity of a *Shazada*, went with a body of the custom's establishment to Delhi, and returned from the king, with a further reinforcement of the Ramghur mob and three six-pounder guns. As his wife was

being, by General Van Cortlandt's order, conveyed from Hissar to Hansie, Azeem collected his men and made a desperate attempt to recover her, but was obliged to fly from Hissar with a loss of 300 killed. The loss on our side was fifteen killed and wounded. On this occasion Capt. Mildmay, Lieuts. Hunt and Boileau headed the successful attack.

Sirsa, 11th August.—Tranquility prevails in this district; almost all the revenue has been collected; the villagers very prudently are now toiling with their ploughs; the thanadars report all the deserted villages are being settled; plundering and marauding are now entirely forgotten, and cultivation is industriously and eagerly attended to. The plunderers and plundered villagers are also settling amongst themselves about the restoration of property. As far as the property of the Europeans are concerned none is forthcoming. Some of the leading scoundrels of the outbreak have been hung, which has produced the most wonderful effect. Such confidence, within so short a time has been restored, that the timid bunniahs with their families, and the peasants that have been plundered, are now settling down in the city, and the court, where formerly few men were seen scattered, is now densely crowded.

Mr. Oliver besides attending to his onerous duties, is now engaged in organising a new levy of sowars and foot soldiers. The fortified cutchery of this place is being strengthened, a lunette opposite the gate has been thrown up, and a small temporary well has been excavated inside the ditch to the rear of the fortification, so covered up by masonry, as not to be perceptible from outside; a narrow way from inside through the scarp to the well has also been made up. Mr. Oliver, I may also mention, preserved his own district of Wuttoo, a sub-division of Bhutteeana, by indefatigable courage, from the boiling surf of insurrection and mutiny, which raged so fearfully in the contiguous villages and districts. When he was appointed to officiate here during the memorable months of July and August, he weilded his sceptre of discretion *fortitudine et prudentia*, that re-organization was established and tranquillity restored. The germ thus planted by him he alone knew how to nurture, and thus enabled us and Government to reap the harvest of peace, security and serenity. For further protection of this district we have about twelve or fifteen hundred of the Nawab of Bhagulpore's troops, with six brass guns; about 200 Putteealah Rajah's sowars, 100 Bhutteeana infantry and Sikh police infantry, and 100 Bhutteeana mounted police levies, besides three guns mounted on the bastions of the fortified cutchery, and one brass light field gun of small calibre.

A few days afterwards, the village of Buttowl in the Hurrianah district became obstreperous, and was subdued by General Van Cortlandt's force with thirty killed, and only one killed and nine wounded on our side. The village of Mungallah next became troublesome, Mahomed Azeem's force being augmented by more Ramghur villagers, and troops that had fled from Delhi having joined, besides some of the 10th light cavalry men then lately mutinied and fled from Ferozepore, and a number of Jhujjer sowars; whilst these bodies were concentrating General Van Cortlandt ordered a portion of his brigade to move at 11 P. M. of the 10th September; the whole was placed under the command of Capt. G. G. Pearse, a brave and dashing officer; Lieut. A. Hamilton, a second in command in charge of the cavalry; Lieut. Hunt in command of the 23rd Punjaub infantry; four guns under Sergeant Major Jackson, Messrs. Tapsell, Jr. and Nunn, volunteers. The village was taken and burnt after half an hour's desperate fighting; 400 mutineers were cut down; the rest fled and was pursued for upwards of three miles. Our loss was only one killed and sixteen wounded, two mortally. Dr. Lamb received a slight wound behind the right ear. Dr. Minas having that day reached Hissar, and the force after fight returned to the same place, the sick men were immediately placed under his charge. When Dr. Lamb was obliged to go away, Dr. Minas was placed in medical charge of the whole of General Van Cortlandt's Hurrianah field force.

In these five actions, the total loss of the enemy in killed was 1,560, ours in killed and wounded only seventy-eight.

On the 26th September, Dr. A. P. Tomkyns, joined the field force at Medina, when the medical duties were equally divided between him and Dr. Minas.

At Jamulpore the mutineers re-assembled, stood in a line, fired four round shots towards the General's battery and then fled. It is surprising how their three guns were carried off, when they were put to such a flight. The village was quite empty.

The General pushed onwards and reached Rohtuc on the 26th September, having nearly settled this district, when he was relieved by Mr. Campbell. The officers connected with the Hurrianah field force were as follows:—

Captain G. G. Pearse, with Lieut. Hamilton, second in command, commanded the mounted police, the Tohannah, Essakhellee, Putteealah and Bikaneer ressallahs.

Lieut. Sadler, in command of the Dograh infantry.

Captain Bloomfield, with Lieut. Hunt, as second in command, commanded the 23rd Punjab infantry.

Lieut. Walcott, in charge of the artillery.
Captain W. J. Stafford, Major of brigade.
Dr. P. A. Minas, in charge of the 23rd regiment, Punjab infantry, sappers and miners, Tolvannah and Kussoorea ressallas. Dr. A. P. Tomkyns, in charge of artillery, Dogra infantry, mounted police and Essakhellee ressallas. The field force returned to Hansie, and every one was thinking the marching day was over, but to their great surprise on the 13th October, the following under command of Captain W. Stafford were ordered to march to join Captain R. Lawrence's irregular force at Bhewannee: 450 sabres of Pearse's horse, 23rd Punjab infantry, 300 Putteealah irregulars, and four guns of Walcott's battery. Dr. Minas in medical charge. The irregular force of Captain Lawrence consisted of 100 Punjab mounted police, three regiments and three guns of the Jummoo contingent. From Bhewannee these forces marched on the 16th October to Dadree, and were incorporated with brigadier Shower's moveable column, consisting of a detachment of 2nd European fusiliers, Kumaor battalion of Ghoorkas, Coke's Punjab rifles, two eighteen-pounder guns, and two mortars, Scott's battery, two company's of Muzahee Seikh sappers, a wing of 6th dragoon guards, Hodson's horse, and Guide's cavalry.

Dadree is a nice flourishing town. The Nawab yielded himself most submissively. The political officers, Mr. W. Ford, c. s., of Goorgaon, and Sir Theobold Metcalfe took charge of him. Two guns were removed from an old fort.

The next day 17th, after twelve hours' march, we found ourselves on the parade ground of Jhujjer. To cut down from flying from this place any fugitive mutineers from Delhi, and the rebel army of Jhujjer, Guide's cavalry, and 120 of Pearse's horse made a circuitous march by Nahur. They of course had a very busy morning, as those who were sought for, took that very road. 600 of the enemy were cut up; they consisted of magazine classies, fugitive Pandies of infantry, sappers, light cavalry and Jhujjer sowars. The loot with them was found to consist of English ladies' articles of dress, ornaments, &c. In this pursuit only six or seven on our side were wounded.

When within one march of Jhujjer the nawab met the brigadier as an humble suppliant of the government; a large number of his horses, 3,000 stand of arms, twenty-three guns of heavy and light calibre, elephants, and some treasure fell in the possession of the brigadier.

Both these Nawabs—of Dadree and Jhujjer—under a strong escort and in charge of Sir T. Metcalfe, were sent to Delhi for trial. According to their own statements, they themselves were

perfectly in a fix or impotent, yet their men and their money were brought into operation against us.

A twenty-one mile long, sandy and tiring march, followed by eighteen miles the next night, and the column reached Kanoude, the country being cleared by the cavalry going ahead. When arrived at Kanoude they found the troops located within the wall of the fort dispersing, and the gate was opened by a few of them; thirty or forty of them were pursued and disposed of by Hodson's horse, and the Carabineers took possession of the fort. The brigadier marched into it on the morning of the 20th October. Thus without the slightest molestation the fort of Kanoude, one of the strongest, best planned, and best kept forts in India, fell into our hands, with twenty-one guns, two of them twenty-four pounders with the Government stamp on them, one eight-inch mortar, large piles of twenty-six pounder shots, innumerable ten-inch shells of English manufacture, a large quantity of ammunition grain and supply of all sorts for a long siege, and what was best of all seven lacs and some odd thousand rupees.

The fort is particularly strong and beautifully constructed, it is as it were, five forts—wall within wall—with massive gates to each wall, three large ditches all round, each about eighty feet deep and fifty wide, having nearly perpendicular banks outside. Were the outer wall once gained, it would be found that an entrance to the first couting only has been gained, and so through all, each partition is defended very strongly. All the apparatus was laying about showing their recent use, and the walls of the fort were still wet with fresh repairs. This was the strong hold of the Nabob of Jhujjer who gave himself up a prisoner. The right wing of the 23rd Punjab infantry, under Lieut. J. V. Hunt, 120 sabres of Tohannah horse, under Lieut. A. R. Hamilton, formed the garrison, Captain Tozer in command of the fort, and Dr. Minas in medical charge. As political agent in charge of the whole district, Lieut. Col. R. Lawrence remained at Jhujjer. Mr. W. Ford with an escort of Pearse's horse, and a detachment of the Kumaon battalion, conveyed the treasury to Goorgaon, and Brigadier Shower's moveable column left Kanoude, and proceeded towards Delhie viâ Rewarree on the 24th October. Abdool Summund Khan, father-in-law of the Nawab of Jhujjer; Tooleeram, a petty chief of Rewarree; Mahomed Azeem, a pigmy assistant patrol of Bhuttoo, and the Kutwal of Meerut —as some suppose—are the brutes that served as a nucleus to the mutiny of these districts. These hell-hounds with their few followers fled a day before on hearing of our approach to the Kanoude fort—to the villages of Singhanah and

Kettree in the Jyepoor district, where the Jodhpore legion joined them. Besides, having collected as many followers as they could persuade, and being strengthened with five guns, they became sure of a victory. As the last link of hope still breathed into their wild and murderous imagination hopes of success, they began to march, continually seeking aid from every Thakoor that came in their way, but as must now be expected, I believe with one or two exceptions, repulsed with disdain and insult. Nimbly and cautiously they wended their course, and reached Narnoul, a village ten miles south of Kanoude, on the 8th November. They first entered the tehseel, which is a square *pucka* building, capable of holding a couple thousand of men: the surrounding wall is strong and loop-holed. Narnoul is a very large and ancient city, famous for its limestone which rivals marble in appearance; and for the cultivation and export of henna. Two 12-pounder guns were there, but Captain Tozer had sent for them with all the ammunition, long ere the arrival of the enemy there. Summund Khan on taking possession of this place sent for the post office moonshee, imprisoned him, took the bag containing dâk letters, tore them all up, and by beat of tom-tom proclaimed himself master and owner of the place.

Captain Broomfield reached fort Kanoude on the 28th October, with the left wing of the 23rd Punjaub infantry, and relieved Captain Tozer who returned to Ferozepore. On the morning of the 7th November, Lieut. Col. Lawrence accompanied by Dr. Corbyn and Lieut. D. Mocatta, visited Kanoude fort, to put it in a state of defence, and returned back to Jhujjer the following evening. On the 8th Captain Pearse with his Essakhelly ressallah; and on the 11th Captain Stafford with 300 Putteealah infantry; and Lieut. Walcott with his four horse artillery guns, arrived to strengthen the fort.

Captain Pearse with his usual activity, having acquired all the information requisite to guide him, visited the city, selected three good positions, where he posted a number of sepoys quite sufficient for its protection from any sudden attacks. The Thakoors from Jodhpore and Jyepore with their men numbering upwards of four thousand and ten guns, also arrived within ten miles of this fort, to aid us in inflicting condign punishment on the rebels.

The rebels and mutineers at Narnoul strengthened their position by placing three guns on two roads leading into their camp. Their rebel-chief, Summund Khan, on hearing of the march of the column from Delhi, became greatly confused, and was for a long time undecided whether to resist and fight desperately, or fly. The moveable column from Delhi reached Kanoude on the 15th November 1857, under the command

of Lieut. Col. Gerard, C. B., consisting of the 1st European fusiliers; detachment of six dragoon guards; Guides' European horse artillery, and three heavy guns; detachment of the 7th Punjaub infantry; and one company of Guide's infantry.

Being incorporated with the detachment of the Hurrianah field force, under the command of Captain W. J. F. Stafford; and also with the detachment of Mr. Campbell's irregular field force, under Lieut. Lind, moved towards Narnoul. At 1 A. M. of the following day, they arrived within sight of the mutineers' guns and cavalry, who were drawn up on a beautiful plain all ready for us. The day previous they had been reinforced by some three thousand men of all arms, and were thus in great feather, and counted doubtless on our being astonished at their superior strength. The ground over which we had marched was very heavy and sandy, so that we were greatly fatigued.

Our gallant and much lamented chief, Col. G. Gerard, soon formed his force up in battle array. The right wing was placed under the command of Captain Caulfield, and the left of Captain Stafford, the column formed thus:—On the extreme right the 6th dragoon guards; (Carabineers) Guide's horse artillery; 1st European fusiliers; heavy guns; 23rd Punjaub infantry; Walcott's battery; 7th Punjaub infantry; Pearse's cavalry; Putteeallah infantry; Lind's Mooltannee cavalry, and Zumbooraks.

From about a quarter of a mile beyond the village of Nusseerpoor the enemy advanced within 600 yards and fired four round shots. Our force moved at deploying distance. Our artillery then advanced to the front and opened fire, thus allowed our force to deploy into line, and kept the enemy's cavalry in check, who were brandishing their swords in great fury, and moved to their left to turn our right flank. Our guns limbered up, the line advanced, and ere the enemy had time to send the second round of grape into us, away galloped the noble 6th carabineers, with the gallant guide cavalry, under their commander Captain Kenedy; they charged through the Pandy horse with three cheers, cut down the gunners, took two guns, returned and formed up behind the artillery.

The enemy's line after this broke up immediately, and they fled in great confusion towards the *pucka serai* and their camp. Our force after securing the two nine-pounder guns, continued to advance, until the dry bed of a river was reached, over which the guns could not be moved, particularly the three heavy ones. After some difficulty the horse artillery got near a small mosque, while Walcott's battery, a little in advance of their right, near an elevated watercourse got a good position. Both troop and battery enfiladed the whole

of the enemy's camp, and cut off all communications between their camp and the serai. Our artillery now soon silenced the enemy's remaining guns, when the infantry were ordered to drive them out. The 23rd Punjaub infantry, Putteealah infantry, headed by a company of European fusiliers, led gallantly by Captain Stafford, moved to the right, took the enemy in flank, and soon made him relinquish his position. Two guns were here secured, one was disabled, the other left unspiked.

The enemy gained a temporary advantage in consequence of a mistake that unavoidably occurred, came back to camp and did some mischief with the unspiked guns. The Jodhpore and Jyepore Rajah's (our allies) force congregated at a short distance from us, but a rumour got about that an enemy in great strength was threatening our right flank, our infantry therefore had to leave the enemy's camp and the unspiked gun to protect our right. Now two guns of Walcott's battery were turned towards the enemy, and the infantry a second time took the enemy in flank, and drove them at the point of the bayonet. The battle however is not won, although it was nearly evening. A three pounder-gun being hid behind some huts opposite the *serai* gate was blazing away at random, and Pandies endeavouring to stand were firing muskets at Walcott's battery guns from the top of the serai, but both jointly failed to do any mischief. The infantry once more were called to dislodge the Pandies contained within, whilst two guns of Captain Cookworthy's troop, with the squadron of the carabineers moved round the right rear of the gun, guarding the serai. A few round shots were fired to prepare the Pandies to take to their heels, but the gallant 1st Bengal European fusiliers advanced in line without firing a shot, and captured this stronghold at the point of the bayonet, and with a cheer and a charge found themselves safely landed in the centre of it.

The Hurrianah detachment and Mooltanee horse bivouacked in the enemy's encampment; the 1st European fusiliers in the serai. The carabineers and guide cavalry pursued for three miles, and cut up a number of flying Pandies. Thus terminated the vain and mad project of the rebels, and mutineer Jodhpore legion. Their scoundrelly leader Abdool Summund Khan disappeared at a time when his fanatical followers were fighting and dying for his cause.

The brave Colonel Gerard was ten paces in advance of his men to take the serai, when he was shot by a rebel not fifteen yards from him, hid behind a bush in a ditch. The ball passed through the bridle wrist and stomach. The mortal career of the best of commanders terminated within three hours after

he received the fatal bullet. The command of the column then devolved on Capt. Caulfield.

Three more guns were in the evening discovered in the enemy's camp; if time had allowed, they would have been mounted, as carriages for them were nearly completed. The loss of the enemy by a rough computation was upwards of 500. Ours, killed and wounded, notwithstanding the well contested fight, was about eighty.

Besides Colonel Gerard killed, which served to damp the splendid triumph of the day, five other officers were wounded, viz. Lieut. Humphries, engineers; Capt. G. G. Pearse, Hurrianah cavalry; Capt. Kenedy, guide cavalry; Capt. Craigie, guide infantry; 1st Lieut. A. Wallace, 1st E. B. fusiliers. The 1st fusiliers had two men killed and thirteen wounded. The 23rd Punjaub infantry lost one naick, and had ten men wounded.

Narnoul was sacked on the 17th, and by the 18th the survivors of the Jodhpore legion were some eighty miles distance from us. On Capt. Pearse being wounded, the command of the Hurrianah horse was assumed by Lieut. Hamilton, who dashingly, about a hundred yards ahead, led his men victoriously. Owing to the illness of Capt. G. C. Bloomfield, the 23rd Punjaub infantry was commanded by Lieut. Hunt; this young officer with his men very recently levied passed through the thick of the action very courageously, and is deserving of every commendation. Walcott's battery, which cannot reckon to be above two months old, was held in much admiration, it did its work with success, precision and gallantry. It reflects great credit on Lieut. Walcott, and the sergeant major of the batteries, Mr. Jackson, for their untiring exertions.

After two days' halt, the column moved to Murdun on the 19th November, after leaving a regiment of Putteeala infantry, Essakhelly ressallah, and a few Zumbooraks for the protection of Narnoul.

On the 20th November, we arrived at Rewarree, where we again had four days' halt. The column then separated and moved towards Delhi viâ Goorgaon on the 24th. The Hurrianah field force marched on the 25th, and reached Kanoude on the morning of the 27th November to wait for further instructions.

Kanoude, 14th Dec., 1857.—Peace and tranquillity is now completely restored in these districts, revenue is being collected very rapidly, and a number of villagers have been disarmed. The flame of rebellion which once spread so rapidly, and in such various directions, after the fall of the den of iniquity—Delhi, flickered for a short time, and by the blessing of Providence is now completely extinguished.

OUDE.

Extract from Mr. W. Gonne's Diary, delivered to Mr. W. Forbes, Officiating Commissioner, in December 1857.

Wednesday, 20th May, 1857.—Started in the evening for Mutheyra, news of the Meerut disturbance from Cunliff, 27th May, Wednesday. The Lucknow Dâk appears to be stopped. The *Friend of India* this evening, no very good news.

(From 28th May to 11th June, there is a blank, other parties appear to have joined, and they appear to have been on some expedition.)

11*th June.*—Our second night after our return. All quiet, Brand, Carew and Hastings, and two clerks. Our lives are worth but little, we intend going down the Gogra by boats. Radakissen has stood by us well. My trust is in God.

14*th Sunday.*—Mullapore. Hearsey and his party have joined us, we intend going down to Bitolee by river.

Great alarms on account of the Chelaree Rajah, but he received us well.

17*th.*—Staid at Rampore, Goman Singh very kind to us, determined to return to the jungles in the north.

19*th.*—Mullapore.

21*st.*—Mutheyra. The Surburakar, Fukroodeen Khan, has contrived to maintain his popularity, and is thus in a position to assist us. Shuma Khan, his great uncle, is also well disposed to us. News received of the safety of Miss Jackson's brother and sister, who escaped with Burnes to Mitowlee; Lonee Singh treated them pretty well. Petumber Singh, Hearsey's old follower, brought the news; he is a good exchange for the three others who left us at Rampore. News of poor Jim Thomason's murder on the road from Mahomdee to Seetapore with the officers of the 28th. James and other residents of Shahjehanpore, who escaped from Powain.

28*th, Sunday, 3rd Trinity.*—The week has passed in anxious quiet. Got letters from Lucknow. Cawnpore beseiged. The little party are far beyond help.

29*th.*—News of the destruction of the English at Cawnpore, but hardly reliable.

5th July, Sunday.—Still at Mutheyra, favorable reports of Lucknow.

6*th, Monday.*—The Ranee's party off to Dhowrera to offer pooja to their family Burgud trees at Rambutti.

8*th, Wednesday.*—A report of an attack at Lucknow, death of the chief Commissioner and others, but we don't believe it; the only alarming thing is our not hearing from Lucknow in answer to our letters.

9th, Thursday.—Rain falls constantly now. Our spirits very good. No news up to 12 o'clock.

14th, Tuesday.—A letter from Mitowlee. Orr and his party well, they were also alarmed by the false reports of the fall of Lucknow.

15th, Wednesday.—The Talookdars are preparing to go to Lucknow. I think they are persuaded our government is lost. A great deal of rain has fallen this week or ten days. They tell us now the Fyzabad party were assisted by Rajah Maun Singh, with boats to the Gogra, but have been killed since.

Sunday, 19th July.—The hurkara from Mamoodabad reached us, he had been up to Lucknow; he reports great losses to the zemindars, who are forced to fight by the mutineers; forty or fifty he guesses are killed every day. The mutineers have no cannon serviceable, so the garrison of Baily Guard are comfortably secure.

Monday, 20th July.—Rained all the morning, so that we contented ourselves with 'dall' and 'roti' for our breakfast. It seems the mutineers and zemindars are getting disheartened, for the villagers pass exaggerated reports of their losses, and listen greedily to accounts of assistance received by us preternaturally; the health of all our party pretty good.

Wednesday, 22nd July.—Bad reports from Maharja Dilwairee, but evidently exaggerated; they say the *moorchas* have been advanced up to the walls of the entrenchment.

Thursday, 23rd July.—The Ranee and Surbarakar are said to have changed their plans respecting us, and to be less favorably disposed.

24th and 25th.—Hard rain. No news.

26th, 27th, Sunday after Trinity.—An English letter sent by Gooman Sing from Mitowlee. They say a proposition has been made to the puppet king by the government to surrender on guarantee of lives; but the mutinous troops will have nothing but blood. This report is also unworthy of credit.

Monday, 27th July.—Fukroodeen Ahmed Khan, and Ummed Sing are clearly jealous of each other, and wish to reap the fruit of saving us singly, hence they make us try to distrust one the other.

Tuesday, 28th July.—The news is apparently good, though poor Soolka Ram mutters mysteriously about Lucknow and treachery.

Thursday, 30th July.—News of Bundeh Hossein's supposed arrival at Esanuggur with 200 of old Girdharee Singh's pultun. Hearsey and I walked to visit the Raja.

Saturday, August 1st.—News from Mitowlee. Captain Orr

has kindly written out a description of the murder of the Shajehanpore and Mahomdee officers. I can't do better than transcribe it word for word. If anything happens to us, this book or the letter may be saved. "My dear Gonne; I shall, as requested, give you the particulars of the Mahomdee tragedy. On the 31st of May (Sunday), the 28th native infantry broke out into open mutiny (at Shahjehanpore) while the people were at Church. Some sepoys rushed in armed with swords and lattees, and their faces hid by tying cloth round. And one of them made a cut at poor Ricketts who rushed out, but was followed and murdered. Spens of the 28th was severely wounded on the back of the head, and right arm. They all rushed out into the vestry, and shut the door; in the meantime some officers living close to the Church rushed up with pistols and double barrels, and the mutineers few in number escaped. Nothing is known of what became of the Revd. McCallum. It is supposed he was killed in the church. Mr. Lemarke, a clerk, was also killed in the verandah (portico.) Dr. Bowling was killed while going away in his carriage. The coachman ran away and Mrs. Bowling leaning over her husband, thinking he had only fainted, seized the reins and came back to the Church and took up a number of people. After they had deposited Bowling's corpse in the Church, they drove away thirteen in number, in the carriage, and the others riding to Powain where they were very reluctantly received. Mr. Smith was missing, and it was said he was killed. From Powain Sneyd and Jenkins wrote to Thomason. On receipt of the news we went into the old fort of Mahomdee with 200 men of 9th irregulars, and some of Hearsay's police to try and protect the treasury, should the 28th come down. I took the precaution of sending away my wife and child to Mitowlee at once. The next day, first June, Rajah Juggernauth Singh of Powain turned the Shajehanpore people away, and in the middle of the day they reached Mahomdee. The sepoys we had, now commenced shewing symptoms of mutiny, but did not break out actually. Having raised the 9th, I had a little influence over them, and succeeded in keeping them quiet until the morning of the 4th, when a detachment of fifty men with palkees and doolies came in from Seetapore to take the Shahjehanpore party to Christian's. These fellows brought a diabolical report with them that their light company on duty at Lucknow had been murdered by the Europeans at Muchee Bawun. On hearing this, the whole detachment both 9th and police became dreadfully excited and vowed vengeance. Seeing the case was quite hopeless, I sent for all the native officers and havildars, and

asked them to let us know at once like men what their intentions were. They went away to consult among themselves, and in about an hour after, say 11 A. M., they returned and said the men all insisted upon marching away to Seetapore with the treasure, about one lac and 10,000; they said they would take Thomason and myself with them, and see us safe; and as for the Shahjehanpore party they would not interfere with them, but had no objection to their going with them to within a couple of coss of Seetapore, but not further, as they could not guarantee their safety there, on account of the regiments there. They all swore they would not molest any one of us. I made them take a solemn oath by putting their hands on the head of a Brahmin jemadar. They told us we were to march the next morning, but at about 4 o'clock they told us they would march at once. We had procured a number of bearers, but they were sent away by some of the men. I put as many of the ladies as I could into my buggy, and about half past 10 P. M. we reached a place called Burwur, where we stopped for the night. The next morning we went towards Ourungabad. On our way the evening before and during the morning of the 5th, the sepoys took away as many of the guns as they could from us, and as we approached Ourungabad, say within three quarters of a mile, a sepoy snatched a gun off the shoulder of Key of the 28th, and shot poor old Shiels of the veteran establishment. This was the signal and immediately the firing commenced. We were all near a neem tree, and all stood, after taking the ladies down from the buggy. Escape was out of the question, as there were many men ahead of us and on all sides, and defence was also useless. I don't think any one fired, I stood for some time amongst them all, but thinking I might perhaps be spared, I rushed out towards the murderers. One of them, Goordeen, told me to throw down my revolver, and he would save me. I threw it at his feet and he protected me, calling several others to his assistance. I was then within about 300 yards of the place where all were collected under the tree. The firing continued for about fifteen minutes, during which time I could not help turning round now and then towards the poor people. The ladies and some of the men were kneeling. Thomason was standing, I saw him fall. Lysaght was on his knees, and was the last to fall. It was now only then that the cowards would approach them, and finished killing the wounded and the children, and taking away all the poor people had on them. They then took me to the camp at Ourungabad, and talked of taking me on with them to command the corps, but some of the native officers well inclined towards me, said, it would be better to put off the affair

until they had the advice of the other troops, and advised the men to send me to this place (Mitowlee). The following is the list of the poor people killed at Ourungabad.

Jenkins, C. S.

J. G. Thomason, C. S.

W. Shiels, Veteran Establishment.

Captains Sneyd, Lysaght, and Salmon.

Lieutenants Key, Robertson, Scott, Pitt, and Rutherford.

Ensigns Spens, Johnston and Scott.

Quarter Master Sergeant Grant, Bandmaster Schlottbeen, and Messrs. Hurst and Smith, clerks of Mahomdee.

Ladies—Mrs. and Miss Scott, Mrs. Lysaght, Mrs. Key, Mrs. Bowling, Mrs. Shiels, Mrs. Grant and Mrs. Pereira and four children. Poor James of the 18th was shot dead on his parade ground while trying to quiet the sepoys.

Yours sincerely,

P. Orr."

Sunday, 2nd.—Bundeh Hussein and Futti Allee made their appearance yesterday, and after talking very big returned to Bingah to bring their followers with them; they say Bandeh Hussein has Purwanas with him from Lucknow, and also one from Hurpershaud, former Nazim of Khyrabad, who is said to have been reinstated by the new government, which pretends to hold Oudh as a Sooba under Delhi. They say fifty of his men have just come in to Mutheyra, and talk very big of taking us by force if the Raja does not willingly give us up to their charge. We are indeed in a dangerous position for the Dhowrera estate is coveted both by Esanugger and Bhoor, so the Ranee cannot look for sympathy if she boldly takes our part, but I do not think they will give us up, for Bundeh Hossein has apparently only 100 men with him.

Fukroodeen Khan hopes to buy him off, and such also is the opinion of Thakoor Anant Sing; these are the two most sensible men, and therefore our best friends, but unfortunately or perhaps fortunately, they don't agree.

Monday, 3rd.—Fukroodeen Khan shews in his true light as a faint heart, he has resolved apparently to surrender us.

Tuesday, 4th.—We passed an uncomfortable night; Hearsey and Hastings went up to the Khan Saheb and Anant Singh, and shamed the former into a little courage; they half promised to send us across to Kowriala.

Wednesday, 5th.—Toolka Ram, a Koirabeerpoor fellow, came for his letter of recommendation. The Mithowlie Goshaias came to us yesterday, though what for is hard to say—Mundra Khan, Loodh.

Thursday, 6*th*.—We were told yesterday to be on the look-out, for we should be taken in an hour; we got ready our arms, and gave out no body of armed men more than two in number should be allowed to approach us; poor Mr. Caldeira asked permission to fly as he had no gun with him; this permission was given him; thanks be to God, this determination turned the tide of opinion in our favour.

Friday, 7*th*.—The Khan Saheb came yesterday evening to see us; he was afraid we would shoot him.

Saturday, 8*th*.—Anant Singh seems also to have been afraid, for he has not come to see us yet; we still retain our warlike attitude and the Raja's people admire our pluck. Bundeh Hussein and Futti Ali still talk big. The present plan seems to be to pass some ten days in making pretence of the Raja, taking us into Lucknow himself, by which time something would turn up one way or the other. To-day we heard Delhi had become English again, and troops are expected shortly at Lucknow. Ouseree, a 27th native infantry sepoy, (a sick certificate man) came to see us, what for it was hard to say exactly.

Sunday, 9*th*—Sooka Ram informed us to-day, that he had heard Delhi was now ours, and almost the whole country west of the Ganges comparatively quiet. The Ranee and her people busy swearing Bundeo Hussein and the Zemindars not to play us false on the road to Lucknow. Anant Singh still afraid to trust himself to us. The Dhowrera retainers declare they won't go to Lucknow until they are paid up, or made some provision for; a hundred of Rajah Roolraj Singh's men from Choupheree (or Bulchara,) came across and put up in Dilawukporebagh.

Monday, 10*th*.—A visit from the Khan Saheb. This individual seems thoroughly convinced now of the certainty of our success, but is terribly afraid of Bundeh Hussein and his machinations; he also believes Anant Singh to be bent on treachery. I suggested the offer of a bribe to Anant Singh, and relying upon the assurance of the Dhowrera sepoys, told the Khan Saheb we were ready to start for Lucknow whenever he liked, upon the security paper shewn us with some slight alterations. We heard yesterday the Mitowlee party had been taken in by Loonee Singh himself to Lucknow, but think it doubtful. The English forces must by this time have crossed at Cawnpore, and all will be right. They say Anant Singh has sent four chuprassees to catch poor Mr. Caldeira.

Tuesday, 11*th*.—Report of the approach of 100 sepoys untrue. The Rajah's people say two regiments made overtures for reconciliation at Cawnpore, but were refused, alarmed by

false reports of an attack. Thakoor Anant Singh left us this evening to our fate, and went to Dhowrera; what pitiful scoundrels are these people.

Wednesday, 12th.—The Khan Saheb brought Ramdyal Singh, Dowour Singh, and Indurjeet Singh, Zemindars, to us this morning, to write safe conducts, &c. Hearsey and I promised them rewards if they convey us in safety to an army in case it has crossed. In all probability we shall be obliged to start this evening.

Rebel Life at Bareilly.

The *New Times* furnishes the following account of rebel-life at Bareilly, for nearly a year the capital and court of Khan Bahadur Khan:—This old iniquity was a Pathan and descended from Hafiz Rehmut Khan, the ruler of Bareilly and founder of the Mahommedan government in Rohilkhund or Kuthair. The superior claims, which this descent gave him, and the support of the old Mahomedans of the city, and an influential body of Sayuds, brought Khan Bahadur Khan prominently forward, when the rebellion at Bareilly had been followed by the overthrow of the British rule there. Khan Bahadur Khan, however, was a man of little energy, and was not without a rival, one Mobarek Shah, also a Pathan and a man of considerable influence. The moment this ambitious gentleman heard the firing in cantonments, he knew that the game of revolt had commenced, and attended by some three hundred of his friends he made for the cotwali with the intention of proclaiming himself Nawab Nazim under the king of Delhi. We are told by the magistrate, Mr. Inglis, that he had leagued himself with Bukt Khan, who commanded the Bareilly brigade, for this purpose. Mobarek Shah however was a little too late in his measures. On his way to the cotwali he met Khan Bahadur Khan on his road there, and finding that the latter's claims were superior, and his supporters of more influence than his own, he gave up his own pretensions and joined his rival. On reaching the cotwali, Khan Bahadur Khan was at once proclaimed ruler of Bareilly under the king of Delhi.

One of the first acts of the new ruler was to proclaim that every European should be put to death. On the morning of the 1st of June he fulfilled the letter of his own proclamation, when Dr. Hansbrough, the superintendent of the central jail, was brought before him. "I am in your power," said the gallant Englishman, "and you can kill me, but do not think for a moment, that by murdering me and all the other English-

men here, you will be able to put an end to the British Government." Khan Bahadur Khan ordered him to be cut to pieces. We had not intended to revert to the massacres; but we knew Dr. Hansbrough well, and those are really the words to which his brave and loyal spirit would have given utterance.

In the afternoon of the second day of his reign, Khan Bahadur Khan and his court, with a mob on foot and horseback, proceeded to call upon General Bukht Khan and the troops. It is pleasant to relate that the sepoys immediately fired upon them. Khan Bahadur Khan stood up in his howda and waved his handkerchief. He was not, however, allowed to enter cantonments, attended with all his tag-rag and bobtail of cutthroats and assassins. With a few followers only he sought the presence of Bukht Khan, and by that worthy was received with great coolness.

The city and district were in a state of anarchy. Khan Bahadur Khan was too old and too imbecile for action on his part, and a dewan, Sobha Ram, of the British commissariat, was appointed. A budmash of considerable notoriety, one Fusloo, who had not contented himself with murdering Englishmen, but had broken into and robbed the house of Mahomedans was apprehended, tried and found guilty. His right hand and left foot were cut off, and immediately afterwards, seated on a tonjon, he was paraded in state through the city by a friendly mob of admirers.

O Imitatores, servum pecus !

This vagabond was subsequently killed when our troops took Bareilly.

The next step was to form a government. This was done by Khan Bahadur Khan's friends, who apportioned all the offices amongst themselves: for one of his appointments the ruler of Bareilly anticipated the Governor-General of India. He nominated a master of the ceremonies in June 1857. The master of the ceremonies was also A. D. C. to Khan Bahadur Khan. He had been a singer at the court of the ex-king of Oudh and was named Ruja-ool-Dowlah. He regulated receptions and durbars. Poor Khan Buhadur Khan was, to use an Irish phrase, fairly bothered with his government. He could not check disorder, he could not get money. Bukht Khan would lend him no guns. The sepoys plundered houses in the city. They robbed and illtreated Misr Baijnath and the late government treasurer. One Khan Ali Khan, Tehseeldar of Shahe, under the English rule, and a man highly popular with and much favored by all English officers who knew him, who had come into Bareilly with 14,000 Rs. of

plundered revenue in order to present it as a nuzzur to Khan Bahadur Khan, was himself in turn robbed of this money by the sepoys, who carried the store to Bukt Khan.

At last, on the 11th June, the sepoys marched for Delhi, and Mobarek Shah went one march with them and took the opportunity of sending an urzee on his own account to the King of Delhi "favored by general Bukt Khan," soliciting the appointment of Nazim of Rohilkhund. This was a side blow at Khan Bahadur Khan.

After this some attempt was made to settle the district and put down disorder. A committee of eight was appointed to manage the affairs, and this committee sat to the end of Khan Bahadur Khan's reign, with as much result as many a committee in another place. There was no money, and it had to be got, or the government would collapse. The committee determined to collect it from the city. So they called for a bywastha from the pundits, and a futwa from the mooftis on the following point:—"If a Raja or Nawab is in want of money for public purposes how much of his subjects' moveable property may he take?" The answer was that under such circumstances he might take one-tenth of their wealth.

The amount fixed was 1,67,000 Rs. to be paid in four instalments. Only 82,000 Rs. were collected, and this not without some unpleasant treatment of the loyal people of Bareilly. The bones of cows were placed before Hindoos. Plates of iron were heated, and recusants made to sit upon them. The balance was remitted on the people bribing Dewan Sobha Ram. Again we say poor Khan Bahadur Khan!

"Happy low lie down
Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown"

Again was Misr Baijnath seized, and more rupees were extorted from him. The money belonging to Mr. Berkeley in the hands of Lutchmi Narain treasurer was taken from him. The city was under authority, but not the district. There the Thakoors gave incessant trouble. Khan Bahadur Khan tried to attach them to his cause, and partially succeeded. Then, owing to internal squabbles, fights with the Mahommedans, quarrels with Sobha Ram, and blowing away Thakoors from guns, on the part of the latter, with an amount of rowing never before seen he completely failed, and the Thakoors went dead against him, and took to corresponding with the commissioner at Nainee Tall.

Next the Sayuds quarrelled with Sobha Ram, being jealous of him, and "disliking the Hindoo element." They reported

to Khan Bhadur Khan that Sobha Ram had concealed an English gentleman in his house. They obtained permission to search it. Then they surrounded it with a regiment of foot and ressalah of cavalry, broke open the doors, and began plundering the property. Sobha Ram's friends stopped the plunder, but he went home, shut himself up, and sulked; Khan Bahadur Khan apologised, and Sobha Ram returned to his duties.

About this time it was thought advisable to send a nuzzur to the king of Delhi. An elephant, a horse, the Koran, a crown and 101 gold mohurs were despatched. But the koran, and the crown belonged to the ex-King of Oudh, and that wicked singer the master of the ceremonies committed a breach of trust in making them over to Khan Bhahadur Khan, as a nuzzur to his majesty of Delhi.

Some curiosity again troubled the government. Khan Bahadur Khan had collected a quantity of silver ornaments, &c., (plunder we presume), so he set up a mint and issued rupees of the coinage of Alum Shah, but changing the date. Strange to say the silver was good and of full weight.

The mint did not pay, and Misr Baijnath was again seized. He bribed some influential person and got off, after being kept some days in confinement.

Mobarek Shah, who had been anxious for the throne, and had been, as we have seen, disappointed, now began to feel himself an aggrieved person. He bribed Sobha Ram heavily, and was nominated nazim of Budaon. He presented Khan Bahadur Khan with a nuzzur of Rs. 5,000, went to his province and ill-treated the people to that degree that he was recalled in nine weeks!

Once more Misr Baijnath is seized, and his son with him. They were charged with secreting Englishmen and corresponding with the commissioner. Poor Misr! This time he bribes (of course) Sobha Ram with 2,800 Rs. and escapes.

It was a bad time now for Khan Bahadur Khan. The Hindoos and Mahommedans were like cat and dog. The Mahommedans did not approve of their master's policy of attaching the Hindoos to the new government. "They took little trouble to conceal their contempt and hatred for the Hindoos." Khan Bahadur Khan devised the following measure, with a view of reuniting the two races against the British. A pathaka or holy flag for the Hindoos was raised. At the same time the Mohumdee Jhunda was set up. This was on the 20th January 1858. Hardly any one went to either flag. Men began

to open their eyes. It was felt that the Company's "ikhbal" was still a reality. In spite of the lies and native despatches of victory, people began to see that the British forces were coming steadily on them, and although a Sandni sowar arrived to report a great victory over the British army at Futtehghur, the victory seemed a strange one, when the Nawab of the place came as a fugitive to Bareilly. At the end of January a sowar reached Khan Bahadur Khan and reported the total overthrow of the British at Lucknow. In a few days, however, in came Nana Rao, flying to Bareilly with his women. He arrived on the 25th March and remained till the 28th April. He was out of his reckoning at Bareilly. He tried to put a stop to cow-killing and to induce the Hindoos to oppose the English in conjunction with the Mahommedans. He failed. False to the last, when he heard that the Commander-in-chief had reached Jellalabad, he asked to be allowed to lead the forces against him. Permission was given him to do so, and he deserted at once with his women and treasure to the Oudh jungles.

The end of this farce of a successful administration was now approaching. Hard times indeed were in store for the old pensioner of the British Government, Thane of Glamis, Thane of Caudor, and a king afterwards, the old man was decidedly getting into difficulties now. He sends a special messenger to Cashmere and to Puteala, asking for help. A mahaut started with valuable presents for the two sovereigns, and was never heard of again.

After the fall of Lucknow in came Feroze Shah. Before him had arrived Mahmood Khan, Nawab of Nujeebabad, who had been ruling Bijnour for a year. Things were looking black indeed, and thus comes the crash. "Khan Bahadur Khan and his council were now at their wits end: they felt that they could oppose no effectual resistance to the forces marching to attack them. Their plans determined on to-day were changed to-morrow, and all was confusion. At one time it was decided on to erect entrenchments on the roads leading from Shajehanpore, Moradabad and Budaon, and portions of the forces were sent out to the places fixed on, where some works were thrown up. This idea was then abandoned, and it was determined to make the final stand at Bareilly, but no measures were taken to put the city into a state of defence. All this time the English troops were rapidly concentrating. The Commander-in-chief reached Bareilly on the 5th of May, and defeated the force sent to oppose him at the Nuckuttea bridge, close to the city and cantonments. That evening,

Khan Bahadur Khan with the greater number of his adherants fled to Philibeet and from thence to Oudh. Some few remained and attempted to oppose the column from Moradabad, which reached Bareilly on the 6th May, on the opposite side to that on which the Commander-in-chief had come."

Thus fell the Pathan administration, remarkable for nothing but cruelty, inefficiency, confusion and impecuniosity. Khan Bahadur Khan appears to have led a weary life of it, and in reality never to have had one day's complete rule over his province. Who can doubt that one man at least in Bareilly was glad to see us back, and that one the much squeezed and well-pressed Misr Baijnath, the Rothschild of those parts.

JULLUNDUR.

Since the outbreak at Meerut, the 36th N. I., the 61st N. I., and the 6th light cavalry, had showed open disaffection; incendiary fires were of almost nightly occurrence. To such a pitch had the disloyalty arisen, that seditious notices, threatening certain native officers, who were well disposed towards Government, had one day been found posted up at the Pay Office Treasury, where the guards were relieved daily. A short period before the mutiny, a 6th cavalry trooper had taunted a comrade and the non-commissioned officer with being Christians. At the earnest solicitation of the native officers, who expressed themselves "anxious to maintain the credit of their corps," it was conceded that the man should be tried by a regimental court-martial. He was so, and acquitted! The trooper since signalized himself by firing on his own commanding officer.

On the night of the 4th, the hospital of the 61st N. I. was burnt to the ground. Still, measures for disarming were not adopted, notwithstanding the presence of her Majesty's 8th.

On the night of the 7th of June, a fire broke out in the lines of the 36th N. I. The officer of the day, on going to the spot, found his men loading their muskets, and was shot at by way of reply to his remonstrances. Fires had been of late such ordinary occurrences, that use had become second nature, and some officers did not apprehend any disturbance. A sharp rattling of musketry soon undeceived them. All the Christian population fled for safety to the rear of the guns, which Major Olpherts had judiciously disposed so as to command every avenue; but, on asking permission of Brigadier Johnstone to fire on some mutineers who were coming from the direction

of the 36th N. I. lines, he was refused. No want of gallantry was shown by the officers of the regiments in risking their lives in the vain attempt to quell open mutiny by persuasion; and, alas! there was no want of melancholy sacrifices.

The cavalry sowars were the chief instigators of the rebellion here, as at Meerut. They galloped infrantically amongst the men of the 61st N. I. firing pistols in all directions, sounding the double, and yelling that the Europeans and artillery were upon them. The Major, with Lieutenants Tyndall and Kemp, were mobbed; but a faithful few stood by them, and managed to convey them to the quarter-guard, round which a perfect sea of heads was waving. Wonderful was the escape of these officers. Others also were saved through the devotion and presence of mind of a havildar, who feigned severe sickness from rheumatism, and abused the mutineers for disturbing him; Major Innis and others being concealed close by him. If found, they would inevitably have been murdered. The night did not pass without atrocities. Ensign Durnford has since died from a wound received from a trooper. While the sepoys were busy pillaging the treasure-chest, the havildar alluded to and a drill naick seized the above officers and conveyed them aloft to the top of the quarter-guard, through a trap-door which they shut and sat upon.

Three times had Major Innis, by sheer force of command, stemmed the tide that was rushing to the bells-of-arms. Bungalows were seen in flames in various directions; and a dust-storm added to the uproar and confusion. The Serjeant-Major and his wife had previously got on to the roof of the same quarter-guard. Ever and anon mutineers were heard beneath inquiring for Major Innis, and all the while the unhappy Durnford lay on a charpoy, wounded, concealed by a sheet.

While these occurrences were taking place at the right wing, Captain Basden, with Lieutenant Hawkins, was less fortunate at the left wing. The former was attacked by the sowars, cut at by one, thrust in the arm by another, struck at by a sepoy with his musket, and assailed by a coolie with a bamboo. He rode away only when resistance was hopeless. Lieutenant Hawkins proved himself no mean champion; for, on a sepoy hurling a ghurra at him, this officer charged him, and cut him over the head and neck with a sharp sword. Bethinking him of his revolver, Hawkins went for it, and again came down to the post of danger. He found his regiment drawn up in close columns of companies surrounded by sowars, and when he got within thirty yards, a sentry took aim. Swinging himself

low down to the right of his horse, and having the satisfaction of hearing the ball of his assailant pass over his right shoulder, Lieutenant Hawkins administered the contents of a barrel of Colt, and experienced a second satisfaction in seeing his enemy drop. He then rode off to the lines of H. M.'s 8th, charged by troopers and fired at; one bullet grazing his back.

Similar scenes were being enacted in the 36th lines. Young Lieutenant Bates was treacherously shot in the arm, in reply to his vain efforts to appease and control the men. A mournful fate awaited poor Lieutenant Bagshaw, the adjutant, who, while apparently (as he said before he died) almost successful in restoring order, was mortally wounded by a 6th cavalry trooper. They basely fired on their commanding officer, Major Faddy; previously informing him that "they didn't want him any more."

Similar also was the scene in the cavalry, and vain the efforts of the late gallant Willock, the adjutant, to allay the excitement. Major MacMullen was shot in the hand. The general impression at the time was, that the arrival of a troop of horse artillery the previous morning from Hosheiarpore had caused a panic, which was fostered by the designing.

And while the ladies, women, children, and all non-combatants, with the terrors of what had passed in Delhi and Meerut at their hearts, were wild with fear, and the wounded Adjutant Bagshaw was brought in to confirm their worst apprehensions, where was the Brigadier? And what were H. M.'s gallant 8th about, who had been long bursting to avenge their slaughtered countrymen and women? The following facts will serve to point a moral, if they do not adorn the tale:—

It has been previously mentioned that to Major Olphert's earnest entreaty, to be allowed to open fire upon the miscreants a refusal was sent: a refusal which the native troop did not choose to understand; for on some sowars coming within what they deemed undesirable propinquity, they discharged two rounds of grape with success, but without orders.

All night H. M.'s 8th were kept straining on the leash "on the defensive." The 6th cavalry, under the disguise of orderlies, actually crowded in upon the guns, and the lives of the brigadier and others were threatened; but still, no offensive movement. The mutineers, unmolested, had full leisure (in the vicinity of artillery, and of a Queen's regiment) to squabble about the distribution of the booty, before taking their de-

parture. Such solititude for the welfare of the gallant 8th, who were eager to be at work, appeared to govern the counsels, that it was with the utmost difficulty Lieutenant Sankey, of the artillery, could, some two hours after the rise, get tardy sanction to reconnoitre with two guns. When they did so, they found the mutineers gone!

Loodiana.

Information of the mutiny reached Mr. G. H. Ricketts, C. S., the Deputy Commissioner, by electric telegraph from Umballa: none had reached him from Jullundur itself! He immediately cut down the bridge over the *Sutledge;* and but just in time, for the mutineers had arrived in force on the parade ground at Phillour. The officers of the 3rd N. I. had been warned by some of their men, and fled the fort: the regiment, to a man almost, joined the rebels. They seemed to have mutinied as a matter of course and made no attempt to harm their officers. Captain Rothney's regiment, the gallant 4th Sikhs, at once furnished Mr. Ricketts with three companies, to take possession of the Phillour ghaut, under Williams, 2nd in command. Mr. Ricketts also called for two guns from the Nabha Rajah, 100 matchlocks and fifty sowars to guard the ghaut. He then got himself ferried across the river and *walked* from the opposite bank to Pillour; a cool instance of reconnoitring audacity. There he found that the mutineers, baulked by the opportune destruction of the bridge, had left in a body, and had gone to a ferry about four miles higher up. Confident that there must be surely hot pursuit, he re-crossed, so as to catch the rebels between two fires, and complete, under these circumstances, their inevitable destruction. Sinister intelligence awaited him. The portion of the 3rd N. I. in the fort of Loodianah and treasury had defied Rothney's Sikhs, had drawn up the bridge of the fort, and levelled their muskets through the cutcherry loopholes. The concerted nature of the whole movement flashed at once on the mind.

Both the fort and city of Loodianah were in danger. All speedy relief from Jullundur, even under the supposition that any anxiety on the part of the General to close with the fugitives had been manifested, was hopeless, after the destruction of the bridge. The only chance, therefore, was to obstruct the passage at all risks. With this view, Mr. Ricketts and Lieutenant Williams, with the three companies of Sikhs and the two guns, advanced to the attack.

Every moment was of value. It was possible to dis-

perse those who had crossed and prevent their marching compactly on Loodianah, and had General Johnstone moved up, a second Sobraon might have been the issue. One of the Nabha guns was drawn by camels. Twice, one of the camels fell, but notwithstanding these obstructions, the brave little party came upon the rebels at about half-past ten at night. They were in a body on the bank among some short jungle grass. Again and again they challenged and met no answer, and finding a body of men steadily advancing on them, they opened a smart fire. Williams arranged his men behind the guns, while Ricketts with his own hands unlimbered one of them. But what with the noise, the flashing of the musketry, and the novelty of their position, the horses got maddened, and either bolted with their riders and limber, or (what is just as probable in those days of treachery) the riders themselves bolted. Still, there was the other gun, a 9-pounder, and Ricketts unlimbered it, and administering a round of grape at the spot where the firing was sharpest, at once dispersed them. Advancing the gun, they blazed away, the mutineers spreading fast, until from a compact body they had thinned out into a large semicircle. The fight now got sharp, and Williams and eleven of his men were hit. Not relishing too close a contact, all Rickett's matchlockmen and sowars turned tail and fled. The loss of Williams was fatal to further offensive operations, and the ammunition was now expended. There was nothing for it but to retire decently with the gun; which with incredible labour, and almost entirely alone, was managed. Repeatedly was assistance called for from the Jullunder party, without avail.

Next morning the mutineers advanced on Loodianah, released the prisoners, aroused the Cashmere population, pillaged the mission premises, burnt the press, and took every horse and pony they could find. But they did not attempt to attack the treasury and the cutcherry; probably having a keen recollection of the previous night's reception.

As soon as the enemy were gone, Ricketts with a party of horse charged through the city and swept away the rabble; and some twenty Cashmerees, who had joined in the temporary confusion and began to pillage, were summarily hanged.

Mutiny at Jhelum.

The 14th Regiment N. I. had been suspected of mutinous designs for sometime past, but no overt act had been committed

to make any immediate measures necessary; at length as a precautionary measure, the chief commissioner deemed it advisable to disarm the regiment, and three guns, 285 men of H. M.'s 24th regiment, with a considerable number of Mooltan irregulars, marched from Rawul Pindee for this purpose under command of Colonel Ellice, H. M.'s 24th regiment. The deputy commissioner was directed to co-operate with Colonel Ellice, and met him at Deenah on the morning of the 6th July 1857, for the purpose of learning his arrangements. Colonel Ellice proposed that his force should march from Deenah so as to arrive on the artillery parade ground which is next to that of the 14th N. I. before day break of the 7th, and from thence move towards the 14th regiment, which was ordered to be drawn up in quarter distance columns on its own parade. Colonel Ellice came into Jhelum on the evening of the 6th, and saw Colonel Gerrard, who was then for the first time informed of the purpose for which the regiment was to be paraded. Resistance was not anticipated, but as a precaution, Colonel Gerrard undertook to advise the ladies of the station to take an early airing in the direction of the civil lines. It was also arranged, that of the force at the disposal of the deputy commissioner, all the police battalion or 150 men, with the police cavalry, numbering sixty sabres, and 250 Tewanah horse, should join Colonel Ellice's column at the encamping ground. All these arrangements were carried out, and a little after day-break Colonel Ellice's force made its appearance on the parade, and moved towards the 14th regiment, which was visible in front of the quarter guard. The instant our approach was perceived Colonel Ellice and the deputy commissioner observed some stir in the ranks; followed almost immediately by three or four musket shots, which appeared to have been aimed at the officers who were seen making the best of their way towards us. Colonel Ellice and the deputy commissioner at once galloped down with the artillery and cavalry towards the regiment, and unlimbering the guns opened fire on the mutineers who were making towards their lines and firing on us as they ran. The mutineers were soon under cover, and as their musketry began to be felt, the column retired to a distance of about 500 yards, and took up a position opposite the quarter guard, which was full of men and from its defensive formation afforded them a strong post. The guns continued to fire for some time on this building, and the deputy commissioner took the opportunity of posting a line of the Tewanah cavalry through the cantonment from the artillery lines to the ground in front of the Church, to save the latter building from being fired, or any of the mutineers from going towards the city.

On the deputy commissioner's return to the parade, it did not appear to him that the artillery fire had made any impression, and Colonel Ellice having come to the same conclusion, it was deemed necessary to send the men of H. M.'s 24th, and the police battalion into the lines to drive out the mutineers. The infantry then entered at the right, and the guns were moved in the same direction to assist in the operation, but they still kept at too great a distance. The mutineers afforded a stubborn resistance, and though our men began to gain ground, yet so slowly, that Colonel Ellice deemed it necessary to order a rush for the quarter guard, and himself very gallantly led the assault. Being on horse back, he was of course most conspicuous, and was almost immediately knocked down by two balls, one in his neck, a very dangerous wound, and one in his leg of less importance; his charger being also shot under him. It was at first reported that he had been killed, but we were afterwards glad to learn that such was not the case. The quarter guard was taken at once, and from that period our men pressed on more warmly and being further aided by blowing up the 39th magazine, and by Colonel Gerrard (who had assumed the command) taking a gun to rake some buildings strongly held on the left; the lines were soon cleared, and the enemy might be seen running to the village of Saielah situated on the river bank half a mile distant. The deputy commissioner immediately brought up the cavalry, but from the nature of the ground it was impossible to reach the enemy before they were again under shelter. The artillery also galloped up and opened fire on the retreating enemy, but without effect, for not a man was touched. A village of Saielah was then surrounded and it was proposed that it should be at once carried as the number of mutineers at that time in it was not very great. Colonel Gerrard however preferred to clear the lines once more, having heard that many of the enemy were yet secreted there and all returned to execute this duty. This second search no doubt turned out a good many more, who also escaping by the river bank joined their comrades, and in a short time a large body of men was seen collected in the village. It was now past one o'clock, and as the men were a good deal knocked up and had had nothing to eat, Colonel Gerrard ordered the assembly to be sounded and a halt to be made, and sent to the rear for food for the men. The artillery men got their breakfast, but nothing was ready for the 24th, who were obliged to content themselves with a dram and the beer and wine to which they had helped themselves in some of the officer's quarters.

It was now getting on to 4 o'clock, and at Colonel Gerrard's

request, the deputy commissioner posted Lieut. Battye with the men of the police battalion to keep the lines, and proceeded himself to secure the magazines which had been broken open, and were likely to be plundered and might possibly afford the mutineers the means of replenishing their pouches during the night.

On his arrival at the magazine, the necessity for the precaution was evident, for he found them already plundered of a part of their contents. The deputy commissioner then sent for guards to the kotwallee, and made arrangements for the immediate removal of all the ammunition to the large magazine, which was not effected before midnight.

After visiting the wounded the deputy commissioner proceeded to his house and despatched his report of the proceedings of the day, little dreaming of the unhappy events which had occurred after his departure from the field.

It appears that about 4 P. M., Colonel Gerrard ordered the men of the 24th and Seikhs of the 14th to advance on the village under cover of the artillery fire; the order was obeyed, and the infantry advanced opposed by a stinging fire of musketry; the village was entered and the contest carried on in it for sometime; artillery guns appear to have been brought up by Colonel Gerrard's order much too close to the walls of the village from which a fire was opened that killed all the horses of one gun, and obliged the rest to retire, leaving this one behind on the field, and there it remained, notwithstanding a brave effort made to carry it off by volunteers from the artillery, in which all the horses were again shot down just as they were about to move off with the gun.

The retreat of the artillery and cessation of their fire seems to have had an immediate and opposite effect on the combatants in the village, and the officer commanding the 24th finding that the ammunition of his men was running short, ordered a retreat, which was made in the following order:

First, the main body of the 24th, then the Seikhs, and after them a small party of the 24th under Captain Macpherson, who went up to the deserted gun, and came away on finding themselves alone and without support.

It must here be added, that Lieut. Battye hearing the prolonged firing, and thinking he might be useful, had brought up without any order, a party of about thirty of the Police Battalion, and seeing the artillery unprotected, he moved to the guns and made his men lie down beside them—presently two of the guns moved off, Lieut. Cook saying that his ammuni-

tion was running short; Lieut. Battye, however, contiuued by the deserted gun until he saw the main body of the European go to the rear, when he also withdrew. The mutineers appear at first hardly to have credited their success, and ventured towards the gun with much caution, fearing some ruse—this however wore off, they then seized the gun and opened fire with it on our troops, and continued to exchange shots until darkness set in.

The force then bivouacked on the field, and waited to resume the attack the next day, but the mutineers appeared to have had enough of it—and during the night made their escape in several parties. The main body consisting of about 250 men passing under Rhotas—crossed the trunk road, and went towards the fort of Muglah in the Maha Raja's territory; where they found three boats though without oars, rudders, or boatmen, and in these many of them effected the crossing of the river, using the butts of their muskets to propel the boats—one boat was swamped, and some of those on board drowned, but the greater portion were saved by the inhabitants of Muglah; of this party nearly all (about 150) were secured. The pursuit of this party was entrusted by Colonel Gerrard to Lieut. Lind, commanding the Mooltanee irregulars, he appears to have followed them for ten miles, and was then obliged to halt on account of the heat and the discontent of his followers; had they proceeded another five miles they must have overtaken the fugitives; of the remainder some tried to escape in two or three of the small row-boats belonging to officers, all of these were taken, and the boats recovered by the police—others tried to hide in the islands of the river, and were then taken, some were drowned in their attempt to swim the river, and the rest scattered in twos and threes, were all captured, and with three or four exceptions in which a less sentence was passed, have suffered death.

The state of the 14th regiment on the morning of the 7th gave a total of 500 men, they were disposed of as follows:—

Killed in action	144	bodies counted.
Gave up their arms	19	
Drowned	25	
Escaped across the river.	181—138	Of these were subsequently captured.
Destroyed by the Police, &c.	23	
Executed	108	
	500	

Meeting at Sealkote.

On the morning of the 8th of July I rode to the Post office, where many of us assembled every day for tidings from Delhi. The mail brought no news, but an order from Sir John Lawrence for me to join the moveable column. I also received a friendly note from Mr. Jones, assistant commissioner, to go out to Mr. Monckton's (Civil Service,) to breakfast and dine at Inglis's house, civil lines. I did not go to breakfast, but returned to my bungalow, packed up, and arranged my affairs; settled everything as far as I could for my departure next day, which was to have been at three A. M., in company with a missionary and his wife and child (now, alas! no more). With them I was to have gone as far as Goojeranwalla, and then to strike off for Umritsir. At two I drove out to Monckton's, and dined, and when rising to come away at eight o'clock Jones said to me, 'You are not to return to-night; you must sleep here.' I remonstrated, having yet so much to do. 'No matter here you must stay.' I asked why. 'The brigadier has bound us to secrecy.' Of course, I at once saw something was wrong, so settled to stay. It seems the 14th regiment native infantry mutinied at Jhelum on the 9th, and fought four companies of the 24th Queen's and were much cut up. Poor Spring was killed and Ellice dangerously wounded. The brigadier from the first made mistakes. He never disarmed the force, and for two months we were kept waiting the pleasure of these brutal devils to put us to death. When the brigadier heard of the mutiny at Jhelum, and of the escape of the survivors of the 14th he became alarmed, but not before having miraculously maintained confidence in the sepoys.

I remained and took my watch on guard from midnight to three A. M., when I was relieved by Mr. M'Mahon. About four o'clock Mr. M'Mahon roused me—'Get up, it is all up, the row has begun. Let us shut ourselves up here—Inglis's house' (one mile and a-half from cantonments and about two miles from the fort.) 'No,' said I, 'here there can be no hope; let us be off to the fort.' I must here tell you the missionary had been warned to get away. They were in Raikes's house, where poor Edward was so ill; so I ran down with Monckton to send them to the fort. Our, or rather the civil guard, Punjabees, I believe, (capital fellows), were roused up by Jones and Mr. M'Mahon, and they all made for the fort together. We afterwards found the poor missionary and his wife and child had been brutally murdered near the kutchery. I outran Monckton, and after looking through Raikes's house was left by myself among trees in the grounds, peeping out to see how near the wretches came; after staying and occasion-

ally moving and again hiding, I made up my mind to take to my heels across the plain. How I got to the fort I hardly know even now, but I did overtake Jones and the guard, more dead than alive. It was truly a run for dear life. God supported me and I marched into the fort after what every body calls a most miraculous escape, for I was less than a quarter of a mile from the troopers; riding hither and thither I saw them, and if they had seen me I should have been a dead man. I had nothing left but the clothes on my back. Our house was plundered; the walls remain, but all is gone. Dr. Graham on hearing the disturbance, flew with his daughter to their buggy, and unfortunately they took the public road to the fort. The cavalry met them and shot him dead. She was brought to the fort, and her anguish on that awful day is past an attempt even at description. Staff Graham, wife, and two ladies also made their escape in their carriage for the fort; he was shot down; the ladies got away in the carriage to the fort, taking the public road. Bishop was killed, the ladies unharmed. Brigadier Brind met with a mortal wound, and has since died here. I am thankful to tell you the deeds of blood ceased with the brigadier's death; but then began those of destruction. Kutcheries, magazines, all burnt. I stood on the north bastion of the fort for hours, watching all they did, and when the artillery magazine blew up it was grand and fearful. They then collected all our carriages, horses, buggies, and loaded them with the spoils of all our bungalows. Then they mustered the Government camels, and loaded them, and at four o'clock the hour we were to have started, they took the road I was to have taken for Goojeranwalla, passing along by the fort, and so affording us a full view. They took away our dear Edward's poney, and my only companion, the dog Charlie.

I went yesterday to the house; the walls and rooms are uninjured, but such a scene as met my eye!—windows broken, furniture toppled over and damaged, papers torn and scattered about, books in all directions, but not a stitch of clothing to be found; yet we have suffered less than others, for in some houses not even a scrap of furniture was left, or anything that was not literally smashed to pieces, and the houses ruined; and why they suffered ours to escape differently I know not. Our servants decamped of course. The communion plate is gone with our own; I have not one single article left, not even a steel fork; but no matter, by God's Providence I am saved; but, oh, dearest, never—no, never—can I forget that run—that dreadful run! The moveable column have met the rascals and thrashed them. In the midst of all this anxiety, discomfort, dirt, and alarm, I am, thank God, quite well, Miss Graham is

quite calm. She is entirely and completely in my charge now, and is, poor girl, behaving so well.

Narrative of a Cavalry Officer.

On the morning of the 9th I was fast asleep in my house at Sealkote, when I was awoke by a woman running in screaming. This was the wife of our sergeant-major, who was followed shortly after by her husband, with a wound in his forehead. He said that he had five or six shots fired at him by our men. By the time I had dressed and got my pistols and sword on, the havildar-major came and said that early that morning the Mussulmans of the 1st troop began saddling their horses, and as there was no parade ordered he asked them what they were doing, when they told him to mind his own business. I rode to the brigadier's and in a short time he came out with Chambers, the joint magistrate. Balmain just then rode up and said that when he went down to the lines the Hindoos told him to go and remain in his house, or he would certainly be killed. We heard, too, that some of our men had ridden to the 46th native infantry lines to raise them, and then we knew it was all up with Sealkote, for so many instances have occurred of the cavalry riding down to the infantry lines, and the latter invariably join them. Brigadier Brind, Balmain, Chambers, and I rode out of the compound, and then we perceived a large body of our men posted so as to cut us off from the fort in the city, who immediately they saw us, commenced chasing and firing at us. We first of all made straight for the cantonments, so as to bring them after us, and then on a sudden we turned off to the right and rode for a bridge which was between the cantonments and the city. By this manœuvre I found myself leading, and being mounted on a good horse I could have gone off without coming into collision with the rascals again. As I was nearing the bridge Balmain, who was close behind me, called out 'Stop and make a stand, or the brigadier is lost!' We both turned on the bridge, and I then saw the brigadier trying to get across the nullah with a number of our men after him. The foremost of them, who was a little in advance of the others, as soon as he saw me stop, turned from following the brigadier and came at us. I had just time to draw and cock my pistol when down he came on me at full gallop, with carbine levelled. I could have almost touched him when he fired, and the bullet whizzed past me. At the same moment I fired, but, owing to the pace he was coming, I missed. I was perfectly cool, and made up my mind not to fire until he had done so, and was close on me. If I had used my sword instead of my pistol I

must have killed him. Balmain had two shots at him, but which also missed. All this did not take half a minute, but it gave time for the brigadier to cross the nullah, and we then rode on to the fort without interruption. It was not till we got there that I discovered that the brigadier had been wounded badly, and it was with great difficulty he got along, but he bore up bravely; he has since, I am sorry to say, died of his wounds. I thought it best to trust to my horse, so I rode on to Goojeranwallah, a distance of thirty miles, where I arrived at about 9 A. M., more dead than alive. My horse could hardly walk in the last five miles, and once dropped with me. In an hour or two more two infantry officers came in who had made a long detour across country. This was the account they gave:—Four of our men rode down to their lines and began exciting the men to mutiny; most of the officers were at parade at the time. The men asked permission to get to their arms to keep our troopers off; as soon as they obtained them they rushed to their lines instead of to the places where the arms are usually kept, and then came out and began firing at their officers. Those that were mounted made off at once. The whole business was evidently preconcerted, although we were quite unprepared for it. Besides the brigadier, the following are the people known to be killed:—Captain Bishop, 46th native infantry; Dr. Graham, superintending surgeon; Dr. Graham, medical storekeeper, who was shot in the carriage while seated next to his wife; Mr. Hunter, the missionary and his wife and child. Bushby was supposed to be in the hands of the mutineers, and Prinsep, after running the gauntlet of six or seven of our men, escaped with a shot in his arms. The mutineers after plundering and burning the whole station, made off at 2 P. M. in the direction of Goordaspore; besides which they let all the prisoners out of the gaol loose. On the evening of the 9th I came on here by mail-cart, and as I was crossing the bridge over the Ravee I met three gentlemen in a buggy, one of whom, Mr. Roberts, the commisioner of Lahore, offered me a room in his house on hearing that I knew no one here.

14th.—Bushby has arrived safely at the moveable column. Theescape of some of the Sealkote people was most wonderful, —in most instances a perfect miracle. The moveable column have had an engagement with the rebels and killed and wounded about 100 of them. Our scoundrels, the cavalry, fought well, charging up to the guns on both flanks. Mr. W——, who is here, has kindly given me some of her husband's clothes. Her husband has gone to Delhi.

The following is from a gentleman in the civil service dated Sealkote, July 13:—

I first heard of the Delhi and Meerut affair at Lahore, and horror-struck I was with it. I left Lahore that evening, and travelled in two days to Sealkote, without adventure, though, perhaps, not quite without danger; at all events, my pistol seldom left my hand. I got to Sealkote to find one European regiment, twelve artillery guns, and three native regiments. This European force, though ample enough to 'physic' the natives, was not numerous enough to prevent their 'running a muck' among all the bungalows, killing, burning, and then escaping almost unhurt. It was not without concern we found they had taken a list of us and planned an attack, to commence with an assault on the cavalry mess and the brigadier. After this succeeded days of anxiety and nights of wakefulness, and pistol always at hand. Then came an order for all our Europeans and one regiment of native infantry and half the regiment of cavalry, leaving us to the tender mercies of the remaining half of the cavalry and the 46th native infantry. The brigadier, however, contrary to orders, kept 200 infantry, two guns—all Europeans. He had, however, made up his mind that the sepoys were well disposed, and would not go wrong unless driven to it, and steadily refused to disarm them. I should have said that while the Europeans were here I and Mr. and Mrs. Monckton lived with a friend of theirs, Dr. Graham in cantonments. We had also the pleasure of sitting every day in cutcherry with forty sepoys in the treasury, a few paces off. As treasurer, I had constantly to go among them to look up and take out, and also to go to their lines to commit treasure to their mainguard, or to take it from them. Whenever we could we gave them rupees to guard, merely to please them by showing confidence in them. This was all we had left to do without any force at hand, and I can assure you that from the first nothing was omitted that could soothe them or tend to keep them right. Soon after the departure of the bulk of the Europeans the rest (200) and the two guns were taken from us, and nothing but a few sick remained in hospital. All then went back to Mr. Monckton's house, a little distance from cantonments. Our minds were now agitated by hearing every day of new massacres and by dozens of rumours, most of them more or less true of the bad state of the troops here. Our great strength in the Punjab lay in the hatred that the Punjabee has to the 'down easters,' as they call the seyoys, as an inferior and intriguing race, who have obtained offices all over the Punjab which Sikhs have a much better claim to fill. Add to this that our Government is here rather liked

than otherwise, and the people have in their recollections the battles of Ferozeshah, &c., and the prowess of English regiments, which as a native gentleman expressed it to me, alluding to their charge, 'go straight on, and don't stop.' The Punjaub is undoubtedly the best governed and best affected part of India. Hence came the measure of raising Punjab levies, of whom we raised in an old fort here 300. These men are now able to handle a musket and keep step, and have shown themselves wonderfully apt. The Punjaub police force, about 150 men, in this station, were employed as the treasury cutcherry, and gaol guards, and a few of them as drill instructors to the levy. We all looked out for the fall of Delhi as the event which was to save our lives, but this even now looks distant enough. Lately, and, indeed from the first, the Punjab Government has been eager to disarm the troops, and has been kept from it only by the officers everywhere refusing to believe anything against their men, *e. g.* Colonel Spottiswoode at Peshawur, praised the loyalty of his regiment on the day on which a sepoy levelled a loaded musket at him, and would have fired had it not been for Spottiswoode's gallantry, telling him he was quite ready to die if he would be such a coward as to shoot him. The next day the regiment mutinied. Thus matters went on till the 6th of July, when we heard that the 4th native infantry at Jhelum had resisted being disarmed, and had inflicted severe loss on the inadequate European force which attempted it. (This regiment has been since entirely cut up and dispersed.) Between us and Jhelum are the rivers Jhelum and Chenab. The bridges we had broken down and seized all the ferry boats. Thus the news was two days in coming seventy miles. The effect it might have we feared. Also two troopers rode in from the wing of our cavalry regiment, which had been sent from Umritsir, and, as we afterwards learned, spread all manner of lying stories, exciting the men. In Mr. Monckton's house he, I and Lieutenant M'Mahon, my fellow-assistant commissioner, lived and messed together during these times of disturbance and trouble. On the 8th we had invited a clergyman down here from cantonments, fearing what was coming, and made him stay the night. We had as a guard for the house about thirty or thirty-five of our new levies and something over thirty mounted police. On the morning of the 9th I was on watch from four to six (we had taken turns about) and fell asleep at my post. At half-past five M'Mahon came into my room, saying, 'There's a row at the gaol'; I offered to go down with him, but he said 'do not trouble yourself.' Two minutes after he came in, saying, 'Well, J——, it is come at last.' Forty troopers were now at the gate of the gaol trying to get the prisoners out,

and though we could not see it, a wing of the native infantry was there too. I jumped up, already half-dressed, got my pistol, and, looking out, we saw other cavalry galloping up towards the house. We went outside, gave the alarm, and our foot-guard turned out very nimbly. Mr. Boyle and Mr. Monckton were to go down under the guard of the thirty mounted police, whom we expected out every moment, taking up Mr. Hunter, his wife, and child, on their way to the fort. They, however, had gone before and were all murdered on their way to the fort. I and M'Mahon walked off at the head of our raw recruits, going slowly for the rest to come up, and then having to stop and make them load, and see that they did it well, as it was the first time many of them had put a cartridge into a musket. We then went slowly across the plain, till two or three cavalry rode up very close, calling to our men to come with them, and at first, taken in by the *ruse*, they moved a few paces towards them. We told them they were mutineers, who wanted to take away their bread from them, and, patting one or two of them, told them that this was a time when we and they were going to be brothers. They then marched on as pluckily as possible, laughing and joking with us, though we felt in anything but a laughing humour. Twice, as we moved along, bodies of cavalry came very near. We made our men face round to them, and, telling them that Punjabees were not to be alarmed at the sight of such cowards, they showed so bold a front that the wretches went off, though they might with ease have cut us all up. Our horses were led after us, but we thought it best not to mount, lest it might discourage our men. After getting past the gaol we found no difficulty in reaching the fort, where we found numbers of officers had preceded us. We then got in a few provisions and prepared for an assault. The mutineers, however, did not try us. They blew up the magazines, plundered houses, let out 350 prisoners, burnt the cutchery with all its records, and took 14,000 rupees from the cutchery treasury. After ruining every house in the cantonments they left in buggies, carriages, &c., which they had taken. The cavalry broke out first, and went shooting every European they saw. The brigadier died of his wounds; two doctors were pistolled in their carriages, with their families about them. An officer had his brains blown out, others were pursued and wounded. The only redeeming point was that the women and children were not attacked. The escapes might fill a book, and are so interesting, many of them, that if I had time I would write them. We are not quite free from danger yet; if any reverse were to occur at Delhi, the Sikhs would rise, and we should

have to make for the fort of Lahore. We have had very dangerous work in the fort, hanging and shooting the great men of the place by the hands of their own men. I hope the example will be felt. After the troops left, the villagers came in by thousands, and the released prisoners with them in order to plunder. The day after a party of officers went into cantonments, shooting them and catching them in all directions. As many as 200 will be flogged, fined, or imprisoned, besides the ten we have hung. When all is quiet again in India I shall be glad to have gone through what I have. The two months of imminent fear of massacre were quite an ordeal, though they had the advantage of making one quite ready when the time came. I never felt cooler in my life than during the time of our escape, and before we got to the fort both M. and myself had got quite delighted with the plucky fellows we had behind us. We have since heard that Nicholson has well defeated the mutineers on the Ravee, killing 100, and wounding lots. They threaten to come back this way, so we may see them again. We are all ready. I cannot write more now. I did not say that my six boxes of books and everything, my watch, cash, all are gone, and there remain to me nothing but the clothes I came in, and I came without a coat. Moreover, no one is to get any pay for three months; I may starve, you see. I never was better in health in my life—out in the sun all day, plenty of running about, and watching on guard—as sentry at night.

Narrative of Dr. Butler, 9th Cavalry.

The condition of my family and self, from 4½ A. M. until 8 P. M., the time we found ourselves in security in the fort, was one that beggars all description. At about 4½ A. M. I was called by one of my servants, rushing into my bed-room, calling out "sahib, sahib! jildee outho sowar log bundook chalata, aur pultun bigra hai." As quickly as possible I dressed myself and called up all the family, armed myself, and went to the verandah to see what was going on. I then saw several sowars riding about, some leisurely, others furiously, and heard pistol shots in several places. I waited momentarily expecting some intimation from the authorities as to what course was best to be pursued. Residing with Lieutenant Saunders, the quarter master of the 9th light cavalry, we had previously arranged in case of an outbreak, that our carriages should be immediately got ready, and our families conveyed to the fort; this was done, and some of the few things we had pre-determined to take with us, were put into the carriages; but before putting

our familes into them, Lieutenant Saunders mounted his horse, and rode down to the cavalry mess house about 300 yards distant, where he met three sowars, he asked them what was going on in the lines, they merely replied "bhag jao" and proceeded on their way. I was standing in the verandah and watched them so soon as they arrived at the gate of our compound, they consulted together for a minute or so, then turned their horses' heads and went in an opposite direction. At this period there were two or three parties of sowars who rode in the direction of the 46th N. I., and others apparently patrolling the station at all the turnings. About half an hour elapsed from the time I came out to the moment when things had progressed so far—a pistol shot was heard to our extreme left, when some of our servants (most of whom were congregated in one part of our house) said, there is the Doctor Sahib's buggy coming. I looked in that direction, and saw Miss Graham coming in the buggy apparently alone, screaming and crying most piteously. I helped her to alight, the pistol shot I had heard was fired by a trooper (she afterwards told me) who rode after them, passed her side of the buggy, and went round to her poor father's and shot him. She told me the sowars had possession of the bridge along the road to the fort. I assisted in taking her father's body out of the buggy, and had it placed in one of the verandahs of the servant's houses, and then we determined upon not venturing out in that direction and knew not, in fact, what to do. At this juncture we were joined by Mr. Garrard, the veterinary surgeon, who came up in good spirits, and said he thought only a few of the troopers had gone, and we were told that the brigadier with some one else had gone down in his buggy to the cavalry lines. This was untrue, sowars were riding hither and thither, passing our compound and taking no notice of us; frequent pistol shots were heard. We had heard that in case of an outbreak, a picquet of irregular cavalry were to move up and protect us in escaping to the fort, and were anxiously looking out for this picquet. Moments passed on, our compound gate to the extreme right was closed, that to the left was open. A sowar now rode in front of our compound, entered and came opposite the door, carbine in hand, pointed it to the servants and directed them at the peril of their lives, not to remain in that compound, and desired the coachman to take the carriage to the lines. On the approach of the sowar our servants persuaded us to go into the house and to shut the doors as the "pultun" was coming down; this we did, and there being three of us, all armed with revolvers, we determined upon defending our lives to the last. There were now with us two

native servants (females) and the members of our families numbered ten, besides Miss Graham. About ten minutes elapsed from the time of the sowar coming into the compound, until the arrival of a party of the 46th, who were brought up by sound of the bugle, to do their bloody work, which was frustrated only by an overruling and merciful providence; in our case the ladies retreated to the bathing room, but Miss Graham would not remain there. The men of the 46th now were breaking open the doors, and firing as they came along the corridors and into the rooms. On one making his appearance in the bathing room, I pointed my revolver at him, this was not a sepoy, but apparently one of the servants pointing out where we were, for on seeing my pistol and hearing it snap, he cried out, "Sahib log wahan haen, hum naheen jahye, marna ko moostaid haen." All this time our families were retreating from the bathing room into the zenan compound and securing themselves in a godown there. Miss Graham on seeing the place, left our party to hide in the garden. We all made good our retreat into the godown before the wretches again made their appearance; they were keeping up a constant fire in the rooms and breaking open doors, they burst into the zenan compound and fired at the door. Mr. Garrard standing by my side in front aimed and fired, but missed his object, a sepoy of the 46th with a most fiend-like expression I ever saw; we then thought that we should have more men about us, instead however the man retreated, and did not return; from our place of hiding we could hear them calling out to the chowkedar to point us out; he assures us that he replied we had left. I can't tell the painful state of anxiety and suspense we were kept in from that time until about 11 o'clock, when the chowkedar came in and told us to be quiet as the sepoys had left the house, but that sowars were frequently coming into the compound to know what had become of us; that now the house was being looted. The yell that ever and anon arose, and the crashing noise caused by the plunderers breaking open the wardrobes, almirahs and chests, kept us in a constant state of alarm as we could hear the troopers riding about; the chowkedar said our only security was in keeping quiet, which was no easy task with eight young children, as the least noise might reveal to the villains our hiding place; the chowkedar brought us some chupatties, some stale bread and a large pitcher of water. In this godown there were most providentially two small windows, the glass of one was broken, and we were able to have some ventilation, but the heat and stench of the place was most trying. The godown adjoining was broken into, and when the magazine exploded, we thought, such was

the shock we felt, they had mined the wall, and were going to blow it in; when the second magazine was blown up, there was so much noise and riding about, that we imagined the mutineers had brought the cannon to bear upon the place to induce us to come to be massacred. The suspense and anxiety was awful; it then occurred to us, that the mutineers had blown up the magazine; soon after this some one looked into the grating of our godown and ran off yelling; we felt sure now that our fate was doomed, supposing that the person would go and bring others; our door was occasionally battered, and then a savage looking man gave it a tremendous blow, but not succeeding he looked through the grating. I took a steady aim with my revolver and fired, he fell back and groaned, but never spoke more, he was dead before we left. Soon after this occurrence the chowkedar returned, brought us some more water, and some fruit, &c. and promised to tell us when all the troops might leave, and when it would be safe to venture out. We were not interrupted after the man was shot. Having one child nursed by a native dai who behaved admirably throughout, my wife and myself determined upon making over the child to her protection, she being a Sikhnee; she said she would go out with the chowkedar and remain near them until dark enough to proceed to her house; this we did thinking that we might all perish and this little one be saved. At 7 o'clock in the evening we came out and walked to the fort, distant about one and quarter mile, where we were received by hearty congratulations of many kind friends for our death had been reported.

Destruction of the Sealkote Mutineers.

July 12.—About nine this morning information was received that the Sealkote mutineers were crossing at Trimmoo by a ford. In about ten minutes the column was in motion, and reached within a mile of Trimmoo by 12 o'clock; the column here deployed, the nine guns covered by the infantry. All this time we could distinctly see the 46th formed in line, in front of us, with the 9th cavalry on either flank. They had also videttes far out watching, who fell back as we advanced; when within 800 yards of the enemy our guns were unmasked. Thus we advanced within 300 yards, when the order was given to unlimber the guns, but not to fire, as Nicholson wished to commence with the enfield rifles of the 52nd, who were placed between the guns. I really am not sure whether the first shot was fired by us or by them, I rather think the latter, but there was a very smart interchange between their muskets

and our rifles for two or three minutes, when our guns opened first with round shot, then with grape. Scarcely had our guns opened when the cavalry charged, not from the front, but from the right flank, into the guns on that side, and caused no little confusion, but were cut or shot down.

Then we had a charge of cavalry on our flank and rear. There was a good deal of scrimmaging and pistolling. No sooner was this got over than the Pandys charged manfully at our guns, and came, I suppose, within forty or even thirty-five yards. The Europeans could not stand this, but with a cheer they went at them with the bayonet. Two or three Pandys had bayonets through them in no time, and the rest turned and fled. The 6th Punjab infantry then advanced and drove them across the Ravee, leaving their camp and all their loot on the river bank on this side. They had a gun on the other side, from which they began pounding us with round shot, and though not one told yet the gun was, considering the distance, mighty well served, nor can we imagine who they had to serve it. Two or three of our guns were brought to the river side, and plied them with round shot and shell, some of the latter evidently bursting among the enemy and taking effect. While this game at long bowls was going on, Nicholson went to have a look at their camp, at which the Sikhs flew like vultures. There were three or four gharees of sorts; I took shelter in one for half an hour, and bathed my head with eau-de-cologne, a bottle of which I found, and qualified the Ravee water with essence of ginger, which I also found.

Nicholson felt sadly the want of cavalry, and the enemy made the most of this deficiency on our part. Their tactics were admirable. They attacked us on both flanks and in rear, which they could not have done had we had 100 reliable horse. Their crossing the Ravee at Trimmoo is unintelligible, unless it be that their information about the moveable column was defective.

They retired to the other side again, and still had the gun, which did not seem to have been brought over. I am inclined to think that the whole of their baggage had not come over; they were watched of course. Boswell with the Sikhs had been left at the Serai at Trimmoo, which the scoundrels damaged very much.

Another Account.

I have this moment galloped in from Trimmoo, after witnessing the complete discomfiture of the remnant of the Sealkote mutineers, the capture of their gun, and their dispersion

into the Ravee. The mutineers had their gun in a breast work on the very margin of the island. Bourchier's howitzer and two 9-pounders were placed on the very margin of the main land on this side, the intervening distance being at least 1,150 yards.

At daybreak this morning the 52nd began to be crossed over to the island, about ¾ of a mile below where the rebel gun was. There being only two small boats, the operation was a tedious one. While this was going on, Bourchier had some very pretty practice with round shot and shrapnell at the enemy's gun, which replied very well indeed with round shot, but only indifferently with grape. One round shot knocked over four of Bourchier's horses. Not a man was touched.

About 7 o'clock, when the greater part of the infantry was crossed, Nicholson himself went over and advanced, attended by half a dozen of sowars only to reconnoitre the enemy's position. He then went back and brought up the infantry. The skirmishers of Her Majesty's 52nd led, and I think there were two lines of 52nd in support. It was uncommonly pretty to watch the advance from this side. Poor Brigadier Brind's khansamah, who is said to have been the chief artilleryist of the enemy, now turned his big gun round to bear upon the approaching infantry. Bourchier and Colonel Dawes, who now brought two of their horse artillery guns to bear, plied the enemy with round shot and shrapnell. He heeded it not, but gave our infantry two, if not three, rounds of grape. The skirmishers doubled, and in a minute had taken the gun. It was helter-skelter with the mutineers. A few stood at the gun, or were under the bank near it; these were speedily disposed of. The rest ran to the head of the island, were followed up by our fellows, and took to the water; many must have been drowned, numbers were like mud-larks on sand-banks and small islands, and how *poor* Pandy could have got out of it, I know not. There is deep water on the other side and the villagers were up. There were only one or two places on this side where they could cross; these were watched, and the zemindars were all alive. I rode about two miles up the left bank with Boswell's Shere Dils. The congratulations of the people were sincere. "Moobaruck-bad" was said heartily. Lots more of carriages and buggies, camp equipage, &c., were found on the island. Nicholson left Adams to collect everything.

The accounts vary as to the number of fighting men on the island. There were a great number of camp followers.

All agree in saying that at least eighty mutineers were killed on this morning. Our loss was, I rejoice to say, not more than

four men of the 52nd wounded. The thing was right well planned and right well executed.

My first and very brief campaign was thus over. It was more exciting and interesting a good deal than hearing appeals. But I must get back to the old dry work. I will see that all is kept going for securing the runaways, and then purpose making the best of my way back to Lahore. The Scalkote mutineers have indeed been frustrated in their plan. They fully believed that we had nothing but a few irregulars and police to meet them, and they were confident of breaking through. Their discomfiture is complete.

AGRA.

Narrative of Events attending the Outbreak of Disturbances and the Restoration of Authority in the Agra District, in 1857-58.

From A. L. M. Phillips, Esq., Magistrate of Agra, to the Commissioner, Agra Division.

SIR,—I have the honor, in obedience to the directions contained in circular from Government No. 212, dated the 30th of April last, to forward narrative of events which occurred in the Agra district, from beginning of the outbreak till order was completely restored.

2. From the 11th May to the battle of July, record has been compiled from the following sources:—

I. A memorandum furnished to me by the financial commissioner, Mr. E. A. Reade.

II. Contemporary issues of the *Mofussilite* news-papers.

III. "Notes on the revolt in the North Western Provinces," by C. Raikes, Esq.

IV. Memoranda furnished by Mr. Parsick, Deputy Collector, Lieut. Noble, Lieut. Newmarch, Lieut. Henderson, and Mr. Lane.

3. All I have done is merely to arrange the matter in a continuous form; I have not therefore thought it necessary to mark the same as "quotations."

4. Information of the outbreak at Meerut, the commencement of the mutiny was received at Agra on the 11th of May 1857.

5. The European military force, stationed at Agra, was as follows:—The 3rd European Bengal regiment; one battery of artillery, (horse,) under the command of Captain D'Oyley.

6. Brigadier Polwhele commanded in cantonments.

7. The native force was:—The 44th and 67th regiments of Bengal infantry, a company of one of which also garrisoned the fort.

8. On the 13th of May, a company of Europeans was ordered into the fort by Brigadier Polwhele, professedly to support, but in reality to overawe the sepoys who formed the garrision.

9. On the 14th May, the news of the massacre at Delhi reached Agra. The Lieutenant Governor had made up his mind to direct all Christians' families to repair to the fort, from which the native garrison was withdrawn. This measure was propounded at a council of war, held at Government house. It was strenuously opposed by the Honorable R. Drummond, the magistrate, Mr. Harrington, the member of the North Western Provinces, and other officials; the order was re-called, and a plan of patrolling was organized, the effects of which were in a few days to cause those residents who had taken refuge in the fort to leave it and its discomforts, for their homes.

10. The officers who were employed in patrolling were, besides Mr. Drummond, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Chase, Lieutenant Fraser, and Mahomed Mobeen, deputy collector.

11. To overawe the native regiments whose fidelity was suspected, and as an agency for keeping open communication and repressing any exhibition of turbulence among the clans and tribes of the district, detachments were brought from Gawlior of cavalry and artillery from the contingent and Scindia's body-guard.

12. Mr. Drummond had little confidence in the fidelity of these contingents, and employed officers to ascertain their real feeling. These were Ahmud Buksa, the leading vakeel of the Sudder Court, the deputy collector, and Kour Kalka Pershad, a pensioned deputy collector. These were unanimous in declaring that no faith whatever could be placed on these men

13. On the 21st of May intelligence of the mutiny of the 9th regiment of native infantry at Allygurh was received at Agra; great alarm was felt by the Ghristian population, and hundreds rushed in a panic to such houses as were considered capable of defence. Under Mr. Colvin's directions a plan of defence was drawn up by Mr. Reade, (of the Sudder Board of Revenue,) assigning certain points of rendezvous posts, of defence and outposts. The memorandum on the subject will be found in Appendix No. 1.

14. About this time Mr. Drummond, with the sanction of Government, armed a number of the city police from the

arsenal, greatly increased the number of police, both foot and horse, and called in a large number of chowkeedars from the surrounding villages. The new levies thus raised, of whom nearly all were foot, were armed with muskets, and side-arms, and supplied with ammunition.

15. In some portions of the district a disposition to create disturbances showed itself; Mr. Drummond having little faith in contingents, obtained permission from Mr. Colvin to raise a new levy.

16. Syfoolla Khan had formerly been deputy collector in Rohilchund, and had been selected from his character and abilities to be special deputy collector at Kerowlee; from this post he was promoted to a higher salary in the district of Bhurtpore. There then arose antagonism between him and Captain Nixon, and it was ultimately resolved that he should revert to his former post as deputy collector in these provinces. Before this arrangement could be completed, the outbreak occurred, and he was selected by Mr. Drummond to raise a levy of 400 Kerowlee matchlockmen, and 200 Bhurtpore horse: this afterwards greatly increased, and the whole was put under command of Lieut. Henderson, H. M.'s 10th foot.

17. The Kotah contingent and detachments of the Gwalior contingents were also summoned to Agra, and employed as occasion required, under the command of Lieutenant Noble, Lieutenant Newmarch, and Captain Tonochy.

18. On the 30th of May a company of the 44th native infantry, and another of the 67th native infantry were despatched from Agra to Muttra to take charge of treasure, and escort it into Agra. On their arrival these companies and the company of the 44th stationed at Muttra mutinied, and marched for Delhi, taking with them the treasure.

19. By midnight the news arrived in Agra; Mr. Colvin promptly warned the inhabitants of the civil lines to repair to the different rendezvous, and in concert with the military authorities, it was decided that the dawn should behold the disarming of the 44th and 67th regiments of native infantry.

20. I believe I am correct in stating that the influence of Mr. Drummond instigated and bore down all opposition to this measure.

21. The 3rd Europeans were ordered under arms at two on Sunday morning, the 31st of May; at four they marched to the grand parade with loaded fire-arms; there the European battery quickly joined them and formed ground on the right; the 44th and 67th native infantry shortly came up and formed line opposite; the brigadier major now came on the parade, and informed the regiments of the order of the Lieutenant

Governor. The word "pile arms" was given and sullenly obeyed; and the men were marched back to their lines.

22. In the civil lines a less successful manœuvre was being executed. A detachment of the 3rd Europeans was marched suddenly in front of the company of sepoys, as guard in the jail, and stood for a short space of time, at the attention, without any orders being given to the sepoys; these imagined an attack was intended, and ran in every direction, carrying with them their arms, and threatening to shoot all whom they met. On their way they encountered Lieutenant Williams, they surrounded him, levelling their muskets at him, abusing and threatening to shoot him; he quietly told them to do their worst, and they departed. On their arrival at cantonments, finding the rest of the regiments disarmed, they quietly gave up their arms.

23. The sepoys were allowed to go on leave to their homes, and quietly dispersed in a few days, some remained.

24. Early in June, it was projected to form militia bodies both horse and foot; after much delay in the organization, it was arranged that two separate bodies should be organized, one of the civil lines. and one for cantonments: for the safety of the former, a body of volunteer horse, to the amount of sixty men, had already been raised by Mr. Raikes, Judge of the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut, the command of them, with the full consent of that gentleman, was now given to Major Prendergast, with Lieutenants Oldfield and Hugo James under him.

25. The operations of the auxiliary forces, noted in paragraphs sixteen and seventeen, may be now briefly noticed; Lieutenant Noble, with a detachment of the 1st Gwalior contingent cavalry, was ordered to Jugneyr to guard the borders against incursions on the part of the Bhurtpore territory. Mr. Lane, assistant to the magistrate, accompanied this force. There assistance, promised by the political agent of Bhurtpore, was awaited; but this not coming, and the force being too small to act on the offensive, it returned to Agra through Futtehpore, Sikree.

26. At the beginning of June, Lieutenant Henderson of Her Majesty's 10th Foot, who had been placed under Mr. Drummond for duty with the force of Syfoolla Khan, joined and brought with him two nine-pounder guns; their first proceedings were towards the coercion of the disorderly villages in the Purrah Pergunna by Lieutenant Henderson. Some eighty cartloads of confiscated grain were sent into Agra from the Pergunna. It may be here remarked that Mr. Drummond proposed to victual the fort with these supplies,—a measure which

was afterwards found too tardy for adoption. Syfoolla Khan's force was subsequently ordered towards Kheraghur and Shumshabad on the mutiny of the Gwalior rebels. Intelligence of their movements and afterwards of the Nemuch rebels was chiefly obtained by spies from this force.

27. Mr. Parsick, deputy collector, under regulation IX. of 1833, had been stationed at Futtehpore, Sikree, and was under orders to proceed to Mirzapore. Under the sanction of the Lieutenant Governor, he was detained, and on the 15th of May remained at Futtehpore, Sikree; he found every body alarmed, and the disorderly characters preparing for an attack on the town, which the police, the nujeebs having been withdrawn to strengthen the station guards, were quite unable to resist. Mr. Parsick taking the tehseeldar with him rode through the town, and by talking to the better disposed among the Meewatee zemindars influenced them to organize an armed opposition in case of any outbreak of the disorderly. So effective were his measures that quiet was restored, and dread of an outbreak averted. Mr. Parsick was incessant in his visits to any village which showed signs of any intention to disturb the peace. His intimate knowledge of the inhabitants of the Pergunnah (during his long residence as tehseeldar) enabled him to call in the well disposed Zemindars to his assistance. The following were these to whom he expresses himself more particularly obliged:

1. Buldeo, Zemindar of Dabur.
2. Girwur, ditto of Negleh Serae.
3. Golam Meheedeen, and the Sheikh Zemindar of Nuggur.
4. Ram Schace, Zemindar of Bussuyra Raja.
5. Kishen Singh, and the Zemindars of Santha.
6. Sookjee, of Singharpore.
7. Bhowanee, of Abbooapore.

28. By these men the road to Agra from Futtehpore, Sikree, was kept perfectly secure, and remained so even after the withdrawal of the Government officials. They also watched the borders to resist incursions from the Goojurs of the Bhurtpore district, and prevented a large body of the disarmed 44th and 67th regiments of native infantry from advancing on Futtehpore, Sikree. In his untiring exertions Mr. Parsick was zealously assisted by the tehseeldar, Irshad Alee; as regards this officer, it will cause confusion in the narrative, if I do not complete my notice of him in this place.

29. This officer comes of a race which in the Saugor and Nerburdda territories, had given the most signal proofs of

loyalty, his uncle having been there killed by the rebels; while his cousin in Jubbulpore, and another cousin in Bijnour. Toorab Alee, have received valuable rewards and promotion for eminent loyalty. When the near approach of the Neemuch rebel force compelled Mr. Parsick to fly to Agra, the tehseeldar remained behind to secure, if possible, the safety of the record; he was seized by the mutineers, grievously ill-treated, plundered and forced to walk on foot in their train from Futtehpore, Sikree, to Farrah, where he was on the 7th July released. During the battle of the 5th of July at Sucheyta he was a prisoner in the rebels' camp. From Furrah he went to his home in Bhurtpore, and remained till his recovery from of the treatment he had received, long doubtful, was assured, he then rejoined his appointment.

30. The mutiny at Gwalior occurred on the 15th June, and the fugitives thence arrived in a few days after; this event caused great anxiety for the safety of the officers who commanded detachments of the contingent in the Allegurh and Agra districts. It may be adduced as a sign of the times, that although these detachments had up to this time behaved generally in a satisfactory, and occasionally in a highly creditable manner, no one doubted they would mutiny as soon as news of the outbreak at the head-quartes of their contingent reached them; urgent appeals were sent, with the knowledge of Mr. Colvin, by different Mehomedans of rank in the city, urging them to spare and protect their officers: none of these officers were attacked. Captain Burlton in command of a detachment of his own regiment the 2nd cavlary, by whom he was much beloved was civilly dismissed, the men declaring that they must join their brothers, but would not injure him if he went quietly away. They escorted him up to the neighbourhood of Agra and then departed.

31. The approach of the rebels of the Neemuch and Nusseerabad contingents from Neemuch had long been foretold, and was most anxiously watched. Their march was leisurely, as they were encumbered by a vast amount of baggage plundered in the cantonments of Neemuch and Nusseerabad. These consisted of the force (roughly computed) as follows:—

Foot, ...	2,000
Guns, ...	10
Horse, ...	600

32. The Kotah contingent being considered loyal, had been cantoned on the left bank of the Jumna for about a fortnight.

33. On the 2nd of July the rebel army had reached Futtehpore, Sikree.

34. On the near approach of the rebels, Syfoolla Khan's

force was called in and cantoned in the neighbourhood of Shahgunj. The Kotah contingent was also brought into cantonments: it was intended that these forces should act on the flank of the English.

35. On the morning of the 3rd July, Mr. Colvin was threatened with an apoplectic attack, and by warrant made over the Government to a committee, consisting of Brigadier Polwhele, E. A. Reade, Esq., and Major Macleod.

36. A copy of the resolutions of the Government on the 4th idem is contained in Appendix No. 2. The measures thus carried out were as follows:—

I. The release of a large number of prisoners from the jail, who were put across the river.

II. The admission of Native Christians into the fort.

III. The breaking of the Pontoon bridge to prevent the mutineers crossing in the rear.

IV. The removal to the magazine of the two guns lent to the force of Syfoolla Khan.

V. The orders for advance to the Kotah contingent.

On the evening of the same day, Mr. Colvin resumed charge and retired into the fort.

37. The Kotah contingent on receiving the orders to advance, mutinied at once. Store Sergeant Carr was shot by a havildar, and the whole body made off to join the rebel's camp.

38. Their guns were, as is said, spiked by a gun-classie, named Muthra, and the powder, ammunition and case shot dispersed in the sand by Dr. Mathias, the medical officer in charge. No further injury was attempted to their officers.

39. The ammunition and baggage of the fugitives were captured, and some of the fugitives cut down by a gallant charge on the part of the volunteers led by Major Prendergast.

40. On the 3rd July, the Neemuch rebels were reported at a distance of eighteen miles, and Lieutenant Henderson officially reported his guns to be unsafe, not considering his undisciplined matchlockmen capable of protecting them against the enemy's numerous cavalry. After some difficulty, great risk from the mutinous sepoys of the Kotah contingent, who passed close by the camp, and the desertion of all the sowars of the force, 300 in number, in a body, the guns were brought into Agra.

41. During the night Syfoolla Khan reported unfavourably of the disposition of his levies, stating that the Bhurtpore horse had deserted, that his matchlockmen were useless to oppose the advance of the rebels, and much discouraged at the guns having been taken away. He received orders to move immediately back to Kerowlee, which he did that night.

42. The brigadier had determined to give battle to the rebels: on their advance a strong picket of the volunteer cavalry had been posted beyond Shahgunj, and on the afternoon of the 5th July, intelligence reached the brigadier of the approach of the rebel force. The force commanded by brigadier Polwhele was as follows:—

3rd European Bengal bayonets	600
Volunteer cavalry sabres	33
D'Oyly's battery guns	6

manned with English gunners and native drivers.

43. The force moved on the road to Futtehpore, Sikree, till they arrived at the Begum Sumroo's walled gardens; then they left the road and formed in order, moving to the right over sandy plains. The enemy were then in sight, and soon opened fire from guns planted directly in our front. Our force advancing opened fire, and the enemy, after a short exchange of shots, retired to the distance of two miles, to the village of Sucheyta, when the firing recommenced, then the 3rd Europeans were ordered to lie down behind a slightly rising ground, which did not however protect them from the fire of the rifle company of the 72nd, posted on the tops of houses and in trees. In this position the 3rd remained, and numbers were thus killed by this concealed and destructive fire.

44. The three guns commanded by Captain Pearson took ground on the left, while Captain D'Oyly commanded on the right; nineteen of the volunteer cavalry covered the flanks of the right, and twenty of the same with mounted officers of the left.

45. The artillery of the enemy was also divided to meet the two fires. Their guns were screened by rising ground, forming natural breast-works, and by thickly growing trees. Their infantry at first were posted behind the village, while their cavalry in great force formed behind and on our right flank.

46. Owing to the position of the guns of the enemy, our artillery could do little but fire into the village and the grove of trees. Their infantry emboldened by impunity, advanced and occupied the village; their artillery which had first fired high, acquired the exact range; two tumbrils on our left half-battery were exploded. On this a cloud of sowars poured in with a yell from behind the village, and made a resolute attempt to charge the hampered guns; they were met by a discharge of grape and a volley from a company of the 3rd, and retreated in confusion.

47. Soon a sowar, whose red chupkun marked him as one of the Kotah contingent, approached the right half-battery at

a hand gallop, and halted at the distance of two hundred yards from the front of the handful of volunteer cavalry. Having satisfied himself as to their number, he turned his horse and galloped away; now the enemy's cavalry was observed to form on our right, and advanced with the evident intention of charging the hall-battery. Their number could not have been less than 200. Major Prendergast, who commanded the eighteen volunteer cavalry on the right, ordered an advance, which accelerated to a charge brought this small number soon into the midst of a crowd of the rebel horsemen, the ranks of the volunteers were broken by the impetuosity with which they advanced, the enemy closed round, and, but for their remarkable cowardice, not one of the eighteen could have returned; the remainder formed again as before.

48. The word was at last given for the Europeans to advance, and they occupied the village with complete success; had this order been given earlier in the action, who can say how much slaughter might have been spared? For now it was discovered that the artillery ammunition was exhausted, and nothing remained but to retire into the fort. Fortunately the enemy were as ill provided as ourselves, for though their guns opened on our retreating forces, they did not follow to any distance; the last discharge unfortunately killed three men in the 3rd Europeans.

49. The entire loss on our side was as follows:—

	Artillery.	
1	Officer, Captain D'Oyly	killed.
3	Of other ranks	killed.
1	Officer	wounded.
9	Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates	wounded.
	3rd Europeans.	
1	Officer, Major Thomas	killed.
29	Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates	killed.
65	Ditto ditto	wounded.
	Civil Lines, Mounted Volunteers.	
6	Volunteers	killed.
9	Ditto	wounded.
	Civil Lines, Foot Militia.	
1		killed.
5		wounded.
4	Unattached Officers	killed.
Total..	45	killed.
	89	wounded.

50. On the approach of the retiring force to cantonments, they were met by the foot militia, who formed across the road, and exchanged shots with the pursuing sowars, by which fire some loss was sustained.

51. Before the English troops had reached the fort, the normal school for native education was in flames, the first of the holocaust; Mr. Drummond's bungalow was the next; but the rebel troops did not follow the retreating British force beyond Shahagunj; indeed, properly speaking, there was no pursuit at all.

52. The rebels procured a hasty meal at Shahagunj, and that very night marched for Furrah, in the direction of Delhi, where they arrived on the 8th July, and were received with a grand salute in celebration of the victory of Shahagunj.

53. The march of the insurgent rebel army had been accompanied by hordes of villagers, ready to take advantage of a reverse on either side, and to plunder the vanquished; they were seen before the battle, by many to the amount of some thousands near the European lines. The entry of the British force into the fort was a signal for a general onslaught and plunder.

54. All that night the fires of the blazing bungalows lit the sky, watched with bitter feelings from the ramparts by the occupants of the fort.

55. On Monday morning an immediate attack on the fort was fully expected. The guards of militia and the 3rd Europeans stationed at the outposts fired without ceasing at every native who approached their posts, thereby cutting off communication entirely with those in the city, who were anxious to send information, stopping the entry of supplies and servants, and placing us per force in a state of self-constituted siege.

56. Inside the fort great confusion prevailed;—loose horses were fighting and galloping about; artillery cattle lying wounded and dying with thirst; drunken soldiers, bivouacking in the rain; while all day and all night the Bungalows of the station blazed incessantly. It is lamentable that this waste of property and (as will be hereafter seen) of life, resulted solely from the supineness of those in military command.

57. On Tuesday a note was conveyed into the fort by means of a native employed at the Dehli Gate, written and despatched by Rajaram, resident of Peepul Mundee in the city, and tehseeldar of Khundowlee in this district, to the effect that no rebel troops remained; that the disorder which reigned was merely caused by the rabble of the city, and that the entry of the magistrate with a competent force into the city would completely restore order.

58. On Wednesday morning, the 8th July, Mr. Drummond, accompanied by a company of the 3rd Europeans and two guns, made a circuit of the principal streets in the city and station, and the restoration of order, and the British rule was proclaimed.

59. From this moment, rapine, murder, and outrage ceased.

60. The state of affairs in the city was as follows:—On Saturday, the 4th July, Busharut Allee, as stated by him, after communication with Mr. Drummond has gone round to the different police stations in the cotwalee, and given the different official orders to the effect that they were by the magistrate's orders to consider themselves discharged, and go to their homes.

61. The company of the 3rd Europeans had been withdrawn from the jail on Sunday shortly before mid-day. At the first sound of the firing, the prisoners broke out of the jail; they were not indeed at all coerced by their guards, who joined them with mutinous out-cries, and compelled the darogah of the jail to share among them all the money in his treasury, under pretence of arrears of pay. The prisoners stayed in or about the station till next day, and then departed to their separate homes, without doing any great mischief.

62. At the same time Mr. Browne, deputy collector, was employed in conveying the remains of the treasure from the collector's cutchery to the fort; in this work he persisted after the battle had begun, and did not cease till the whole was safely stowed there. For this service Mr. Browne was allowed a personal allowance of Rs. 100 a month.

63. The first victim to the fanatical hatred against all Christians, was Mr. F. C. Hubbard, professor of literature, Agra college. At the first sound of the guns, he proceeded from the college to the fort, when in passing by the chowkee of Kila Durwaza, he was fired on, and wounded by the police there stationed, and was followed and killed by one of their number.

64. On the morning after the battle the town-crier, at the order of Morad Alee cotwal, proclaimed the reign of the king of Delhi, through the city. The armed procession that accompanied the crier was composed of most of the leading Mahomedan police officers, attached to the cotwalee, headed by the cotwal himself, and followed by a crowd of inferior grades and rabble; there is no reason to suppose that a single Mahomedan of any respectability was in any way engaged or accessory to this proceeding.

65. The other principal police officials at that time in

Agra were Mahomed Moobeen, deputy collector, Vikar Alie Beg, tehseeldar, and Busharut Alee, superintendent of police. Mahomed Moobeen seems to have preserved a strict neutrality. Of the conduct of Vikar Alee Beg I cannot well speak, as his case is under investigation by the special commissioner, but there are, to say the least, strong grounds of suspicion against him of active complicity with the rebels.

Busharut Alee has been proved to have been the main channel of communication between the rebel camp and the traitrous police of the city.

66. Mr. Parsick who, while at Futtehpore, Sikree, had good opportunities of judging, is of opinion that so early as the arrival of the rebel troops at Becanah, twenty-four miles beyond Futtehpore, Sikree, and forty-one miles from Agra, where the road to Delhi viâ Bhurtpore turns off from that to Agra, communication passed between them and the disaffected of the police, which induced the rebels to alter their proposed route to Delhi viâ Bhurtpore for that to Agra. The mutiny of the jail guards, and murder of Mr.lice, Hubbard by the po simultaneously with the battle, and the proclamation of the Delhi king the next day, (an act spontaneous on the part of the cotwal and the police, and not to be imputed to any impulse from the rebel force,) fully to my mind prove the complicity of the heads of the police, while I am as strongly of opinion that as a rule, the leaders of the Mahomedan citizens stood aloof from the whole conspiracy.

67. From the time of the proclamation the property of Christians wherever they could be found in the city was plundered, and themselves, both men, women and children, ruthlessly murdered.

68. All the Christian population who lived outside the city, in the civil lines and cantonments had, without exception, taken refuge in the fort; but there were many, whose habit of life, native in every way, made them averse to the society of Europeans, and whose confidence in the friendship of their neighbours in the city, induced them to remain in their houses.

69. In these murders the leaders were the police, who had been, in great numbers, armed with muskets, ammunition and side-arms; these were joined by the butchers, and Mewatees of Wazeerpoorah and other places, and by the low Mahomedan rabble.

70. From Monday, the 6th July, to morning of the 8th, these scenes of plunder and bloodshed continued without intermission. The number of Christians who were thus murdered

were altogether, fifteen men, four women, and three children, total twenty-two.

In Appendix No. 3, I have noted the particulars of each crime, and the result of the investigations into each case.

71. Some circumstances, worthy of remark, occurred during these scenes of horror. Generally speaking, the inhabitants of the city showed if not utter indifference, at all events no disposition to oppose the marauders by force.

72. The head of a Mr. Christie, murdered near the cotwalee, was placed on the chubootra of the cotwalee itself, after having served as a play-thing for the boys of the Mohulla.

73. Mrs. and Mr. Derridon and their three children were murdered at the door of their house, while the Mahomedan nurse, herself severely wounded, took two other children to that same cotwalee, where they were safely preserved till delivered to Mr. Drummond; and the third, a boy, aged twelve years, escaped by creeping through the legs of the murderers, and alone traversed the city in safety, till he arrived at the fort.

74. In the Mohulla of Hukeemon-gulee, a Mr. Butterfield was preserved by the inhabitants, though his life was repeatedly demanded by the rabble from without the gates of the Mohulla.

75. Mr. Hare, an old and paralytic man, was murdered by two nujeebs; his wife and two children, who had fled, were found on the banks of the river by a Bhungee, and by him concealed for two days in his house, and ultimately conducted to the fort.

76. When the fort was first re-opened, reports that the city would be visited with general and condign punishment, were actively spread by parties, of whom Fureedoollah, sudder vakeel, was the principal, who professed to have heard the same openly threatened by officers high in the civil service. In some instances, these rumours too were readily believed; in others the consciousness of having been implicated in treasonable practices, induced many Mahomedans, both servants of Government and others, to fly from the city.

77. On the 9th July a proclamation was issued by Mr. Drummond, desiring the burkundazes of the police to present themselves at Mr. Browne, the deputy collector's bungalow, and give up all the arms and ammunition in their possession.

78. This produced 100 stand-of-arms. A Persian proceeding was also recorded by that officer, calling on the principal inhabitants of the city to assemble and to deliberate on the means best adapted for restoration of order.

79. This document also contains the sanction of two months' leave to Moorad Alee, cotwal, and Busharut Alee,

superintendent of the city, (as therein stated) by order of the Lieutenant-Governor.

80. On the 10th of July, Mr. Drummond was appointed civil and sessions judge of Banda, and I was appointed to the office thus vacated.

81. On the 11th of July a meeting of the principal inhabitants of the city was held, over which Mr. E. Reade, the financial commissioner, presided. At this session the wishes of the head of the Government were conveyed to them, that they should all unite to preserve order and peace, each in the mahullas in which they lived. They were instructed, in concert with the punches of the city, to raise guards for this purpose, pending the reinstitution of regular police machinery, and they were called upon to use their utmost influence to support Rajaram in his authority as cotwal.

82. At the same time Mr. Colvin appointed Rajaram to the office of cotwal of the city; this was done, I believe, after communication with the most respectable inhabitants of the city, and at their urgent request, it was a marked proof of the confidence reposed by them equally with the head of the Government in his integrity and influence; a trust which his subsequent conduct in that onerous and dangerous post fully justified. Mr. Lowe was also appointed joint magistrate, and Mr. Chase continued his office as assistant.

83. The state of the district outside the city was, in one word, anarchy. The repulse of British troops and the entry into the fort joined to the inaction of the three days whereever reported, every where gave the signal for combined attacks on the tehseelees and thanahs.

84. The tehseelee of Furrah had been plundered on the 8th of July. When the rebel troops arrived there on their way to Dehli, Mahomed Ishaq, the tehseeldar of Furrah, the nephew of Mahomed Moobeen, deputy collector, joined the sudder ameen of Agra, and went to their homes in Shahjehanpore.

85. The thanadar, Shunkur Sahie went away, and has not been heard of since.

86. The naib darogah of Achneyra, in the Furrah pergunah, Wuzeer Mahomed, joined the rebel army and went to Delhi. The tehseelee and thanah buildings were plundered by the butchers of the town.

87. *Iradutnugur.*—Moozuffur Alee Khan was tehseeldar, the thanahdar was Banee Pershad. Although some considerable disorder prevailed in the pergunnah before the 5th of July, still the Government officials had not been threatened up to that time.

88. The news of the battle of July had no sooner reached the country, than the tehseelee was attacked on the 6th of July by the inhabitants of the villages as follows:—Tor, Suddoopoorah, and Ahgagun.

The first attacks were made by the Goojurs of the neighbouring villages; the tehseeldar was abandoned by the Nujeebs of his guard, who joining with the insurgents plundered what money remained in the treasury, the property of the tehseeldar, and of the umlah; this continued from the 6th to the 15th July.

89. On the 14th of July, Newull, zeminder of Posyta, brought assistance and took the tehseeldar with him to his own village, where he kept him in safety and comfort till he was able to return to Agra.

90. In the meantime the Goojurs had been joined by some of the followers of Deohunse Goojur, Soobah of the neighbouring state of Dholepoor. I have already in my letter, dated the 17th of April 1858, detailed the atrocities committed by this monster, but I may here repeat the particulars. On the 9th of July the Soobah advanced to Jajow; he had some three thousand rabble with him and two guns; he commenced proceedings by plundering the town, blowing down the fine old archway to the serai, an ancient edifice, and finished by killing three buneeahs, and setting fire to the town, no resistance was offered to him.

91. On the 14th of July, Buham of Rajoopoora, at the request of the bunneahs of Iradutnugur, came with about 300 of his own followers to protect the town. On the news of his approach, the Goojurs sent for Deohunse, and on his prompt arrival, Buham was killed in Iradutnugur with three of his men.

92. Deohunse then gave up the town of Iradutnugur to plunder; he summoned to his assistance Bhowany Shunkur, tehseeldar of *Rajakhero*, who came as far as Mayhown, in Pergunnah Iradutnugur, with one gun. The Soobah himself stayed at Iradutnugur for one day only, and then returned to Dholepore; but his men and chief officers stayed at Iradutnugur and superintended the plunder of the town up to the 3rd August.

For five weeks, carriages laden with spoil of the plundered villages continually passed along the road to Dholepore. The value of this property is certainly not over-estimated at two lacs of rupees.

93. The cases, as I have before mentioned in my letter to your address, have been fully investigated. Agreeably to directions contained in the letter from the secretary to

Government, North-western provinces, dated the 30th of April 1858, the cases, forty-one in number, were made over to Major Macpherson, political agent at Gwalior, and there the matter has rested.

94. *Mahomed Hussun* was tehseeldar of Bha Pinahut, a man of resolution and integrity. The pergunnah, the furthest removed from the sudder station, early fell into disorder. To subdue the same the tehseeldar received all the assistance that the Rajah of Bhudawur was able to afford. Bha was attacked and plundered by the surrounding villages, headed by Luchmun Singh, and the thanahdar attacked and put to flight.

Proprietors of estates bought at auction were ejected by the former owners. Anarchy prevailed and plunder on all sides. The tehseeldar at Pinahut was surrounded by a horde of thakoors from across the Chumbul, headed by the men of Lukhunpoora Busona, on the 14th June; but they were not attacked.

The villages of Oodypora and Oothur were plundered by the forces under Deohunse, Soobah of Dholepoor, who set up his thanah at Sumona, in Pinahut.

95. On the 3rd July, the tehseeldar went at the summons of the rajah of Bhudawur to Nyagaon on the 11th and 12th July. Rebel forces of the Gwalior contingent crossed at Bubyna, with the intention of plundering the treasure at Pinahut; in this design they were pervented by Dowlutram, in whose charge the treasury had been left, and finally crossed the Chumbul; they were joined by several Nujeebs and chuprassees.

96. On the 27th July, what remained of the treasury, after deducting pay of Government servants, duftur and Government servants arrived at the Nyagaon. Thence the tehseeldar came to Agra, but was plundered on the way.

97. *At Ferozabad*, Kasim Husun Khan, brother of the principal sudder ameen at Agra, was tehseeldar, Mohzun Alee was thanahdar. Some assistance was derived from Lieutenant Tonnochie, who commanded a detachment of the Gwalior contingent, but they were not of sufficient strength to effect permanent good. On the 30th June, these sowars mutinied, and Mr. Tonnochie and the tehseeldar left for Agra. After their departure the town and tehseelee were attacked by the neighbouring villages: but their attack being resisted by the thanahdar, aided by some sowars who remained, it was repulsed; ultimately the sowars departed having looted the treasure. The town was again attacked by the Chohan tribes from Mynpoory and the Mullahs from the river side, who plundered most part of the towns, except the Mohulla where the Mahomedans lived. These last attacked and drove back these assailers with great slaughter; another attack was made,

and ultimately also repulsed. In these affairs, Khemkurun of Mulikpoor, and Busharut Alee, pensioner, greatly distinguished themselves.

98. Goordyal Singh was tehseeldar of Khyragurh, he found it impossible to control the turbulent tribes in the direction of Jugneyr, the thanahdar of which place had been compelled to leave for Agra. On the 2nd July some sowars of the rebel force arrived from Futehpoore, Sikree; intelligence of the ill-treatment of the tehseeldar of that place being known, the burkundauz and tehseelee chuprassees rapidly deserted, and finally the tehseeldar left for Agra. After their departure, the zemindars of Wontgir Belowtee, and Lukhunpoora, plundered the treasury.

99. In this pergunnah the conduct of the servants of Government was less creditable than in the neighbouring pergunnahs. The thanahdar had early left for his home in Bareilly, the tehseeldar also left for Agra stating, as his reason, fear; of an attack by Luchmun Sing Goojur, zemindar of Khera. This individual, however, on the departure of the tehseeldar occupied the tehseelee, preserved the records, and protected the town. There was an old grudge between him and the tehseeldar, which probably gave rise to the tehseeldar's panic.

100. In the pergunnah of Etmadpoor, the disturbances headed by Zurawur Sing of Himmutpoor, as in Ferozabad, the Nujeebs of the guards had been withdrawn. The tehseeldar left to procure assistance from Agra on the 4th July. On the 5th July the thanah was attacked by a vast concourse of the surrounding villagers. The town was plundered, and the thanahdar obliged to take refuge with the zemindars of Sitholi; from thence he reached Agra with great difficulty.

101. On the 15th of July, at Mr. Harington's recommendation, Baboo Ramnarain, a pleader in the sudder court, was offered and accepted the post of tehseeldar of the huzoor tehseel; he was a person of great zeal and energy, and willingly accepted a post of responsibility and risk. I shall find occasion to observe on his services in the sequel.

102. The thanahs and chowkees belonging to the cotwalee were speedily organized; the next step was to re-establish the district thanas. So great was the disorganization consequent on the entry into the fort, that it was considered necessary that an armed demonstration should be made with as little delay as possible At Futtehpoor, Sikree, the rebel thanadar and tehseeldar still held office; an expedition thither was therefore contemplated; after a delay of two days, a force started on the 29th of July. It was commanded by Captain Patton, and accompanied by Lieutenant Griffin, of the artil-

lery, and Lieutenant Salmond of the Gwalior contingent, as volunteers. I attended as civil officer. The river Kharee at Kherawallee was successfully crossed and Futtehpore Sikree reached soon after daybreak. After a long search, two Mahomedans against whom full proof of complicity existed were apprehended.

103. The delay of two days had allowed the tehseeldar, left by the rebels, to escape.

104. The next day intelligence was brought that the Mewatees of South-ke-mundee had transported and lodged in the houses of the Mewatees outside the town of Futtehpoor, Sikree, vast quantities of plundered property from the cantonments and civil lines; a search was instituted there, and on return thence, I myself with five of the volunteer cavalry, were entering the narrow streets of the town of Futtehpoor, Sikree, when we were met by a large body of Mewatees, armed with guns, &c., who commenced a sharp discharge of matchlocks at us. We turned back to the open ground, and on the arrival of reinforcements from above, charged and pursued the flying enemy for a considerable distance till stopped by a morass. In this affair Lieutenant Salmond was wounded in three places, and about fifteen of the enemy killed; a police sowar, by name Sirshad Alee, was also desperately wounded by the Mewatees, and two syces killed. The expedition returned the same evening.

105. The two prisoners were tried by Mr. Harington, as special commissioner, on a charge of high treason, and sentenced to be hung.

106. The Mewatees of Futtehpoor, Sikree, entirely evacuated the country, and effectual measures were taken to prevent their return; a tehseeldar and a thanadar were left installed in their offices, and suffered no further molestation.

107. On the 1st of August, the demolition of the houses in the immediate vicinity of the fort was commenced and carried out. The memorandum on this subject will be found in an Appendix.

108. On the 10th of August an expedition, consisting of the force noted in the margin under Mr. Lowe, joint magistrate, visited the Ferozabad and Etmadpoor pergunnahs. They were fired upon by the village of Choolhowlee, which was carried without further resistance. A thanahdar and tehseeldar were left at the tehseelee Etmadpoor, and the police speedily organized.

109. At this time the mutinous proceeding of Teg Singh, the titular rajah of Mynpoory, and the head of the Choolian tribes in that district, gave great uneasiness as to the safety

of our eastern borders. At Mr. Harington's recommendation, Sheikh Inayut Hoossein, the Sudder Ameen of Mynpoory, then residing at Agra, was offered the post of deputy magistrate and deputy collector at Ferozabad, the pergunnah bordering on the Mynpoory district. This offer he accepted. Gunga Pershaud Wasil Bakee Nuvees of the Sudder office, accompanied him as tehseeldar. Raheem Khan, an old pensioner, though still hale, and a zemindar of the Ferozabad pergunnah, who had behaved very well when Ferozabad had been attacked before, was appointed thanahdar.

110. Hookum Singh, Talookdar of Jarkee, came himself to Agra for the purpose of escorting the Government officers to their posts; and ever since then supplied men, guns, and ammunition whenever danger threatened.

111. I have ere now in my letter dated the 18th of February 1858, to the address of the Secretary to Government North Western Provinces, entered into the meritorious services of Inayut Hossein. They will bear further notice here. On his arrival he found the pergunnah had been thrown into great disorder by the robberies and aggressions committed by Zorawur Singh of Himmutpoor; but the deputy collector found the feeling of the country decidedly on the side of order and in his favor; of this he availed himself, and some forced Zorawur Singh to disband his rabble and fly. Under authority from Agra, he raised levies of armed men to resist expected attack of the Mynpoory rabbles, who had advanced as far as Shekhoabad, six coss off; prepared guns, and got together a small body of well mounted sowars; in fact so successful were his measures, that in a very short space of time, without any military demonstration from Agra order had been completely restored in the pergunnah, and the threats of invasion on the Mynpooree side ceased.

112. In these proceedings the proximity of the rajah of Awah, then in charge of the Juleysur and Sydabad pergunnah, whose powerful influence was exerted zealously on the side of our Government, was of great assistance, the northern borders of the pergunnah were protected, and kept in quietness chiefly through his means.

113. The accounts given by Hurnarain, the tehseeldar of Futteeabad, as to the conduct of Luckmun Singh Goojur, zemindar of Kheera, were proved to have been greatly exaggerated. A private quarrel had existed between him and the former tehseeldar, and it may be that that officer entertained some doubts of his own safety in his hands. But after the departure of the tehseeldar, Luchmun Singh had preserved

the tehseelee and thanah records from injury, and the rest of Government property remained untouched.

114. The moonsiff of Futteeahad, Alee Buksh, expressed his readiness to return to his post; with him were sent as tehseeldar Goordyal Singh, and a thanahdar Noor-oolah. The tehseelee at Futteeabad, an old Mahratta fort, was a place of considerable strength. Luchmun Singh was eager to efface the remembrance of any misdeeds he had committed, and he and his clan were able and willing to hold the post against any hostile clan of villagers in the district. Under these circumstances the tehseelee and thanah officials were established in security, and the roads were also safe for travellers. It could not however be said that the authority of the police carried any weight.

115. The pergunnah of Furrah in the same manner was occupied by a tehseeldar Petum Singh and a thanahdar Buldeo Buksh. These were both determined men, but they found it advisable not to use compulsory measures to enforce obedience beyond the town itself. In both the pergunnahs of Furrah and Futteeabad, the Government servants and authority existed by sufferance.

116. To the pergunnah of Kheraghur, Hurnaraen went as tehseeldar, and Buldeo Sahaie as thanahdar, and Furzund Alee to Jugneyr as thanahdar.

117. In the pergunnahs of Bah Pinahut, the furthest removed from the station, with a turbulent population, and by position exposed to the aggressions of the disorderly tribes inhabiting the Dholepore territories, the support of the authority of the servants of Government was specially committed to the rajah of Budawur Mehendur Singh. This chief, the head of the thakoor tribe of Badawureas, of an ancient and well-connected family, and a jagirdar of considerable property in this district, lives at Nyagaon in pergunnah Bah, is himself of not sufficient force of character to have acted decidedly and consistently on the side of the British Government; but the influence of his chief adviser, Hukeem Meher Alee, and his brother Hukeem Nuseeroodeen, resident of Agra, was exerted to the utmost to keep the chief in the path of loyalty.

118. The pergunnah of Iradutnugger was also confided to him, as far as related to the protection of the borders.

119. During the months of August and September, as the Chumbul and Jumna rivers subsided, the rebel forces then occupying the district of Etawah, made frequent attempts to cross into the pergunnah of Bah, while the Toumur and other Rajpoot tribes of marauders menaced it from the other

side of the Chumbul. Aggression from the direction of Etawah was resisted by open force by the rajah; considerable levies were collected, the ghats strongly guarded and vigilantly watched; and though shots were frequently exchanged, the rebels never succeeded in effecting a landing on this side. To avert incursions from across the Chumbul, the influence of the rajah's position, as head of the Badoureea thakoors, of whom great numbers live on the borders of the Chumbul, and are nearly connected with the Toumurs, was used, precautions being at the same time taken for guarding the ghats. This good service performed at a most critical period, cannot be very easily over-rated. The strength of the garrison in the fort at Agra, originally consisting of only a weak English regiment, six guns weakly manned, and about thirty volunteer horse, had been greatly weakened by the despatch of a detachment of all arms to occupy Allyghur. What remained in the fort was not sufficient for the garrison alone, and not a man could have been spared to act outside. If the rebels had crossed and acquired a footing in this district, the consequences must have been increased confusion, and have disorganized all the neighbouring pergunnahs on the right bank of the Jumna. Two guns were under Government orders sent by the rajah to the assistance of the authorities in the district of Etawah, and were taken by the rebel force. No remuneration has been made to the rajah for these losses.

120. Such being the paucity of armed force in the station, it was necessary to trust almost entirely to the assistance of loyal zemindars, and the force of armed levies obtained through their means, and paid by Government for the security of the tehseelees and thanahs, and the protection of travellers on the high roads in the district. About this time I also directed the different tehseeldars to make such arrangements as would render their post defensible against a rebel force unarmed with guns.

121. The zemindars, who particularly distinguished themselves in assisting the officers of Government, have been already mentioned by me in the list furnished to the Government.

122. In the beginning of September the pontoon bridge was completed in its new site, under the guns of the fort. Matters continued in this semi-quiescent state till 14th of September, when the city of Delhi was entered by our troops. On the 25th of September, a large force of rebels with many guns were reported on their way from Delhi to Muttra, which they reached on the 26th of September, and commenced building a bridge to cross the Jumna. The thanah of Furrah

distant fourteen and quarter miles from Muttra, was withdrawn to Roonkootra, and measures taken to enforce a vigilant watch on the road. Some rebel fugitives were captured, who were convicted and hung.

123. The rebels crossed the Jumna into the Allygurh district on their way to Rohilkund, on the 6th of October, and the thanah of Furrah was immediately re-established.

124. Early in the month of August a rebel force, consisting of whole or parts of the Mehidpoor, Malwa and Bhopal contingents, and the regular troops stationed at Indore, (23rd N. I.) with large additions of the Vilayutee and others in the pay of the Bhopal and Indore states, had reached Gwalior; there they remained till about the end of August, and in the beginning of September these forces joined by part of the Gwalior contingent, both horse and foot, but not by any of the artillery, marched to Dholepore, on the road to Agra, there the Head-quarters of the force remained till the 6th of October. The advanced guard and sowars had however as early as the 11th of September, advanced much nearer, so much so as to capture the tehseeldar and thanahdar of Kheragurh, who were ultimately released. They spread over the pergunnahs of Kheragurh, Futtehpore, Sikree, Iradutnuggur, and Futteeabad, and up to the Kharee Nuddee, compelling the withdrawal of all the Government establishments from the southern parts of the district.

125. The main body of the rebel fugitives from Delhi, as I have mentioned above, crossed the Jumna at Muttra; but a force of all arms, led by Heera Singh, subadar of the 72nd regiment native infantry, formerly stationed at Agra in 1856, and afterwards at Neemuch, who had commanded the Neemuch rebel forces in July 1857, joined the rebels at Dholepore: with him came a Shahzadah of Delhi, who went by the name of Ferozeshah and almost immediately afterwards, on the 6th of October, the whole body began their march for Agra, with the avowed intention of attacking the fort of Agra. They took with them two brass guns of enormous size, belonging to the Dholepore States, drawn by elephants, of which one broke down and remained immoveable just out of Dholepore. Their numbers were very considerable, and they had thirteen guns.

The column commanded by Colonel Greathed, which had been detached to clear the left bank of the Jumna, had advanced through Boolundshuhur to Allygurh.

126. Every arrangement to procure speedy and certain intelligence of the movements of the rebels in our power had been effected: we could only act by spies. Myself, Mr. Muir,

and Major Macpherson had each different channels. Over mine was Bhyron Singh, jemadar of Meenas, who kept up a string of unbroken intelligence from the beginning to the end. This was all communicated to Mr. Muir.

127. Intelligence of the movement of the head-quarters of the rebel camp from Dholepore on the 6th of October reached us on the evening of the same day. A communication by order of the chief commissioner was sent to Colonel Greathed, urgently requesting the speedy presence of his column at Agra. As day by day the rebels approached, urgent messages were despatched to the same effect, till on the 9th of October the two following letters were addressed by Mr. Muir to Colonel Greathed then at Hattrass:—

"The enemy is encamped on the other side of the Kharee, and professes to intend a passage of that river to-day. They will probably find it a more difficult matter than they fancy to transport their heavy guns (of which they have got three or four from Dholepore) across the stream, which is deep. But the main body of their force may, if they choose to risk the thing, cross; our urgent anxiety is to be provided with cavalry and another troop of horse artillery. We want this in advance of you, lest these desperadoes should cast themselves suddenly upon us.

128. "As far as we can see, our enemy is playing the part of a mad man, and trusting his head into the lion's jaws. But you must come on rapidly in order yourself to play the lion's part. There are not wanting indications of some advisers in the enemy's camp, who wish to carry the force either towards Bhurtpoor or Etawah. Some detachments in these directions were expected, it is said, by them to return to-day. But it would be even more disastrous to allow their escape than to have to bear their menaces here for a day or two. You have therefore every inducement to hurry on.

"Arrangements can be made to assist your infantry in the last stage, or more, by bullock train waggons, if you will give us details as to your period of reaching each stage. This letter, enclosing Colonel Fraser's despatch, goes by mail cart, and the coachman will have instructions to bring back your reply in the same manner."

129. The note on the system of intelligence received and given to the military authorities will be found in Appendix No. 4.

130. I have entered so far into the circumstances which attended the approach of the rebels, because the subsequent surprise which they effected on Colonel Greathed's column, has been imputed as reflecting great discredit on the civil

authorities at Agra, and has been, in a letter from the late Colonel Cotton, officially described as such.

131. On the morning of the 10th October, Colonel Greathed's column crossed the bridge, and encamped on the old parade ground in cantonments, in fancied security.

132. In the 73rd page of "Notes on the Revolt of the North Western Provinces of India," written by Mr. Raikes, it is stated that "the magistrate and other Government officials assured Colonel Greathed, that the enemy had fallen back." On this point I can only state that certainly no such information was either received or communicated by me, and the following note appears in a memo. by Mr. Muir, on the same subject:—

133. "There was no intimation given to Colonel Greathed, by any of the authorities, on the morning of the 10th, that the enemy were re-crossing. The city rumour to that effect, brought in by the Seikh Gooroo, Jotee Pershad, Esree Pershad and other men whose loyalty has not been doubted, was unquestionably occasioned by the march through the town of Greathed's imposing column. The town's people never dreamt that the Dholepore rebels would have the audacity to run their heads against *such* a rock as that splendid force."

134. In the meantime the rebel army were advancing with all rapidity up the road to Agra, and concealed by the high crops of Indian corn, and adjacent buildings, had full license to get into position opposite to the British camp before any notice was taken of their presence. From the evidence of captured sepoys, it has now been ascertained that until they were actually in the field of battle, the rebels had received no intimation of the reinforcements which had reached Agra.

135. The first intimation received of their approach was a party of Ghazees, some five in number, who entered the camp, playing tomtoms, and entering a tent killed two men of the 9th lancers, and desperately wounded a third. The guns of the enemy opened immediately after, and the rebel sowars dashed through and round the camp. When the alarm was thus given, the British forces had not long dismounted, and had only partly dispersed; the artillery and some of the cavalry to the left flank had been aware of suspicious bodies of men moving in their front. Such was the promptitude with which the different arms formed themselves into position, that the artillery on the right flank replied to the fourth gun fired by the enemy; it was on this flank that Captain Green and Lieut. Jones, of the 9th lancers, at the head of only twenty-five men, charged a large body of the rebel sowars, who were

preparing to charge the battery and completely dispersed them, riding through, and returning to another charge. In this exploit Captain Green was killed, and Lieutenant Jones desperately wounded. Gun after gun came into action, and the clouds of cavalry formed on the flanks; the rebels found out their mistake too late, for in 1½ hour they retreated, answering to our artillery at intervals, but their retreat became a flight, and by the time that they reached the Kharee Nuddee, a distance of eight miles, every gun was captured including the big gun of Dholepore; and the force totally routed and disorganized.

The road the next day, and the field for a distance of half a mile on both sides, was literally covered with dead bodies. The number of killed could not have been under a thousand: On our side we had:

Killed.	1 Officer, 9th lancers. 4 Europeans, Non-commissioned officers. 6 Seikhs.
Wounded.	4 Officers. 22 European, privates. 21 Seikhs.

136. The villagers on the other side of the Kharee collected to plunder the fugitives. Many rebels were thus killed, and property to the value of upwards of Rs. 4,000 was subsequently recovered by the police, and sent into Agra. During the whole action, the city was completely quiescent. The cotwal Rajaram displayed a passive courage, for which I think no one gave him credit before. It must be remembered that if success had attended the arms of the rebels, he would undoubtedly have been one of the first victims. Undismayed by the peril of his position, he remained steadily at the cotwalee, and immediately on the issue of the battle being no longer doubtful, caused the success of our arms to be proclaimed through the streets and lanes of the city. My original report on his conduct, and that of Ramnarain, is contained in Appendix No. 5. In November he was transferred to the collectorate office, holding his substantial appointment as tehseeldar; he left his appointment, carrying with him the respect of all respectable citizens, and the good opinion of all. I may here also be allowed to allude to the services of Ramnarain, tehseeldar huzoor tehseel. He was appointed tehseeldar at the same time as Rajaram, and though a man of a private character, less popular, most certainly must be entitled equally with Rajaram, to the credit of having come forward at the most critical times to lend his support to our Government. He is entitled, in my opinion, as well as Rajaram, to valuable ac-

knowledgment from Government. Since the battle of the 10th October the district has been undisturbed by the presence of any rebels in force.

137. A detachment of the fugitive mutineers from Delhi, which had crossed the Jumna at Muttra, had reached Futtehpore, Sikree, and were there harboured by the Mewatees of the town itself, and the neighbouring villages; the old buildings formed positions of great strength, and it was considered necessary to deal quickly with such dangerous neighbours.

138. In the end of October, a force under the command of Colonel Cotton, marched to Futtehpore, Sikree, and after a severe resistance, the tehseelee, where the rebels were established, was carried, some fifty of the rebels were killed there, and about thirty of them, entirely Vilayutees and Mewatees, were killed by the cavalry.

139. The force marched thence through the pergunnah of Furrah, into the Muttra district.

140. The effect of the progress of this column, was most beneficial: resistance on the part of the landholders ceased at once, the thannah and tehseel officials were re-established, and assumed the usual control without molestation. If, as did occasionally happen, the country people in Kheragurh and Jugneyr pergunnahs, showed signs of restiveness, I considered that it was better to leave the remedy to time and conviction than to use the military as an instrument of persuasion.

141. In the pergunnah of Futteeabad, two villages remained obstinately and pestilently rebellious, Khandier and Dhumola. Every means was tried to induce them to listen to reason, well disposed Zemindars were used as mediators, and promise of forgiveness made, with no effect; finally, when it was ascertained that the proprietors, assisted by a great many fugitive sepoys, were strengthening their gurrees and collecting ammunition and guns, I considered it necessary to apply to the military authorities for aid. With great difficulty, on the 26th of November, I obtained the loan of two guns, without artillery men, and two artillery conductors who were sent under an escort of 100 matchlockmen, furnished by Mehender Singh, Dewan of Parna, to Futteeabad. These, I accompanied. I had before sent Lieutenant Furnell and 100 Sikh sowars to assist the police. On my arrival on the 27th of November, I found that Lieutenant Furnell, while reconnoitring the village of Dhunola, had been fired on by parties concealed in the ravines.

142. On sending information of this to Colonel Fraser, C. B., he consented to dispatch the detachment of the 3rd Europeans, the company of the Sikh sappers under Captain

Chalmers, and a howitzer, the whole under command of Major Hennessy, who accompained this force.

143. The next day Major Hennessy, while reconnoitering the village of Dhunola, got partially involved in the ravines; no one was hit, but Captain Fuller's horse was grazed. The Zemindars of Khandier having been summoned to appear and answer for their conduct, refused to do so.

On the morning of the 28th, the force marched for Khandier. The village contained a strong gurree, from which the enemy fired for some time. It was taken, and the enemy pursued with great slaughter through the ravines.

144. The next day the three gurrees, which formed the stronghold at Dhunola, were also carried after considerable resistance.

145. On the 30th idem, Inayet Hossein, the deputy collector of Ferozabad, arrived in camp at Futteabad, with the intelligence that the Mullahis of Chundwar, and other villages on the left bank of the Jumna had murdered in cold blood, forty-five of the police burkundazes of Ferozabad. They had committed this atrocity under the following circumstances:—A highway robbery had been committed at Chundwar; a party of the police, of one jamadar and forty-five burkundazes, were despatched thither to seize the offenders. These men arriving in the afternoon without proper guides, got entangled among the deep and intricate net work of ravines, which extend far—from three to six miles—on the left bank of the Jumna. The Mullahis collected from all the surrounding villages, and attacked the police with overwhelming numbers: they fired on them all through the night, and by the morning had completely exterminated the whole number. Not a single man returned to tell the tale, nor when a search was possible, was any trace of the bodies discovered. It must be supposed that they were thrown into the Jumna.

On receipt of this intelligence, I was most anxious that the force, but a few miles removed from the scene of slaughter, should march thither, and avenge this atrocious crime. In this I was overruled, on the ground that Colonel Fraser's orders were that the force should not delay its return to the fort. I was not even allowed to communicate with Colonel Fraser, and receive his orders. It is known that at that time the Mullahis had prepared to resist, thus the opportunity was lost for inflicting punishment. A subsequent visit found every village deserted.

146. The Estate of Dhurpoora, pergunnah Etmadpore, had been let for arrears of revenue to Jotee Pershad. The Lumberdar, Hurlall, a notorious malefactor, had escaped. On the

16th of December he returned, ejected the servants of Jotee Pershad, and commenced a course of plunder, which stretched far and wide. He was rapidly joined by all the loose and bad characters in the neighbourhood, and no less than twenty-nine villages were plundered by him, from that time to the 5th of February.

147. But so utterly destitute of troops were we at that time, that no military expedition could be organized against him. On the 4th of February, an opportunity offering, a force marched against Dhurpoora, and expelled him without difficulty.

148. In the city of Agra, under the directions of Mr. Reade, financial commissioner, a city barrier, being an encircling wall with gates at the entrances of the principal roads, was planned and carried out by Captain Munbee, assisted by Mr. Macconnachie and Mr. Hall. Half the expense was raised by subscription, and half borne by Government. Experience has now proved that the erection of this barrier, or "Shahr Punah," as it is called, has been attended with the very best effects. The doors are closed at nine P. M., and opened at gun-fire A. M., between which hours all ingress and egress is forbidden, except under express order. Burglaries committed inside the wall, are almost unknown.

149. Since that time, although parts of the district have been occasionally disturbed by incursions of dacoits from across the Chumbul by the passage of fugitive rebels, and by the restiveness of distant villages all which have been reported to you as they have occurred, but the transition from anarchy to security has been gradual and sure.

150. Here we may close the narrative at the date of re-establishment of order.

It only remains for me to notice those whose services on the part of Government have been of unusual merit. Of the Rajah of Budawur, I have already spoken sufficiently, both in this narrative and in the former compiled agreeably to the circular order, in which notice of all others, whose names have appeared in this narrative, has also there appeared.

With regard to Rajaram, the late cotwal, and Ramnarian, late tehseeldar, I must be allowed to offer some further remarks. I can write in no stronger words than I have already done, on the nature of their services. They have been acknowledged by those of the highest official rank, who were in Agra during the most critical period. Of these, Rajaram has received no acknowledgment at all, but has been recommended for a "Khillut of one piece." Ramnarain has received none, and has been compelled to resign his office of tehseeldar,

because its duties and the work of a pleader in the Sudder Dawanny Adawlut, were considered incompatible.

151. When high authority has pronounced opinion, it is difficult to speak in opposition without being charged with insubordination.

152. Syfoolla Khan has been promoted in the scale of deputy collector, and received a khillut of Rs. 1,000 for services rendered in Agra while our power was yet firm in the district; and for (as I understand) political services at Kerowlee, afterwards.

153. Rajaram, who performed the duties of cotwal of the city, from the time when we had no power at all outside the guns of the fort, to the time when our power was completely restored, is recommended to be rewarded by a khillut of one piece, a reward which would be considered little less than an insult; and is debarred from the post of a deputy collector, as being too infirm. While Ramnarain is considered not worthy of any reward at all.

144. It is not too late for the Government to act, so as to support its character for generosity and consistency.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. L. M. PHILLIPPS, *Magistrate,*

Agra Magistracy, the 18th November, 1859.

MEMORANDUM.—Dated the 13th October, 1857.—The surprise of Suturday morning may appear to call for some remarks from me, it having been my duty to collect and bring promptly to notice, in a convenient form, all the intelligence regarding the movements of the enemy, furnished by the local authorities and others.

I will begin from the first start by the Indore forces from Dholepore, and I hope to show that amidst many difficulties, and the perplexity of conflicting evidence, timely warning was given to and acted upon by the military authorities.

The Indore mutineers had been talking of marching on Agra ever since they arrived at Dholepore, now above a month ago. After the Neemuch brigade left Muttra to join them, they gave out every day that they were going to march the next to Agra. "The wolf" had been so often called out, that when it did actually move, it was at first difficult to distinguish fact from mere report.

It is the more satisfactory therefore to find that, the very day on which the Indore force broke ground, on the same evening warning was given both by Major Macpherson and myself.

They moved on the 6th October. About 8 o'clock that evening, I reported that intimation had been brought to me of the whole Indore force being at Munnia, ten miles this side of Dholepore, and of a considerable picket being at Jajow; and at the same time said that there were other and conflicting statements, and that a portion of the Indore force might have been mistaken for the whole. The intelligence was regarded by Major Macpherson and myself as so important that we both (he unknown to me) troubled Colonel Fraser and Colonel Cotton with it at an unusually late hour of the night.

7th October.—On this day I submitted a memorandum, recounting the conflicting evidence. There was no doubt that a large body was at Munnia, but it was questioned whether the entire forces had evacuated Dholepore. The common talk of the camp was stated to be an attack in a few days *on Agra;* and various preparations at the Ghats leading to Agra, —one or more huge ladders, stores of pegs and planks—were mentioned, showing unequivocally their intention to cross.

Upon the whole I concluded that, although there might be a doubt as to whether the Indore mutineers had moved with their *entire* force on Munnia, "at the same time there were so many concurrent testimonies received both by others and myself of the whole force being at Munnia, that we ought to be prepared for that contingency."

On this day successive letters and telegraphic messages were despatched towards Khundowlee, and to Colonel Greathed, stating the dangers in which the town and environs of Agra were placed from the threatened attack of the Indore troops, urging an early advance by the moveable column, and directing that, in case of any delay, 500 cavalry and a troop of horse artillery should be pushed on with the utmost rapidity. These were all despatched between 10 A. M. and 2 P. M.

8th October.—On this day frequent intelligence came in to us. At midday I reported its purport in a memorandum.

I reviewed the movements of the Indore force on the 6th and 7th.

I stated that the main body of these mutineers, with the artillery, were believed to be at Munnia, and that a portion of them were expected to move on *that day* to Jajow, which is about eighteen miles from Agra.

I stated that parties of sowars had crossed the Ootunghan, and talked of passing over by different ghats; that one party

was at Kagarole, about thirteen miles distant, on the banks of the *Kharee*, and close to the Akbala ghat, by which they talked of crossing; that camp equipage was reported to have reached Tehra, about eleven miles from Agra on the metalled road, and close to the Oosra ghat; "and it is stated," I said, "that they have caught the Zemindars of Koora and Shamshabad, (villages *on this side the Kharee*) and ordered them to have supplies ready for them at Kukooba, a village *a short stage from this* on the Jajow road." Kukooba is only about five or six miles from cantonments.

The danger appeared to me so imminent that I raised the question of opening the Futtehpoor sluices, and throwing such a volume of water into the Kharee as to render it impassable; and I said I would have recommended the measure "had Colonel Greathed's column not been so close at hand."

This memorandum was, as usual, sent to Colonel Fraser and Colonel Cotton, the former of whom regarded the danger as so immediate and pressing that I was directed to forward a copy to Colonel Greathed, which I did at 2½ P. M.; "again urging on him the necessity of sending 500 cavalry and a troop of horse artillery on at once, so that they may, if possible, reach this to-morrow (the 9th), *for if not we may be compelled to fight the Dholepoor mutineers alone and under great disadvantages.*"

Thus the danger was anticipated of a not improbable attack on Agra on the 10th, if not on the 9th.

Another letter was written to Colonel Greathed on the same day in which I said that "the enemy had made preparations for crossing the Kharee to-morrow, (9th), and *will then be within an easy march of Agra.* The whole force declares its intention of attacking the fort, and we must be at once prepared to repel and chastise them." "The speediest movement to Agra" was on these grounds again urged, and the cavalry and horse artillery directed to be sent forward with all despatch in advance of the main column.

More alarming reports and messages can hardly be conceived than those in the afternoon of this day, the best of spies Hutteh Singh, one of Mr. Phillips's, was sent to me; I considered his evidence so important that I submitted it (notwithstanding that it was little more than confirmatory of my previous memorandum) to the chief commissioner and Colonel Cotton.

It stated that Shaupoor was quite evacuated, the *whole* force with all the guns having advanced on us; that the enemy had been joined by the Neemuch Brigade; that the force had left Munnia, crossed the Ootunghan, and were now encamped at Syan, which it reached early in the morning. Syan is some fifteen or sixteen miles from this.

Their intention was distinctly stated of proceeding next to the passage of the Kharee. Their contrivances for the purpose were indicated, huge ladders to be thrown across the narrowest part of the stream, stores of planks were collected on the border to facilitate the passage. "To-morrow morning (the 9th) they would be at the Kharee:" they were to have store godowns at Tehra on the other bank, and keep their supplies there. "They all talk of coming to Agra, and say they will take the fort in three days."

In submiting this evidence I stated that I considered it reliable, and regarded the danger as so imminent that I suggested a reconnoissance, or continuous mile pickets, to give us intelligence of our enemy's movements.

9th October.—On this morning a reconnoissance was made under Lieutenant Vere, by the militia cavalry. They found, I believe, the enemy's horse in force on this side, for they were fired upon and obliged to turn back, and they were pursued to *within two or three miles of Agra.*

I considered this as a complete substantiation of all the intelligence and warnings which I had submitted; and, now that bodies of cavalry were insolently sweeping this bank of the Kharee, and advancing close even to the cantonment, I believed that military precautions, as a matter of course, would be maintained to prevent a surprise.

Numerous messengers came in during the day, but they did little more than corroborate the alarming fact already established by the attack and pursuit of our reconnoitering party, that the enemy were already in great force on this side the Kharee river. I would only have misled had I mentioned all the reported intentions of the enemy, for though one witness said that they spoke of having their guns on the 72nd parade ground on Saturday, most of them alleged that *Sunday* would be the day, and it may really have been the day originally intended, the mutineers having hastened their passage on the night of the 9th to anticipate our reinforcements.

On the forenoon of the 9th, I wrote as follows to Colonel Greathed:—"The enemy is encamped on the other side of the Kharee, and professes to *intend a passage of that river to-day.* They will probably find it a more difficult matter than they fancy to transport their heavy guns across the stream, which is deep. But *the main body of their force may, if they choose to risk the thing, cross over to-day, and to-morrow beard us in our fort,* and plunder the city. Hence our urgent anxiety to be provided with cavalry and another troop of horse artillery. We want this in advance of you, lest *these desperadoes should cast themselves suddenly upon us.* As far as we can see, the

enemy is playing the part of a mad man, and thrusting his head into the lion's jaws."

At 9 P. M. I wrote again.—"Our reconnoitering party has come in. Numbers of the cavalry *have crossed the Kharee*, and our party was fired on—300 infantry had crossed. This looks as if they meant to come on. The cavalry are spreading over the country, and will be committing all kinds of excesses and outrages."

Finally, so urgent was the danger felt to be, that Captain Patton rode out to Colonel Greathed's Camp, to convey personally the chief commissioner's pressing demand for a prompt advance.

List of murders committed in the city during July 1857, *with notes of rewards recommended for the apprehension of Criminals.*

Mr. Hubbard, teacher, Agra Government College, on the 5th July 1857, at Chowkee Kullan Khan, killed by the police at Chowkee Kullan Khan by gunshots, and latterly by sword; Khem Singh hanged, fled Madho Khan havildar, reward Rs. 200, Hurdial naick Rs. 150 and Mendoo Khan chowkeedar Rs 100.

Mr. Allen, pensioner, on the 5th July 1857 at pay chowkee, doors broken open by a mob of police and Mahometans, and killed; fled Secunder's Moonshee, reward Rs. 200, and Ramzaan, his servant Rs. 100.

Mr. Alexander Derridon, Mrs Derridon, one girl and one boy, on the 6th July 1857, at Kala Muhul, killed by five in his own house, others engaged in the murder; Oorzoollah, fakeer, transported for life; fled Durrooa, Ram Purshad Mookhtar, Ellie Bux butcher, Moluh Bux, Jan Mahomed and Ahmud, Rs. 150 each.

Mr. Christie, on the 6th July, at Mayee Than, called from his house, chased, and killed by a mob in Mayhee Than, his head was put on the cotwalee chubootra—further enquiry; Luchmun released, Ram Bux, under trial; fled Kullun Burkundaz and Malley Khan, reward Rs. 150 each.

Mr. Lamburn, on the 6th July, at Bagh Moozuffur Khan, killed in his own house by gunshots and sword-slashes; fled Balkishen, Goojur, Peerbux and Ruheem Khan, reward 150 Rs. each.

Major Jacobs, on the 6th July, Nowmehla, murdered by the Mawatees, of neighbouring bustees, and his servants, also Mewatees in his own house; Joheree Khan hanged; fled Emam Khan and Khewanee Khan, reward Rs. 150 each.

Mr. Piaggeo, on the 5th July, at Chilee, mobbed in Chilee, while running away, killed by three; many others

in collusion; Ukber Khan hanged; Zehoor Khan, and Ruheem Khan, hanged; fled Munghoo, reward Rs. 150.

Roostum and Peter, on the 5th July, at Kuttra Kumaul, killed in their own houses, by the complicity of the Mohulla nobehs; Abdoollah, transported for life; Ruheem Buksh, Goolab, Mohumdoo, Meeroo, and Peengun, hanged; fled Lall Khan, Kurreem Bux, Boodhoo, Rumzanee, Kullamut Chotay Khan, Nunnay Khan, reward Rs. 100 each.

Mr. Lewis Maxwell, on the 5th July, at Gunda Nullah, followed into his house and killed by two Nujeebs; fled Kulloo and Sulture, reward Rs. 100 each.

A drummer, on the 7th July, at Purtab Poora, went into Chumaries' houses and was killed, Boodha Chumar on security; fled Oomuda, Ummur Singh, Nunda, Bhojun and Khooshalee, reward Rs. 100 each.

Mr. and Mrs. Dennis, on the 5th July at Rekab Gunje killed in their own house by a mob; Mamnoo and Umursen Khan released; fled Mundoo, Ebabut Khan and Zulioor Khan, reward Rs. 100 each.

Mr. Anthony, on the 5th July, killed while hiding in an Indigo vat; Ubdool Humeed and Kasim Alee released, Doorga Pershad, on security; fled Wazeer, Ishree and Hurdeo, reward Rs. 150 each.

Mrs. Conlan, on the 5th July, at Poora, killed by Nubboo chowkeedar; Munglee on security; fled Nuthoo chowkeedar, reward Rs. 150.

Mr. J. Danslem, on the 5th July, at Wuzeerpoora, killed by Mewatees and butchers; fled Butteeae, Meeno, Cadur, and Mithoo, reward Rs. 150 each.

Mrs. Matthews, on the 5th July, at Bagh Moozuffur Khan, went and killed in her own house; fled Ramzanee, Choutay, Fazul, Kanna, Toolsee, Rooppa, Kooray, Munsookha, Lulloo Azees Moolah and Hyder Chan fakeer, reward Rs. 100 each.

Mr. Hare and son, on the 6th July, at Gutteeah. Mr. Hare was killed in his own house, he was paralytic; Gheepa, hung; fled Mulbunga and Mussumat Chumchum, reward Rs. 150 each.

Mrs. Thornton, on the 6th July, at Baylungunge, uncertain.

Mr. Colvin's Cares.

His cares might well press on the strongest frame. The fabric of Government was falling to pieces all over the N. W. Provinces. High officials accustomed to command the obedience of millions, were hiding in the jungles, hunted by their own guards, or holding desperate positions against hopeless odds.

One cry for help arose from east to west, Vibart and Robt. Thornhill at Furrackabad with a score of men around, with fouling pieces, were defying whole regiments—keeping thousands at bay; Major Raikes and John Powell holding out against hope at Mynpooria; Probyn, the Magistrate of Furrackabad, hidden in the hut of a friendly Zamindar; Cocks, Watson, young Harrington, and a dozen English gentlemen at Allygurh with mutineers on every side of them. In Rohilcund, Rajpootana, Cawnpoor and Bundelcund silence—too often the silence of the grave. At Futtehpore Robt. Tucker defending himself single handed against the villains whom he had refused to suspect, and dying only when his last bullet was expended. And so all over the country the English were at bay. Mr. Colvin expected much from his subordinates, but he had a heart to feel for their sufferings. He could not bear to give up station after station to anarchy; neither could he quietly see his trusted friends and officers butchered like sheep. The struggle consumed him. "The wrath of God is upon us," he exclaimed, "if we retire into the fort."

The Agra Volunteers.

On or about the 26th May 1857, when the whole country surrounding Agra was in a ferment of rebellion, and the city itself balancing between loyalty and dissilence, the late Lieutenant Governor received intelligence of the distress of some of our countrymen who were shut up in the Mulloee factory, quite within the interior. Mr. Colvin immediately circulated an appeal for volunteers. Numbers flocked to join in the good work. Those who had horses took their own. For those who had not, horses were purchased by Government wherever they could be found, regardless of expense. The ardour of the volunteers was such that within twenty-four hours a party of about forty composed of civil servants, military officers, assistants in Government offices and private gentlemen, had actually started upon their glorious mission, elate in heart and high in resolve. Many must still entertain a lively recollection of the animating scene presented round the ball room table of north-western hotel, where Messrs. A. Cocks, C. S., and Pat Saunders, Senior, acting as registrars, received and booked the names of comer after comer. The factory was reached on the second night, and with the struggling light of early morn, a dusky crowd of half-rude forms was observed hanging about the purlieus of the factory. On coming in sight, the deafening cheers exchanged between the volunteers and their cooped-up-countrymen sounded strange in the pervading silence and de-

solation. The 'enemy' proved a very prudent one. The black mass sheered off quietly enough, and the rescue was effected But the volunteers did not so soon return to Agra. Fresh provision being sent out, they proceeded to Allygurgh, a post which the Lieutenant Governor was extremely anxious should be held as it opened up the communication with the Commander-in-chief.

It was now the 4th or 5th of June, and thoroughfare as it was for the hordes of mutinied sepoys hastening in little armies from stations lower down to the great centre of Delhi, Allygurh, indeed, was a very dangerous pillow to thrust one's head upon for a single night. The dismantled dak bungalow was made to answer for a dwelling, and the villainous city that a few months subsequently proved so formidable to Greathed's pursuing column and Montgomery's punitive force, was patrolled in peace by a handful of volunteers. The "investing party" were not however left in peace even for a week together. Couriers would come hotly posting in (Mr. Watson, the magistrate, had then a few sowars) reporting, open mouthed, that a fabulous force of infantry, cavalry and artillery, was marching up, was but a stone's throw on the Cawnpore road, and blessed Allygurh itself was their chosen encampment for the day! A quiet order was given "to horse," the meaning of which the volunteers had come perfectly to understand, and the magistrate, the late gallant W. C. Watson, and the commanding officer coolly scanned the list of Goojur villages registered for punishment: then strategically selecting one clear of the rebels' line of march, (for we were not half a hundred to thousands), off the small party started, laying the flattering unction to their souls, that what might have been a flight was dignified into a detour to chastise the refractory! The innocent imposition kept up the spirits of the volunteers wonderfully, and as they brought in their victims and made examples of them in Allygurh, the illusion passed current with the natives too. In one instance, the rebels detached a strong body of cavalry in pursuit, who, as they immensely out-numbered the volunteers, compelled them for several miles to beat a hasty retreat in the direction of Agra. But when our adventurers, disgusted with falling back, halted and formed up, resolved to brave the worst, amusing to say the bold pursuers pulled up too, and after a short hesitation turned back, at a walk. However they had the effrontery to send word that so soon as they had refreshed themselves and horses, they would drive the party to the fort-gates of Agra, a threat, which for reasons of their own, they never put into practice.

The end of June had nearly arrived. The country "teemed

and heaved with an infernal birth;" the population daily became more and more turbulent, an arm's length from our men on the Delhi side of Allygurh all was tumult, anarchy and bloodshed; the vicious city people were hostile and seemed only to crouch before making the fell spring; the stream of military mutineers appeared to swell and increase with each successive sun; the whole scene lowered and darkened around the isolated volunteers, when they were startled with intelligence of the mutiny of the Gwalior contingent. A detachment of this force with two guns occupied an outpost midway *between them and Agra*; and it therefore became at once imperatively necessary to pass this body, before they could get news of the misconduct of their brethren, and following their evil example, seize the opportunity of cutting off the few Europeans from Agra. Accordingly, our countrymen by cover of night made one forced march into Agra, a portion who had no precious interests of family ties to draw them back to Agra, staying behind at a factory five miles from Allyghurh. These gentlemen were Messrs. Cocks, c. s.; W. C. Watson, c. s.; P. Saunders, Senior; Ensigns Marsh and Oliphant, Castle, Hine, and Burkinyoung; but resolute as they were, they were soon constrained to retreat by moving through the ranks of a deputation of butchers and budmashes who had sallied forth from the city of Allygurh, armed with every conceivable weapon and fortified with the intoxicating fumes of *bhang*.

The Allygurh volunteers (now blended with the Agra militia) were permitted little tranquillity upon their return to Agra. Events thickened, and they were stationed as a picquet some miles out on the Muttra road, to watch and give information of the advancing mutineer Neemuch brigade. On the 4th July, one of the advance videttes had seen and interchanged compliments with a couple of the rebels' patrols, and so Lieut. James, the officer in command, communicating the circumstance to the authorities, retired upon the plains before Agra, adjacent to Shahgunge. Here Major Prendergast, commandant, met the militia cavalry and told them of the coming strife on the morrow. The men were then dismounted and directed to picket their horses, when simultaneously with a roaring storm and a tearing shower of rain, was heard from the opposite quarter of the road first a brisk fusilade and then a dropping fire. The Kotah contingent, false traitors, who had come to aid them in battle, had mutinied and discharging their pieces at their officers, had killed the serjeant major, narrowly missing the doctor. The militia cavalry, not quite forty strong, were alone on the field with these black hearts, yet Prendergast, undaunted by fearfull odds, with only six of his

men (Rushton, Goodall, White, Kinlock, Hyland and Galt) galloped into the rebellious camp, and favoured by the heavy rain and the confusion, positively, in view of the whole main body, secured their artillery of two guns with every charge of ammunition! The gunners at once submitted and surrendered. Prendergast now called up all the cavalry, and dividing the forty, pursued the fleeing cravens with one portion, while the other under Page was left to guard the captured and much-prized guns. The pursuit was by no means a fruitless one. The Kotah contingent convoy consisting of eighty camels, laden with their small ammunition and their bedding and cooking utensils, was taken, the guard over it cut up, stragglers put to the sword, and the rear ranks of the compact mass itself charged by the intrepid Prendergast. The hand of Providence was over the volunteers that eve!

Next day was the 5th July, when the battle of Sussia was won and lost, a battle which, however misunderstood and misrepresented by commentators at a distance from the scene of action, was in truth a singularly bold and brave affair. If disgraceful to the officer commanding, it was pregnant with glory to the soldiers engaged. With eminent courage, for nearly four hours, the troops presented a solid and immoveable front to the swarming enemy, under circumstances disadvantageous in themselves, but made doubly fatal by the blundering leadership of their palsied Captain. Not the destructive thunder of the foes artillery, not the appalling numbers of the emboldened enemy could stir the firmly planted foot of the inconsiderable European force.* Then the enemy, driven at the point of the bayonet from the village which gives the battle its name, driven from the mangoe tope behind the village, their ammunition like that of our own expended, their largest gun leaped upon and spiked by the gallant old Colonel Fraser, were effectually cowed, and had actually broken ground, when horrible infatuation, Brigadier Polwhele sounded the retreat. Gnashing their teeth in maddening rage, the victorious soldiers fell back. The routed enemy, seeing no body running after them, stopped running away themselves, and now our humiliation commenced. The rebels harassed our retreat to within range of the fort guns, and not a shell was sent in among them! During the battle the militia cavalry made a dashing charge into a body of horse who threatened the guns on the right. The little band seemed swallowed up for a time in the overpowering numbers of the enemy, and they returned not till after several of their number had fallen. Among these

* Part of 3rd Bengal Europeans, artillery, and militia cavalry.

were O'Connor, Jourdan, the two brothers Horne, Smith and Carlton. Among the wounded on this day were Prendergast, Rae, Blackburn, White, and Doyle. Many more had their horses killed under them, and it was a very small minority indeed that came off "scot-free." The militia infantry steadily acted rear-guard in the retreat. The militia artillery, though they repeatedly volunteered, were sternly bid to keep their posts upon the fort bastion.

"Sussia" having been fought, the volunteer cavalry were for the ensuing seven weeks (after termination of the gratuitous immuration in the fort) engaged in all the little retributive expeditions that were carried on against the circumjacent villages, which were silly enough to imbibe, and act upon the popular belief of our extinction.

The next battle was that of Allygurh, fought by Major Montgomery on the 24th August 1857. DeKantzow, the gallant young officer who has played such a conspicuous part before the public since his rashly brave conduct on the occasion of the mutiny of the 9th N. I., at Mynporee, commanded the volunteer cavalry.* He was told to dislodge a body of 200 irregulars on the left of the position. DeKantzow never asked for more explicit instructions. With a few words to the volunteers, he led on with his accustomed reckless daring a full length ahead. It was an ugly moment. The irregulars flinched not, and two minutes more would have brought the immensely unequal numbers into deadly conflict. A cheer from DeKantzow was loudly taken up by the volunteers, and the onward dash was spiced with a yet greater vigor. This unstrung the nerves of the irregulars: they presented their carbines, waited till the volunteers were within shot, fired a frightened volley, and bolted in terror—as if DeKantzow and his white faces had the sleeve of Hildebrond which fulminated thunder and lightning! This action was marked by the uncommon valour of a band of fanatic Ghazees. Dressed in garments white as the driven snow they emerged from their ambuscade in a garden; snapped their scabbards into two, flung the pieces from them, flourished their flashing scimitars aloft, shouted Victory! Religion! and attacked the advance of skirmishers of the 3rd Europeans with such frantic fury and desperation that it went hard with our men till the guns were brought to bear. Three of the volunteer cavalry, Polites, E. Blacburn and Carrol, having new and restive horses, dismounted and joined the skirmishers. Polites was hotly pressed by three or four Ghazees, and though an athletic fellow he was

* The volunteers on this occasion did not muster more than thirty!

almost taxed beyond his strength. Once secure, he dropped from exhaustion, and his sword blade jagged like a saw. Blackburn, a capital marksman and cool as a cucumber, picked off one of the Ghazee leaders, a sinister-venerable-looking Moulvie.

The next affair that Agra witnessed was the battle of the 10th October; but the volunteers being at the time in the fort,* while their horses were picketted on the scene of action, lost the opportunity of sharing in its laurels. Vere, Page, Cripps and Morgan, more fortunate than their companions, mixed with the 9th lancers and did well. But the active part taken in this decisive engagement by the militia rifles, under Lieut. Noble, should not be unmentioned. They were on the spot and out in the field with the earliest. It is even said that in the pursuit they with spirit charged and took a gun.

Henceforth the mounted volunteers were occupied in the repeated raids and *dours* made from Agra into the country to bring back the district people, by arguments of blows, to a proper sense of the duties due to governors by the governed. They continued to perform military duty to the close of February 1858, when the altered and improved posture of affairs rendered their further services dispensable. They were twice publicly thanked by Government, once after the creditable Kotah affair, and again when their corps was dissolved.

Their arms were presented to them to mark the sense entertained by Government of their useful, honorable and gallant services. The widows and orphans of those who had died upon the field were with liberal generosity provided for by the State. Not a few among the volunteers have already received good advancement in life, and those who remain have only to shew themselves worthy, and they are not likely to be neglected.

The Battle of Agra.

In the battle with the Neemuch and Nusseerabad mutineers, our troops, after having beaten the enemy, were obliged to retire into the fort, in consequence of their supply of ammunition having failed. The loss on the side of the British appears to have been heavy, as forty-nine Europeans were killed and ninety-two wounded, making a total of one hundred and forty-one killed and wounded out of a force of about five hundred men engaged. The mutineers, after the battle,

* They had gone, under a few hours leave to make preparations for a contemplated march during the night against the very rebels who attacked Agra so suddenly.

destroyed nearly all the houses in the cantonment, in which they were assisted by the budmashes of the city, and the prisoners liberated from the jail. The European inhabitants, however, had all taken refuge in the fort, which prevented a general massacre; among the people killed outside were Major Jacob, formerly in Scindiah's service, and Mr. Hubbard, of the Agra college.

Agra Fort, 15th July, 1857.—My last I fancy was dated the 4th July. On that day the Neemuch mutineers, that is, the mutinied troops from Neemuch, Nusseerabad, &c., were variously stated to be from thirty and forty to ten and thirteen miles from us. On the evening of that day our mounted volunteers had a little brush with the Kotah contingent, which deserves special mention here. It was stated in one quarter 'that many of this force were staunch,' whereas from the day these men marched in here, every one who had eyes to see and ears to hear, saw clearly that the whole body, especially the infantry, were unruly, disobedient of the orders of, and disrespectful to, their officers; that in the language of truth, and the idiom of the prevailing language in every other part of the English dominion, excepting the N. W. Provinces, they were mutinous; notwithstanding this, they were ordered to march towards Futteypoor, Seekree, to meet the mutineers from Neemuch. Not a few have declared that they were sent out of harm's way. Be this, however, as it may, the Kotah contingent did not march far when they showed a disposition to join their kind—the Neemuch mutineers. Just about this time a small body of our mounted volunteers (about forty,) who had been previously sent to watch the proceedings of the enemy, little suspecting the true state of matters, rode up to this, in the estimation of some who ought to have known better, formidable force, and to their astonishment found them preparing for an attack. The volunteers halted, and for a time stood facing the Kotah *warriors.* What the sequel might have been, it is hard to say, had not the God of the Christians interposed in behalf of his people, and sent a heavy storm, accompanied with rain, at the critical moment, which darkened the atmosphere, and the volunteers were directed to seek shelter. After the lapse of a few minutes, the Kotah contingent, fearing it is said, an ambush from the European regiment here (the 3rd Europeans) dispersed in all directions; observing this, some of the volunteers, about ten in number, made a dash for the guns, which they succeeded in taking after cutting down a number of the mutineers. The guns were spiked, but whether by the classie, or by one of our party, I cannot, amidst conflicting state-

ments, state with any certainty. The formidable Kotah contingent, so much dreaded by some of our authorities here, though we had a strong battery of artillery, and a regiment of European troops, able and willing enough to annihilate the whole of them—fled, and left the field, with the guns, and some 100 or 150 camels laden with ammunition, &c., in the undisputed possession of some ten mounted volunteers. On all sides I have heard the conduct of the volunteers commended, all were loud in the praise of the few: but I regret to add that I heard no voice raised to the glory of Him who sent the storm, to the glory of Him who gave strength to the weak and perverted the judgment of the strong. This took place on the afternoon of the 4th. That night all the residents, including the Lieutenant Governor, and all residents with about a dozen exceptions, were domiciled within the fort. Five companies of the 3rd Europeans, with the artillery, the military authorities, and the several bodies of militia, since embodied into one, remained out. On the following morning (Sunday) divine service was held in the hall near the so-called garden within the fort, and also in another marble hall attached to the terrace on which is the marble seat of the king of former days, the frame work of which is of white marble, while the seat is a massive slab of black marble. The terrace overlooks the river Jumna, on the right is the famous Tajmahal on the opposite bank of the river, and on the left is the pontoon bridge with the custom house. The scenery as viewed from this terrace is magnificient indeed, but I have to deal with matters of much greater moment than even the beauties of nature. About noon the foot militia marched towards the fort and formed near some outworks recently thrown up to protect the retreat of the troops, which it was from the first intended should march a few miles to meet the coming enemy. Soon after this we heard at the fort the sound of cannon, indicating unmistakeably that our brave handful of troops (about fifty infantry, forty to fifty mounted volunteers or militia, with six artillery guns) were engaged in a hard contest against some 6,000 disciplined native troops, of whom about 1,200, (some say 1,500,) were cavalry, and according to one party eight and to another twelve guns. Need I stop to pourtray the deep anxiety depicted on every sweet face within the fort walls, the silent wringing of delicate hands, and the unobtrusive supplicatory looks raised above for the protection and safety of those engaged in a struggle which all knew would be a severe one, and a severe one indeed it was. Our brave defenders all fought with a hearty

good will; despite of the overwhelming number of the enemy —despite of the formidable array of artillery which the enemy had placed with great judgment, and despite of the half walls of huts of a deserted village in which the enemy had taken their position—despite all this, the gallant 3rd, aided by the artillery, had almost driven the enemy from their strong position. Hark! here comes a horseman from the field of battle; all hasten to meet him. 'All right my boys,' is the loud response to silent enquiring looks, 'we are thrashing them well.' 'Hurrah!' is the acclamation from a thousand manly voices gathered at the temporary outposts of the fort; it is heard within, friends hasten to communicate the joyful tidings, all right, dear ladies; and many are the silent looks of gratitude and thanks raised to Him above; but listen, what report is this—an explosion, now and another! On which side is this mishap? Alas! the sound of our cannon distinguishable from its being louder than that of the enemy, but too clearly indicates that our fire has slackened! Another horseman, he brings a message from the brigadier, conveyances are required for the wounded. Two of our tumbrils were blown up, we must retreat, we are short of ammunition. Why! where is the reserve ammunition that had been ordered? Still within the fort!! no cheering this time; indignation and disgust mark the countenance of every one present. The news reaches within; who can describe the anguish on the sweet weeping countenances of many a tender heart? 'Do not cry, dear child, Mr. —— is safe.' 'Thank God for it, but must I not weep for others that have fallen.' Sweet child, weep on. Another horseman, another, and another, some wounded slightly, some panic-struck. 'We are in full retreat,' says one; 'we have been beaten,' utters another. Shame on the dastardly throat that uttered these lying words, we were not beaten, for here comes another horseman with a message from the brigadier, who tells a different tale. The enemy had been retreating from the village, one of their guns had been spiked by our brave troops, who gave the mutinous scoundrels a thrashing they will not easily forget; but on our fire slackening, in consequence of the explosion to two of our tumbrils, the enemy had returned to their position and renewed the attack, so we had no alternative but to retreat. Two additional companies of the 3rd European were ordered to strengthen our retreating troops, who were being followed by a large body of the enemy with one gun, which militia were to march on to protect the wounded. The two companies left the fort with loud cheers, longing to be at the muti-

neers, but they had not the opportunity: the enemy did not follow our retreating troops above a mile, and then withdrew. The wounded now came pouring in, and sad indeed was the sight; our ladies remained submissive and patient enough, but the soldier's wives and others thronged the slope leading to the gate of the upper fort. Go in, there is a darling, why remain here,' was the persuasive advice of many; and as many replied—'Oh, sir, let me see into this one doolee that is coming.' A number wanted to go further down the slope and look to an empty waggon stationed aside to be put out of the way. 'They won't let us go and look into that cart. Do sir, let us go and see who are in there.' No one, believe me, it is an empty cart.' 'Ah sir, surely you will not deceive us. Do be reasonable, you are but distressing the wounded.' Scenes such as these continued until all the wounded were brought in, then followed the heroic survivors of the small band of our brave soldiers, and the congratulation and the blessings which attended them is beyond all description. I say nothing of those who mourn the dead. Of the militia, six were killed, and thirteen wounded; of the artillery, poor Captain D'Oyly was brought in terribly scorched, and has since died and three men were killed and sixteen wounded. Of the 3rd Europeans thirty men were killed and sixty-two wounded, of whom eight have since breathed their last;—three officers were wounded, among whom was Major Thomas, a truly brave soldier, a general favourite of the men, and a gentleman of high literary attainments. He was very severely wounded, and is in danger. These with five officers unattached, who were wounded, complete the number of the dead and wounded of this day's hard fight; a very large number indeed compared to the small party engaged, not seven hundred altogether. Among the wounded belonging to the militia, you will observe the names of three civil servants, Messrs. Bramley, Outram, and Oldfield. Great praise is due indeed to those of the civil service who have joined the militia, among whom I may name Mr. Colvin, the son of the Lieutenant Governor.

July 16.—From the mere fact that all here, including the infantry and the artillery, sought the protection of the fort, and that we are still within its walls, you will naturally conclude that we are besieged or are in hourly expectation of an attack. Nothing of the kind; we have not an armed body, large or small, of the enemy within twenty miles from us. The Neemuch mutineers had had a lesson taught them by our brave troops, which showed how puny were all their vaunted prowess when opposed to Britons; and these self-glorying followers

of the false prophet, after sending a few troopers to set fire to the bungalows and the barracks on the night of the 5th, walked off the next morning, and are now, it is said, at Muttra, some sixty or seventy miles from us, towards Delhi. I cannot for the life of me ascertain the reason why, the non-combatants being protected within the fort and garrison by the militia foot artillery men, our troops were withdrawn from the cantonment, and our property and our houses thus left to be destroyed by a few troopers and budmashes, that is the vagabonds about the place. The splendid shop of Messrs. Dalziel and Co. had everything in it destroyed; its beautiful chandeliers, &c., were all either stolen or smashed, and the shop of Messrs. A. Johns and Co. and many others shared the same fate. The property of the Secundra Press is all gone; the *Mofussilite* and the branch of the *Delhi Gazette* here, being private property, the managers thereof managed to save materials but sufficient to go on with the printing of their paper; but the Secundra Press, was left to destruction. Since the 6th, small bodies of Europeans have been to the cantonment and the civil lines, and have, unmolested, brought in a large quantity of furniture, &c., and I blush to add that many laying claim to the appellation of Britons have not hesitated to loot the houses of the European inhabitants, and have appropriated to themselves the property of others. In fact, I have witnessed deeds which truly disgust me with many who claim a respectability of position. As for the arrangements made by the authorities within the fort, matters are improving. Most of Mr. Drummond's loyal and trustworthy officials, including his special favourite, about whom I wrote in one of my letters, have decamped. Mr. Drummond himself has been removed, and Mr. Phillips appointed collector and magistrate in his place. One of the police peons was brought in the other day, and was recognized by a European female as one of some twelve men who attacked her with drawn swords, when she was rescued by some of her people. He was found guilty, and has been hanged. Several natives have been hanged since the 10th. Poor Captain Burlton, of the Gwalior contingent, which mutinied at Hattras I believe, died suddenly on Sunday last, and his death is ascribed to cholera. We have had several deaths here both among adults and juveniles. Dreadful news from Cawnpore. It is also reported that the mutineers joined by a large body of others with several guns, howitzers, &c., will soon be upon us from Muttra; I doubt it.

Official Reports of the Battle of Agra.

From Lieut.-Colonel E. H. Greathed, Comdg. Moveable Column.
To Capt. D. M. Stewart, Depy. Asst. Adjt. Genl.

Camp, Agra, 13th October, 1857.

Sir,—In recapitulation of my hasty letter of the 11th Instant, I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Major-General commanding the Delhi field force, that after a march of forty-four miles in twenty-eight hours, the moveable column under my command encamped on the parade ground at this station at 8 A. M, on the 10th instant. At 10½ o'clock four guns were heard by us on our right flank, and the assembly was sounded. I galloped to the front, and found the artillery already in action, and the 9th lancers in their saddles formed up in squadrons. The enemy had attacked our front and right flank with his artillery, which raked our camp. On seeing this, I moved with H. M.'s 8th (the king's) regiment, and the 4th Punjaub infantry (taking with me on the way the three squadrons of 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjaub cavalry) to the right, with the view of outflanking and capturing the guns on that flank. I must not omit to mention that, when I reached the front, three minutes after this surprise, I found the whole of the troops, without exception, drawn up on their respective alarm posts, as if for parade.

I extended the infantry along the road leading from the parade ground to the infantry barracks in skirmishing order with supports, with directions to advance to their front and clear the compounds of the enemy's infantry. Taking with me the Punjaub cavalry, I then proceeded to the European barracks, and pointed out to Lieutenant Watson the open ground upon which I conceived that he might work with effect. How admirably he did so, will be seen in his own report.

By this time the Agra 9-pounder battery came up, and I advanced it in support of the right flank of the infantry, on the road leading from the artillery parade ground, and the enclosures were speedily cleared. In doing this the 4th Punjaub infantry distinguished itself, as it did throughout the day.

The advance of the infantry and battery enabled Lieutenant Watson to make his charge and capture the guns and standards; and after that, the enemy did not make any stand, although they continued to fire round shot as they retreated. I continued the pursuit to a village three miles on the Gwalior road, and halted to enable the left to come up. Here we were joined by the 3rd European regiment, who took their place in

the line, detaching two companies to support the Punjaub infantry engaged in driving out the enemy, who still hung on our flanks in the jungle and topes on our right. Colonel Cotton, commanding the Agra garrison, then assumed command, and the pursuit was continued to the Khara Nuddee, with artillery and cavalry, the infantry finally halting at a village five miles on the Gwalior road, where the enemy's camp had been pitched. The route was now complete, and the whole face of the country covered with fugitives. The enemy fled across the Khara Nuddee under the effective fire of grape and round shot from our artillery. The accompanying return from Major Turner will show that twelve guns were captured, and the enemy lost the whole of his tents, baggage, and ammunition. I have reason to believe that scarcely a cart was taken across the river, and most certainly not one gun.

The conduct of the troops engaged during the whole affair was beyond any praise of mine; but it is my duty to bring to the special notice of the Major-General commanding, their admirable steadiness at the outset of the action when taken completely by surprise, and when a great part of the troops had scarcely arrived on the ground. The quickness with which the artillery came into action under a destructive fire, and its subsequent services, was worthy of their reputation. The cavalry showed throughout the day that they were led by officers who combined steadiness and an eye for ground with the greatest gallantry. The infantry drove the enemy flying from the enclosures, and pursued them for several miles with the most persevering resolution, and the conduct of the Punjaub infantry regiments, which had had no assistance from carriage during the march, deserves the most favourable notice. The sappers and miners were also most steady and forward in the pursuit. I refer you for details of the operations on the left to Major Ouvry, as I was not able to leave the right till the enemy was in full flight. The cavalry and artillery marched over at least sixty-four miles, and the infantry fifty-four miles of road, in less than thirty-six hours, besides moving through fields during action. Captain Bourchier's 9-pounder battery had marched in during the night from Hattrass, thirty miles, without a halt. I beg to bring prominently to the favourable notice of the Major-General commanding the gallantry and unwearied exertion of the whole of the troops engaged. The artillery under Major Turner, were led in a manner which caused general admiration. Major Ouvry, as usual, did the most efficient service with his cavalry. The 9th lancers distinguished themselves under Captain Anson

during the whole day, and most particularly in a gallant charge on a large body of the enemy's sowars, in which they rescued a gun which had been temporarily disabled.

The conduct of Lieutenant Watson, seconded by Lieutenant Gough, Lieutenant Probyn, and Lieutenant Younghusband, is entitled to the warmest praise.* These officers appear to have all the qualities which distinguish the cavalry officer. I am happy to say that Lieutenant Younghusband's injuries, though severe, will not detain him long from his duty. Captain Hinde particularly distinguished himself in command of the 8th—the King's regiment—in the capture of an 18-pounder at a village, and the dispersion of the mutineers who attempted to resist him. I have also to bring to the notice of the Major-General the services of Captain Gordon, commanding H. M.'s 75th regiment; Captain Green, commanding 2nd Punjaub infantry; and Lieutenant Paul, commanding 4th Punjaub infantry.

My best thanks are due to the untiring exertions and able assistance of Captain Norman, Assistant Adjutant General; Captain Roberts, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General; and Captain Bannatyne, my Brigade Major—who rendered me most active aid throughout the day; Lieutenant Ximenes, my orderly officer, also did good service.

To the admirable arrangements of Captain Dickens, deputy assistant commissary general, it was owing that we were able to make the forced march from Hattrass, and arrive in time to intercept the advance of the mutineers on Agra.

From Major H. A. Ouvry, Comdg. Cavalry Brigade,
To Captain Bannatyne, Major of Brigade.

Camp, Agra, 11th Oct., 1857.

Sir,—I have the honor to report, for the information of Lieutenant-Colonel Greathed, that on the 18th of October 1857, immediately after arriving at Agra, and pitching our tents on the encamping ground beyond the cantonments, the enemy, whose presence was utterly unknown, made a sudden attack on our camp with their heavy artillery.

The 9th lancers immediately formed up on the left of the artillery facing the Gwalior road.

* H. M.'s 9th Lancers; 1st Punjaub Cavalry; 2nd Ditto Ditto; 5th Ditto Ditto; Hodson's Horse; 1st Troop 1st Brigade, H. A.; 2nd Ditto Ditto Ditto; No. 17 Light Field Battery; Engineers; H. M.'s 8th Foot; H. M.'s 75th Regt.; 2nd Punjaub Infantry; 4th Punjaub Infantry; Lieutenant Pearson's 9-Pounder Battery from Agra.

On arriving in the field, I perceived a large force of the enemy's cavalry advancing on our left; they had reached and sabred the gunners of one gun. I immediately ordered the lancers to charge, which duty they did most effectually, killing and dispersing them entirely.

Two squadrons of the 9th lancers, with Hodson's Horse, which then arrived, took up a position, supporting two guns, which kept a large cavalry force of the enemy at bay, and protecting the camp.

The three regiments of irregular cavalry formed up on the right of our camp under Captain Watson, whose report I have herewith the honor to enclose.

After an advancing cannon fire of some duration, which I supported with the cavalry, the enemy gave way, and were pursued ten miles to the banks of the Kharee Nuddee by the artillery and cavalry. Great numbers were destroyed, and all their guns, ammunition, and baggage fell into our hands.

From Lieut. J. Watson, Second-in-Commd. 1st Punjaub Cavy.,
To Major Ouvry, Commanding Cavalry Brigade,

Camp, Agra, 11th Sept., 1857.

SIR,—In accordance with your instructions, I do myself the honor of making the following report of the circumstances which occurred in the right of our line in yesterday's action with the mutineer's force, and of the part taken in it by the three squadrons of the Punjaub cavalry which paraded under my command.*

Shortly after the enemy's fire opened upon our camp, the three squadrons, mustering about 210 sabres, moved off towards the European barracks; Colonel Greathed who was present, informing me that beyond the barracks I should find open ground, from which I could operate with effect upon the enemy's left flank. Passing the barracks I came under fire of the enemy's guns and musketry. I therefore proceeded at a trot to some walls close to their left flank, and there drew up the three squadrons in open column. After waiting in this position for about five minutes I perceived a favourable opportunity for charging, and advancing clear of the walls, wheeled into line, and swept down at a gallop on their flank.

The effect of this was the instantaneous flight of the mutineers; but they were too late to escape us, and a large number of their infantry and artillery-men fell under our sabres, and we captured three heavy guns and five standards.

* Squadron 1st Punjaub Cavalry. 1. Ditto 2nd ditto. 1. Ditto 5th ditto.

Shortly after this, the whole of our line advanced, and the three squadrons falling in on the left of the road, joined in the pursuit, and turning off at the river to a ford about half a mile to the left of the road, captured two 9-pounder guns and numerous ammunition carts, &c., &c. We turned the guns upon such of the enemy as were within range on the opposite bank, and served them for some time with considerable effect. We formed the rear guard on the return to camp, which we reached about 9 P. M.

The three squadrons lost in this action, two men killed and fifteen wounded, and of the European officers engaged,* Lieut. Maclean was severely, and Lieuts. Probyn, Macdonell, and Plowden slightly wounded.

Lieut. Younghusband, commanding the squadron of the 5th Punjaub cavalry, was, I regret to say, very severely injured by falling down one of the numerous dry wells that were scattered about the Bazirce fields, through which we charged upon the enemy.

I need not assure you that the whole of the European and native officers and troopers engaged, behaved throughout with the greatest gallantry, and I trust that you will be good enough to bring their services on this occasion to the favorable notice of the Government.

The Scene after the Battle.

Then came the rush of weary soldiers to the canteen, which was close to our room and in the same barrack. Bloody, thirsty, covered with dust and smoke, the soldiers clamoured for drink. Beer, tea, wine and water were hastily given them by the ladies of our party. I could overhear their remarks. "Ah my chummie! My townie," said one whose comrade had been left dead on the battle field. "Faith and the Major (Major Thomas) went at 'em grand," said another. The long string of hospital litters passed through the fort gates. The gallant D'Oyley was carried in to die; Young Williams was undergoing the amputation of a leg in the hospital; Richard Oldfield, under-secretary to Government, was brought faint, and steeped in blood to his young wife. I had a small tent near the barrack, in this two wounded officers were lodged. * * * * *

Soon the wounded began to come in. The hospital clothes which Mrs. Raikes (at Dr. Farquhar's request) had

* European Officers engaged: *1st Punjaub Cavalry*, Lieut. Watson, commanding; Lieut. Mackenzie attached; Lieut. Maclean, ditto. *2nd Punjab Cavalry*, Lieut. Probyn, Commanding; Lieut. Macdonell, attached, *5th Punjab Cavalry*, Lieut Younghusband, Commanding; Lieut. Plowden, attached.

prepared, were most valuable; indeed as Colonel Fraser said, they could not have provided for the wounded without the civil hospital clothing made up by Mrs. Raikes and the ladies of Agra.

Bleeding, lacerated, burnt and contused, the sufferers were carried into the Motee Musjid or pearl mosque. In this "marble" temple, the most graceful building in Asia, rough wooden cots were hastily prepared, the matrasses, pillows and quilts, which the ladies in Agra fort had so long been making, were soon in full demand. Here, covered with wounds, many of which seemed mortal, was carried the gallant Captain Jones, of Her Majesty's 9th Lancers; Younghusband, too, came in surrounded by his faithful Seikh soldiers, who had dragged him out of the well into which the horse and all with two or three men on the top of him had fallen, whilst persuing the flying sepoys. Ere long the spacious corridors were filled with sick and wounded men. Dr. Farquhar requested Mrs. Raikes to preside over the hospital arrangements. Of her labours and of those of many ladies who with her soothed and tended the sufferers, I will not say another word. But I must describe the conduct of the British soldier in the day of sickness and pain. For weeks that the ladies* watched over their charge, never was a word said by a soldier which could shock the gentlest ear. When all went over and when such of the sick and wounded as recovered were declared convalescent, the soldiers in order, as they expressed it, to show their gratitude for the kindness of the ladies, modestly asked permission to invite their nurses and all the gentry and society of Agra to an entertainment in the beautiful gardens of the Taj. There, under the walls of the marble mausoleum, amidst flowers and music, these rough veterans all scarred and mutilated as they were, stood up to thank their country-women who had clothed, fed and visited them when they were sick. Every lady in Agra was ready to join in this good work, and not one of them but will bear testimony to the delicacy of feeling and conduct, as well as the hearty gratitude of these brave men.

Death of Mr. Colvin.

Notification.—It is the melancholy duty of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council to announce the death of

* The ladies were divided into watches, and attended day and night. To avoid teasing the men by too much nursing, they were in a small separate room, and *at stated periods* went round to give tea, jelly, soda-water, coffee, soup, or to help in dressing the wounds of the patients. All was done under the orders of the medical officers.

the Hon'ble John Russell Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces.

Worn by the unceasing anxieties and labors of his charge, which placed him in the very front of the dangers by which, of late, India has been threatened, health and strength gave way; and the Governor General in Council has to deplore with sincere grief the loss of one of the most distinguished amongst the servants of the East India Company.

The death of Mr. Colvin has occurred at a time when his ripe experience, his high ability, and his untiring energy, would have been more than usually valuable to the state.

But his career did not close before he had won for himself a high reputation in each of the various branches of administration to which he was at different times attached, nor until he had been worthily selected to fill the highest position in Northern India: and he leaves a name which not friends alone, but all who have been associated with him in the duties of Government, and all who may follow in his path, will delight to honor.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council directs that the flag shall be lowered half-mast high, and that seventeen minute guns shall be fired at the seats of Government in India upon the receipt of the present notification.

Narrative of events attending the outbreak in the Allahabad District in 1857-58.

From F. Thomas, Esq., Officiating Magistrate of Allahabad, To E. C. Bayley, Esq., Officiating Commissioner of 4th Division.

Dated Allahabad, the 9th November 1858.

Sir,—In reply to your letter No. 783, dated 8th May last, I have the honor to forward to you a statement of occurrences from the first commencement of the mutiny up to the 14th of July last, when the fort of Delhi was taken, and the district completely cleared of rebels. The statement has been drawn out by Mr. Monteath, assistant magistrate, from the records in this office, and from the *vivâ voce* evidence of several officers, who were in the station from the commencement of the outbreak.

2. The first perceptible excitement in Allahabad was during that eventful period,—the first halt of May,—when the British power in India was receiving the great shock which first revealed the gigantic proportions of the storm which had been brewing. An almost simultaneous outburst was taking place in widely separated places. Lucknow, Meerut and

Delhi, Ferozepore and Lahore, and wherever such awful news was listened to, a sympathetic excitement might be expected to arise. The 12th of May, on which day the report of the emeute at Meerut reached Allahabad, is the day from which was dated the commencement of excitement here. Tales of mutiny and outbreak went their rounds in the ranks and the bazar, and along with them was also canvassed another momentous question. The report of the proselytizing intentions of Government was fast becoming a belief, both in the town and barracks; cringing native servants in some instances took Christian names to show their non-resistance to the scheme, and the general panic was indicated by the sudden rise in the price of grain and other articles of food.

3. On the 17th, news of the fearful progress and the awful character of the mutiny at Delhi arrived; and on the 18th the European community at Allahabad assembled to concert plans for united action, and agreed on an alarm signal, in case of sudden disturbance. On the 19th, two troops of the 3rd Oude irregulars arrived from Pertabgurh, under Lieutenant A. Alexander; and on the following day, a letter from Captain Harding, saying that Sir H. Lawrence had despatched these troops to be placed under civil authority here. Twenty-five of these were dispatched for the protection of the treasury, another twenty for the jail, and night patrols were arranged from Darragunge by the jail up to the treasury. In the fort were a wing of a Seikh regiment (Ferozepore regiment,) and one company of the 6th N. I. The rest of the 6th N. I. were in their lines between two and three miles from the fort. Soon after this sixty European invalid artillerymen were brought from Chunar, and constituted the only European element in the garrison of the fort at the time of the mutiny. Such was the disposition of troops in this station during the next eventful and anxious fortnight. Seikhs; sepoys, and a few invalided Europeans inside the fort, and sepoys and Oude irregulars outside. Some there were, especially officers, who, through all the alarming news and alarming symptoms, trusted to the last the fidelity of the native troops in the station. Others there were, who distrusted the sepoys of the 6th, but who relied still on the Seikhs and irregulars, and looked to them as the great counterpoise to the other dangerous element. There were others, who looked with equal distrust on all native troops whatsoever, and who regarded the few invalid Europeans as the only safety in case of danger. It was then a question of great moment whether the treasure should be removed into the fort or not? If it was, the outbreak might be precipitated, and a fresh tempta-

tion added to the uncertain fidelity of the Seikhs. This question, we shall see afterwards, one most fortunately decided in the negative. On that decision, which was based on a despatch of Sir H. Lawrence, may be said to have depended the preservation of the fort; for if the Seikhs, who were inside, had had the treasure in their possession, they would in all human probability have seized it, and joined the rebel cause.

4. But at the time we are talking of, this decision had not been arrived at; and magazine carts and bullocks were placed in the treasury compound, ready to remove the treasure to the fort, if deemed advisable. While these precautionary measures were being made, the general excitement among the natives was rapidly increasing. The disaffection of the 6th N. I. was openly talked of in the bazar. A report got abroad that Government had fixed the 25th as the day to issue the objectionable cartridges: and for that purpose they were to be paraded on the glacis of the fort, where a commanding fire would enforce obedience to the order: but the sepoys, it was said, had determined neither to use the cartridge, nor to trust themselves on such dangerous ground. It was no use publishing in the bazar, or asserting to the men, that such reports were devoid of the slightest foundation; they too well suited the excited temperament of both people and soldiers to be easily divested of their apparent probability. On the afternoon of the 22nd, Sekundar Khan, risaldar, in charge of the irregulars, posted at the treasury, informed Captain Hardinge, (commanding irregulars,) that he had been asked by the soubadar of the 6th guard to join in preventing the removal of the treasure if attempted, and this was soon after confirmed by the duffadar, informing Alexander, (2nd in command,) that he and the sowars had been asked to join. The magistrate, Mr. Court, reported this to the officer in command, Colonel Simson, who intimated shortly afterwards his intention of repairing to the fort, which he considered his proper place. Mr. Court strenuously opposed this measure, which he considered to be a virtual abandonment of the cantonment, and almost certain therefore to lead to an outbreak of the bad characters in the city, and probably to the rising also of the out-stations. He was fully persuaded also, that the regiment would refuse to march to the fort, and that the attempt to make them do so would only precipitate the mutiny, which it seemed of the utmost consequence to postpone. Small detachments of Europeans were marching up to Allahabad, whose arrival before an outbreak might change the face of affairs, but whose very existence would be perilled by its taking place before. On these objections being made, Colonel Simson abandoned the plan.

5. On the evening of this day, (22nd) Mr. Court, Colonel Simson, Mr. Chester, (commissioner,) and Captain Hardinge, met for consultation, and determined to remove all women and children into the fort early next morning; but that no male should be allowed to enter it, as it seemed of the utmost consequence to postpone any disturbance outside. At 4 on the following morning, (23rd,) Colonel Simson and Captain Birch informed Mr. Court of the total abandonment of last night's plans. Captain Birch had been appointed commandant of the garrison, and orders had been issued, directing other Officers to repair thither. Mr. Court objected, but in vain; and by 10 A. M. his anticipations were fulfilled, by a regular flight to the fort of men, women and children, carrying with them all the property they could. Mr. Court again remonstrated, and the orders were at last cancelled. The non-military portion of the community were formed into a volunteer guard, and the city and station were patrolled by them, accompanied by police sowars during the night. On the 24th, Mr. Court stationed a company of the 6th in Khooshroo garden, and sent his own tent there. Reports of the amalgamation of the 6th and Seikhs were rife, but the contagion had not yet done its work in full, for in the evening two Mewatees were handed up by the 6th, as having entered their lines to tamper with their loyalty. The 25th was the Mussulman *Eed*, and many therefore were the fears it brought with it. The day however passed off quietly.

6. In the evening a parade of the 6th regiment was held, at which the sepoys, who had given up the spies, were presented with the ranks of naik and havildar, and the prisoners were removed to the central prison. On the following day, a sepoy of the 6th complained in a mutinous way of the promotions of the day before, by which he had been superseded. Colonel Simson believed he was unsupported by the men generally, and the officers declared their entire confidence in the regiment. The spies, who had been given up, were removed to the fort, as information of an attempt at release by Mewatees of Sumdabad and Russoolpoor was received. Mr. Willock, joint magistrate, also was posted to the jail along with a company of the 6th. From the 27th of May to the 3rd of June, everything seemed gradually re-assuming its wonted peace and quietness. Offices were re-opened, and business in all quarters recommenced. Fear began to subside and those European detachments which arrived, were forwarded on to Cawnpore; yet all this was but the lull before the storm; while the feeling of insecurity in the European community was daily lessening, the schemes for their destruction

were daily being matured. About this time a telegraphic message was received from Sir H. Lawrence,* advising not in any way to trust the Seikhs; and to this advice, as has already been mentioned, is due, in all probability, the preservation of the fort. The intention here had been, in case of necessity, to remove the treasure to the fort, where the Seikhs were stationed; and had that been done, the possession of the treasure would have formed one of the strongest possible temptations to them to join the absorbing tide of mutiny. Sir H. Lawrence's message showed to all the extreme danger of the ground on which they were resting, and the absolute necessity of not trusting too implicitly to any native troops whatsoever. From that date (June 4th) the lull of quiet began to be broken up, and the rising storm to gather rapidly around. Telegraphic communication, with both east and west, was broken off, and the dak coachman hurried back, with the news that Benares was in flames. The meditated outbreak had been there precipitated by the energetic measures of Colonel Neill, and both Seikhs and sepoys mingled together in the general mele,—had shared in the general destruction in which it ended. The news that the 13th irregulars, with the native and Seikh regiments, having escaped from Benares, were in full march on Allahabad gave a more definite shape to the alarm. The storm had long been known to be gathering, but people knew not on which side to look for its bursting.

7. Now all eyes were directed to the Benares road, and even the indefinite fear of mutiny within, gave place in a great measure to what was now considered a certain and definite danger from without.

8. Measures were at once taken by the authorities to meet this supposed danger, (June 5th) and so entirely did they regard it as the one imminent danger to be met, that steps were taken, which the result proved to have been very unwise. A company of the 6th N. I., under Lieutenant Hicks, was sent to Daragunge, and two nine-pounders, under Lieutenant Harward, were put into their hands by Colonel Simson's orders, though a strongh remonstrance was made against it by Captain Russell of the artillery.† Means were also furnished by the ghat establishment for destroying the

* Followed by a second telegram, as follows:—"Keep every European at Allahabad till you are strong enough to hold the fort. Recall any going to Cawnpore if possible." These messages, and an anonymous letter, saying the Seikhs had agreed to join provided they could get the treasure into the fort, which information was corroborated by little circumstances I observed, made me refuse an offer made on the 30th of May to take the coin into the fort.—M. A. Court.

† Also by the commissioner and magistrate.

passage by cutting away two or more boats, and sowar pickets were sent out on the Benares road. Every European was ordered to the fort, and there, to the number of sixty-four, they were at once embodied, armed, and placed under a European officer. During the whole of this day (5th,) great alarm was felt, but few probably thought how soon, and in what way, the danger would develop itself. The night passed off peaceably, and the morning of the 6th June, dawned in outward quiet on the city and the station of Allahabad. Several Europeans had refused to enter the fort, either from a belief that there was not just cause for such a step, or from unwillingness to abandon all their property to plunder, and several, this very morning, who had previously gone to the fort, returned to their houses, and to this is owing in a great measure the bloody character which the mutiny was enabled to assume. At 6 A. M. the 6th N. I., who had volunteered with enthusiasm to march against the insurgents at Delhi, were paraded to hear read to them the letter of thanks from the Governor General in Council. The men seemed highly pleased, and cheered loudly. The European officers were more than ever confirmed in their implicit reliance on the fidelity of their men; yet in three hours and a half this loyal cheer was changed for the shout of mutiny and murder. At 9-15 A. M. the mutiny broke out at Darragunge. Lieutenant Harward in vain tried to stem the tide. The sepoys who had turned out all accoutred, rushed at the two guns, seized them and immediately commenced dragging them towards cantonments. Lieutenant Harward then galloped off to Lieutenant Alexander, who was posted with two troops of 3rd Oude irregulars at Alopebagh, between Darragunge and cantonments. The latter officer at once ordered out his men, and they obeyed, though very tardily; and by the time they were ready, the noise of the guns being dragged along the road to cantonments could be distinctly heard. Harward despatched a short note to the fort, informing Brasyer of what had happened, and then set out with Alexander and the irregulars in pursuit of the guns.* They soon came up with them, and the order to charge was given. Only three men followed their gallant leader, who fell, shot through the breast, in the volley which met them. All but one or two irregulars now joined the mutineers, and Harward had again to escape for his life. This firing was the first intimation, to the fort and station, of

* Harward did not accompany Alexander, at least so the thirty-six sowars who remained true asserted.

the outbreak. It was at first almost universally thought to indicate the approach of the expected enemy from Benares. Harward's note* first told the truth to those inside the fort, but it did not so quickly reach those outside.† There was a large gathering in the 6th mess-house that evening of seventeen officers, including eight unposted cadets, who had just arrived. The officers talked of the fight, which had probably commenced, and were eager to share in its success. The bugle at this time sounded at the 6th lines, and thither many an officer hastened. But the call was a treacherous one; as each officer arrived, he was deliberately murdered. Colonel Simson was received with a volley, but managed to escape into the fort, as also did Captain Gordon, Lieutenant Hicks, and Ensign Currie. Of the cadets, only two escaped, Messrs. Pearson and Woodgate. They, together with Lieutenant Hicks, were at Daragunge when the mutiny broke out, as mentioned before. Lieutenant Harward managed to escape. These three, however, were not so fortunate; they were taken prisoners by the sepoys, and marched triumphantly towards cantonments. They had just reached the mess-house compound, when suddenly a shout and noise were heard in the direction of the treasury, and the sepoys rushed off, it is supposed, to secure their share of the plunder; leaving their three prisoners standing alone. They immediately made for Hick's house, and as they passed along the road, bounding the mess-house compound, they distinctly heard inside, the firing and shouts of murderers and the shrieks of the murdered. They at last got into Hick's buggy, and drove to the banks of the Ganges at Papphamhow ghat, where they swam across the river, and going down its left bank, till they came opposite the fort, they again swam across and landed at the fort walls, inside which they soon managed to get. Meanwhile the work of blood and destruction had no lack of hands to perform it. Early in the morning the jail gates were thrown open, and 3,000 ruffians from its wards, and many thousand Mewatees and other miscreants from the city, rushed eagerly to help in the deeds of that night. Soon the whole horizon, looking north and west from the ramparts of the fort, became one

* (Arrival.)

† A rocket fired from Daraganj convey to the sepoys in lines notice of the outbreak there. It was answered by a return rocket, and the alarm was sounded. The officers of the regiment were assembled at the mess, together by with eight unposted cadets, whom Colonel Simpson would not allow to go into the fort. They imagined that the Benares insurgents were arriving, and hurried to lead their men to the attack. The regiment did not move until all the European officers had assembled, when the regiment fired *en masse* upon them.

mass of flame and lurid smoke, from which issued the yells and shrieks of thousands of infuriated devils doing the work of murder and rapine. By morning's dawn, thirty-one Europeans had perished, and it may be as well that the details of but few of so many murders are known with any certainty.

Next day saw the green flag of the prophet waving over the cotwalee, in acknowledged harmony with the scenes of blood and atrocity around it. While these scenes were being enacted outside the fort, a crisis of inexpressible danger had passed off within its wall in our favor. When it was certain that the 6th N. I. had mutinied, it became necessary of course to disarm the company of that regiment within the fort. This was accomplished by Lieutenant Brasyer, with consummate courage, temper, and tact, ably supported by Captains Hazlewood and Russell. The company of sepoys was assembled near the main gate: they had their muskets loaded, for they had been ordered to load by Lieutenant Williams, on the first sound of firing, when it was thought to be an attack of the enemy without. The Seikhs were drawn up in front of the barracks, facing the main gate, and before them the guns manned by the European invalid artillerymen. The volunteers occupied posts previously assigned to them on the ramparts. One party being over the main gate, looking down upon the sepoy guard. It was an exciting moment when the order to pile arms was given, and the sepoys stood hesitating what to do. Two guns were at this moment brought up in a menacing position; one bore on the flank of the company, the other swept the main gate. The port-fires were lighted, and the carbines of the artillery men, and the rifles of the volunteers, were all equally ready for the worst, should it come. The disarming was at last accomplished without bloodshed, though not without the most evident desire to resist on the part of the sepoys. One man even cocked his gun, as Lieutenant Williams was taking it from him. After this two other sepoy guards were disarmed without resistance, and the whole were turned out into the ravelin, whence they were turned outside next day, being allowed to carry off all their private property.* The Seikhs

* On being called upon to disarm the 6th, the Seikhs hesitated, and came forward breaking into knots. This was the acme of the crisis. Brasyer, with great tact got them into the main gate, employing them in pulling up drawbridges, &c. Russell went off with the invalids to bring up guns, and the volunteers to keep the 6th in check. Russell brought up three guns. The two first he pointed through the main gate, in case of the Seikhs making a rush. The 3rd, loaded with grape, he pointed at the 6th. Then Brasyer, with forty of his most trustworthy men, disarmed the sepoys, and the *imminent* danger passed over for the time.

after this became steadier and quieter, and the European community in the fort could again breathe freely. During the night the few irregulars who had remained staunch, came in, bringing with them the body of their officer, Lieutenant Alexander, who had been shot as before related. His body bore witness to the mad cruelty of his enemies, for, besides the shot in the breast, which killed him, were sabre cuts all over his head and face. Great confusion existed inside the fort for some days, owing partly to the absence on duty of the commissariat officer, Lieutenant Davidson, and the murder of the fort adjutant, Captain Birch. The confusion was greatly increased on the 9th by a party of volunteers and Seikhs being sent out to bring in stores from the Government Steam Agency premises, &c.,—Messrs. Hamilton's godowns. But first the volunteers, and then the Seikhs, took to indiscriminate plundering; and as the plunder was principally wine and brandy, the result was very general drunkenness, and insubordination, both then and afterwards, in the fort.

But to return. On the very morning after the mutiny *i. e* on the 7th June, a small party of fifty 1st Madras fusiliers, under Lieutenant Arnold, arrived at Jhoosee, where the Benares road meets the bridge-of-boats. They were wearied and exhausted by a forced march: but the bridge was in the hands of the enemy, and no boats could be found. It was not till late at night that a Government steamer, which was lying at the fort, was despatched to bring them across, though the fact of their arrival was known in the morning. On the 9th June, another small detachment of the same regiment of fifty-seven men, under Lieutenant Beaumont, arrived, and dropped down in boats to the fort. They had been attacked on the road by the villagers of Kutwa, and had lost their baggage, though no lives. On the 11th June, Colonel Neill himself arrived with forty more men, and immediately assumed command. He at once set about taking measures for re-organizing the force within the fort, and commencing operations against the enemy without. It was high time that such measures should be taken. The insubordination in the garrison had reached a very dangerous height. The Seikhs were daily more overbearing and unruly. Every thing they could lay their hands on, they considered lawful plunder, and both they and the Europeans went in and out of the fort almost at pleasure. Colonel Neill, with equal caution and promptitude enforced a more strict discipline, and kept the men occupied by the operations he commenced outside. Up to this time the rebels had been employed in daily burning and destruction. They were closely investing the fort, though doing nothing

actively against it. They held the bridge-of-boats, partially destroyed, and occupied in force the important post of Daragunge at the Allahabad end of it. Nothing had as yet been done to dislodge them from any point or disturb them in any way. The guns of the fort commanded Daragunge and the bridge-of-boats, but not a shot had been fired. The morning (June 12th) after Colonel Neill's arrival, fire was opened on that quarter by his orders, and he at the same time attacked it with a party of fusiliers and Seikhs, drove the enemy out, and secured the bridge. It was at once repaired, and was ready next day for the crossing of one hundred more fusiliers, under Major Stephenson, who had left Benares at the same time as Colonel Neill's party. On the 13th June, the native parts of Kydgunge and Jhoosee were attacked, and cleared of the enemy by a party of volunteers and Seikhs under Mr. Willock, joint magistrate.* Next day (June 14th) the steamer *Jumna* arrived with another detachment of fusiliers. The Seikhs, who had always been inclined to be unruly, were now removed from the fort much against their will, and cantoned outside on the banks of the Jumna; thus leaving the garrison of the fort entirely European.

On the 15th June, a grand attack was made by a land force, consisting of fusiliers, Seikhs, and irregulars, on the suburbs of Kydgunge and Mooteegunge, supported by the steamer moving up the Jumna with a howitzer and some riflemen on board. The enemy were everywhere beaten, and followed up by our troops close to the city. So great was the terror caused by this day's exploits, that, on the following night, the Moulvee and all his followers fled, leaving the two guns which had been seized at the outbreak, and a number of prisoners, chiefly native Christians, behind. These were brought into the fort early next day. Among them was poor young Cheek, an unposted cadet, who died the same evening; his body covered with wounds and sores, and his mind wandering. His sufferings from the night of the 6th must have been dreadful; he had escaped with severe wounds from the mess-house, and was picked up by a zemindar of the name of Mohomud Tukee, by whom he was given over to the Moulvee. in whose hands he remained exposed and uncared for, until this time. Gopee Nauth Nundee, a native Christian and fellow prisoner, relates that when the Moulvee sought, by threats and wiles to make him abjure Christianity, this brave young officer would call out to him—"Padree Sahib, never let go the faith." Conductor Coleman was another of those brought

* Kydgunj held out for two days—*vide* next para.

in. He had escaped destruction with his family on the night of the mutiny, though not without severe wounds, from which he afterwards died. While kept a prisoner in the hands of the mutineers, he recognized several Delhi sepoys among them.

On the 17th June, the magistrate proceeded to the cotwalee and there restored his own authority, and installed his own officers: no resistance was offered, and the whole place seemed deserted. On the 18th June, another expedition was made for the purpose of clearing and re-occupying the station. The steamer again was sent up the river, and a land force, including twenty mounted volunteers and two guns, penetrated the cantonments. This morning, however, cholera broke out, and in a very virulent form. Eight men were buried in the evening, and twenty next day; and although after this it began to abate, and very rapidly disappeared, it carried off forty out of 100 fusiliers attacked by it. On its first appearance Colonel Neill ordered all non-combatants out of the fort; he had already sent off two steamers full of women and children to Benares, so that the fort was now left to the troops alone. The European force was now rapidly increasing. Two more detachments of fusiliers had arrived, (one on the 16th by the steamer *Coel*, another on the 18th June,) making at this time a total of fifty-seven men of that regiment. A detachment of H. M.'s 84th, (100 men) under Captain Snow, arrived on the 20th, and on the 22nd June, the head-quarters of that regiment came up in the *Calcutta*. The *Mirzapore* also brought 240 of the 1st fusiliers. Colonel Neill now began to make every preparation for despatching a relieving column to Cawnpore, with the least possible delay. The call for aid there was urgent, but the greatest difficulty was found in obtaining any of the means of travelling, and at last, on the 30th of June, Major Renaud's column started, with but few of those requisites. This column consisted of 400 fusiliers, 300 Seikhs, 120 irregular cavalry, and two nine-pounders manned by the invalid artillerymen.

General Havelock arrived this day, (July 1st) and on the following, the startling news of the massacre at Cawnpore was received from Sir H. Lawrence. Next day, (July 2nd) it was confirmed by the report of some cossids, but seemed yet almost too horrible to be believed implicitly. Havelock immediately halted Renaud's advancing column, and prepared to reinforce it himself with 1,000 Europeans and three guns. On the morning of the 3rd July, he despatched a steamer with 100 fusiliers and two guns on board, and provisions for Sir H. Wheeler, in case the news received might turn out false.

On the 7th July, Havelock's column left Allahabad; on the 15th, a further reinforcement of 280 men of H. M.'s 84th, and on the 16th, Colonel Neill followed by dak.

While these preparations and despatches of troops were being made, the work of restoration of order and stern retribution was daily going on. Numbers of those who had taken an active part in the mutiny, still lurked behind in the hope of their guilt being undiscovered, and day after day arrests and capture of such were taking place. On the 22nd of July, it was deemed advisable to issue the two first special commissions (under Government notification No. 1,124 15th June, 1857) to Mr. Willock, joint magistrate, and Doctor Irving. Two days afterwards, two more were issued to Messrs. Palmer and Sandys, and by their aid, the sternest justice was quickly and summarily administered. The result of such measures was soon visible in a wholesome fear pervading all classes of natives,—plundered property was cast into the fields and roads by those who felt that its possession was unsafe.

The destruction of public and private property was immense, every thing combustible seems to have been burnt, and even the magistrate's and sessions judge's cutcherries which were fine masonry buildings, were reduced to ruins. The commissioner's cutcherry, strangely enough, escaped, though it was a thatched bungalow, and all the records in it were saved, but of course the loss of records has been most complete in the others.

As might have been expected, the outbreak in the sudder station was very soon followed by anarchy in the district. The seeds of mutiny had been scattered there, and in many parts the flame burst out with almost equal fury. In some cases the bloody deeds of the night of the 6th in Allahabad were reproduced in almost all their atrocity; many a party of Europeans shut out from all aid endured for long the greatest misery, and experienced the most wonderful escapes. Five only actually perished in the district.

One large party of railway officers were at Burwaree, about twenty-four miles west of the city. On the afternoon of the 17th they assembled in Major Ryves' bungalow, and on seeing a large body of armed men approaching, they betook themselves to the top of a large water tank, where they remained for two days exposed to the threats and insults of the rabble around them, and to the fierce rays of the sun above them. They witnessed during this time the plunder and destruction of all European property in the neighbourhood, which was joined in with fiendish exultation by all ranks and classes of natives.

Mr. Smith, another railway officer, joined them while there; he and Mr. Thomas had started together in flight, but the latter had been murdered in the way, and Mr. Smith himself wounded. On the 9th a party of 3rd Oude irregulars who had remained staunch, arrived to escort them to Allahabad. Mrs. Ryves died immediately on being removed from the tank, from exhaustion and exposure, but the rest arrived safely in Allahabad on the morning of the 10th. There were many other small parties or single families, including customs' officers, planters and merchants, who made their escape in different ways. Two parties came in from Oude, one on the 14th, under Mr. Grant, escorted by Ajeet Singh, talookadar of Mattoopore, from Partabghur and Sultanpore; and the other under Major Barrow, escorted by Rajah Hunwant Sing, from Salone. This latter party, were ten in number,—Major Barrow, deputy commissioner; Lieutenant Swanson, and Mr. Carnegy, assistant commissioners; Captain Thompson, commanding 1st Oude irregular (mutinied 10th June) Doctor Gayer; Lieutenant Chalmers, Adjutant; Mrs. Barrow, Mrs. Swanson, and two non-commissioned officers. On the mutiny of the 1st Oudh irregular at Salone, they had been allowed to leave the station unmolested, and were taken by the rajah to the fort of Dharoopore, where they were very kindly treated. On the receipt of satisfactory accounts from Allahabad, they were conveyed by the rajah to the banks of the Ganges. Here however he left them, for he was under the insane idea that he would be forcibly converted to Christianity if he ventured any further. It is most strange how deep and strong a hold this monstrous delusion had got upon the native mind.*

The extent to which the outbreak in the station of Allahabad was carried out in the district, varies very much in different portions of it.

In the *Doab* pergunnahs the character of the outbreak was worse, and the extent greater than anywhere else. The zemindars there were chiefly Mussulmen, and with scarcely an exception they joined their brethren, with the object of exterminating the English, and upsetting the Government. Pergunnah Chail was the worst of all; the Moulvee was a resident of Mahgaon, one of its villages, and every Mussulman there joined his standard. The Pragwal brahmins of Allahabad, who were also foremost in the outbreak, carried with them the Hindoo population. The district police went almost in a body, and for a short time the greatest anarchy prevailed. When our power again began to be in the ascendant, and the Moul-

* This is wrong. The rajah refused to take reward, as it would affect his independence, and he said that he would not bind himself to support Government in any way.

vee, with his followers, had fled, this portion of the district was left almost entirely deserted, and the greatest difficulty was at first felt in doing anything towards its re-settlement.

In the *Trans-gangetic* pergunnahs the causes which acted to excite the disturbances were different.* Religion had little or nothing to do with it. The villages in these pergunnahs were owned at the cession by large Thakoor families in large talookahs. The old zemindars, habitually extravagant, because by habit they live on plunder, became ruined by their extravagance and were sold up by our rule and by our laws. The cultivator and poorer classes still continued to look upon them with greater regard than the purchasers at auction, however long the latter may have been in possession of the property. The ex-zemindar and his family were still the most influential residents of the village. In most instances they received a kind of tribute from the poorer inhabitants, and helped them in return.

The auction purchaser, on the other hand, was generally a resident of the city, and never visited his village, except for the hateful purpose of collecting his rents, or enforcing his decrees. The people therefore naturally sided with the zemindars, to whom the outbreak seemed a grand opportunity, of recovering their position. They first set to work to destroy and plunder everything European, and took forcible possession of their old estates. Of course the auction purchasers were our friends, and rendered every assistance in their power for the restoration of order.

In the pergunnahs south of the Jumna the blow was less felt than elsewhere. Bad characters and disaffected individuals here and there assembled men, and burnt and plundered villages, where any person inimical to them lived. Yet the disturbances never took fair root, and as soon as our position at Allahabad began to look more favorable, they in a great measure ceased. This was owing principally to the great influence with the three rajahs of Manda, Dihya, and Barrahad in the district.

These men had too much at stake to enter headlong into the first outburst of disaffection. Their interest was more on the side of order than disorder, † and hence the cautious man-

* After the flight of the Moulvee, these pergunnahs almost settled themselves into order, but watched the progress of the revolt in Oudh. When Havelock retreated across the Ganges to Cawnpore—about the 16th of August—the zemindars of Oudh joined the mass, and the zemindars of this part of my district followed in their wake. By the end of August, the only portion over which I could maintain authority was the grand trunk road and its immediate neighbourhood, and this in consequence of the daily passing of European troops in force.—M. A. Court.

† And the Bara rajah.

ner in which they acted. The Manda rajah at first took charge of the district police, and also of the treasure, which last act would evidently secure our favor if we won in the contest, and insure a rich prize to himself if we lost.

* The other two rajahs were equally opposed to disorder and by their neutrality prevented a general rising at the outset. As our position improved at the sudder station, their neutrality was of course changed to a more decided co-operation in our favour. Such was the state of the district during the interval immediately succeeding the mutiny at Allahabad. The Doab population, led on by their Mahomedan zemindars had risen with enthusiasm to take part in a religious war, and had marked their rising with the usual accompaniments of Mahomedan fanaticism. The rising had been quickly checked, and a large proportion of the population had fled, leaving the district partially deserted. The Trans-gangetic pupulation led on by the old Talookdar families had risen to restore the old order of things, and remained in arms against us. The Trans-gangetic population has, as before mentioned, been restrained by local influences, and never openly threw off our Government.

The Doab and Trans-gangetic provinces remained to be brought again under our rule by force of arms. In the former the task was comparatively easy. The continual upward march of troops, which for sometime took place along the grand trunk road, combined with the flight of all the worst characters, very soon reduced pergunnah chail to order. In pergunnah Kurra, which was perhaps one of the most disaffected portions, open violence and plundering very soon ceased, and a sullen quietness took its place. In the remaining pergunnah of Utherbun, disaffection held for some time its last stronghold in the Doab.

Dhakun Sing, zemindar of Dhurawal, and other zemindars bordering on the Jumna, continued for some time in open rebellion. They were assisted by Hunooman Singh, an escaped convict, and Vilayat Hoosein, who rendered their assistance for the sake of the plunder and rapine in which they were thus enabled to indulge. Hunooman Singh had his head-quarters at Koran, close to the line of railway where, in December 1857, he began to fortify himself. At Mr. Court's request, a force was sent by Brigadier Campbell, (15th December 1857,) which suceeded in demolishing the fortifications, and dispersing the party. Hunooman Singh and his followers, finding

* This paragraph is incorrect.

they could no longer remain in their old haunts, sought an asylum with Dhakun Singh in a small cornor of the pergunnah, of which Dhurawal is the centre. Here they were kept by the zealous efforts of Pearee Mohun, a Bengalee by birth, who had been appointed moonsiff at Munjhunpoor, and who created a strong Government party in the district. On the re-occupation of Banda, (April 19th) the rebels were obliged to desert even this corner, and dispersed in the Rewah territory. From that time the whole Doab has been effectively in our hands.

In the Trans-gangetic pergunnah the reign of disorder was much longer and wider spread. Nothing was done to check it till January 1858, beyond sending out a force of Benares levies, under Mr. Mayne, for the protection of the grand trunk road and its immediate neighbourhood. In January a force under Brigadier Campbell, left Allahabad, and driving the rebels before them, advanced the position held by Mr. Mayne as far as Phoolpoor.

In January 1858, General Frank's column advanced to Soraon, driving the enemy before it into Oudh. Yet for some time they continued to infest the district, plundering and burning wherever they could, and retiring to their forts when pursued. Order cannot be said to have been effectually restored, until Brigadier Berkely took the stronghold of Dehion on the 14th of July last. With that event, the disturbances consequent on the mutiny may be said to have been subdued in the district of Allahabad.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

FENDALL THOMPSON,
Officiating Magistrate.

Allahabad, Collector's Office, the 9th November 1858.

From H. D. WILLOCK, *Esq., Joint Magistrate of Shahjehanpore, to* C. B. THORNHILL, *Esq., Commissioner of Allahabad.*

Dated, Shahjehanpore, the 7th December, 1858.

Sir,—I have the honor to forward a narrative of events, occurring during the month of June 1857, and succeeding months, in the Allahabad division, of which I was an eye-witness, and my subsequent adventures with General Havelock's force.

2. My departure from Allahabad and late indisposition, have prevented my transmitting it at an earlier date.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

H. D. WILLOCK,
Joint Magistrate.

Shahjehanpore, 4th December, 1858.

The Mutiny of the 6th Regiment Native Infantry at Allahabad, in June 1857, *and subsequent events.*

1. The mutinies which occurred at Barrackpore and Meerut in May 1857, placed the residents of Allahabad on their guard against any sudden outbreak of the Native Infantry regiment stationed in the cantonments, and measures were adopted to prevent any rising on the part of the troops and city men taking place without warning being communicated; and plans were agreed upon and made known to the residents for a general meeting at a fixed spot in case of an outbreak. When the first symptoms of disaffection in the army appeared, the 6th regiment N. I., with a few native artillery-men, were the only troops stationed in Allahabad. In the fort there were no guards, save the usual company of the sixth on duty at the main gate.

2. As the danger seemed to increase, application was made to the Brigadier commanding the division, for detachments of other regiments that could be spared, and accordingly a party of invalided artillery-men, under Lieutenant (now Major) Hazlewood, from Buxar, 200 Seikhs of the Ferozepore regiment under Lieutenant (now Lieutenant Colonel) Brasyer, and a body of irregular cavalry under Lieutenant Alexander, were sent. The artillery-men and Seikhs were quartered in the fort, and the cavalry were posted in parties through the station. As each day passed, some fresh rumour was circulated regarding the state of public feeling in the city. Agents of the rebel leaders were evidently busy poisoning the minds of the people. The domestic servants learnt and believed, for they would not take the trouble to enquire into the truth of the report, that several boat-loads of adulterated flour were moored at the river bank, to be sold forcibly by the magistrate to the bunneeahs, and a panic and an outcry was the result. The bazar was closed, and it was very evident that an outbreak in the city would follow an emeute of the soldiery. The men of the city warned the magistrate against the fidelity of the

sepoys and the sepoys cautioned their officers and the magistrate against the city people protesting against the tales that had been circulated of their lukewarmness towards Government. They went so far as to give up two Mahomedans, who, they said, had entered their lines and attempted to lead some of the men astray, while at the same time they were sending their own men into the cavalry lines to tamper with the troopers. It was evident that a crisis was at hand, and ladies and children were at last removed into the fort.

3. On the arrival of the news of the outbreak at Benares, the sepoys of the 6th regiment protested their loyalty in stronger terms than before, and induced the officer commanding their regiment and the station to post two guns, guarded by a company of their own corps, at the head of the bridge road leading to Benares, to oppose the crossing of a body of mutineers said to be marching on Allahabad from Benares. Captain Hicks, and Ensigns Pearson and Woodgate, commanded the infantry, and Lieutenant Harward the artillery. A company had also been posted at the jail, where I had taken up my quarters by the magistrate's direction. Matters stood thus on the 5th, when a telegraphic message was received from General Wheeler at Cawnpore to this effect :—"Man the fort with every available European," and in consequence every resident unconnected with the native regiment was directed to repair to the fort, and there take up his residence. A few disregarded the order, believing it to be merely the result of the many panics that had been witnessed lately. Among those who unhappily disobeyed, were Captain Birch, fort adjutant; Lieutenant Innis, executive engineer; Mr. Archer, merchant; Mr. Boilard, merchant; and Mrs. Boilard, and many other Eurasians. The night of the 5th passed by quietly, and on the 6th we again returned to our houses, entering the fort at sunsest. By this time the garrison had been organized, and the "vulunteers," one hundred and ten in number, were armed from the arsenal, and told off to their respective posts. At 8 o'clock that evening, the different detachments marched to the batteries, and sentries were posted on the walls of the fort. At 9 o'clock a rocket was seen to be fired from the direction of the bridge, and a corresponding one from cantonments. Shortly afterwards a musket shot from the direction of cantonment was heard; another, some straggling shots; then a peal and roll of musketry, as if a regiment was firing in parade. So many looked-for dangers had passed by, that even now false ideas and hopes were en-

tertained. As the firing was less distinctly heard, it was *vainly* hoped that the expected Benares rebels had entered the station, and were being driven out across the Papamow ghat, so regular was the musketry. For some long time nothing was known of the cause of the firing. Not a man was able to leave his post; and it was only when the volunteers were ordered to the main gate that the truth was learnt. The regiment had mutinied, and had murdered the officers whom they had cheered and sworn fidelity to only three hours previously. The two guns stationed at the bridge had been seized by the company posted there, and Lieutenant Harward, after escaping and warning Lieutenant Alexander, (in charge of the irregular cavalry,) returned to relate the fate of that gallant officer, who had been shot by the men of the 6th, while galloping up to the cantonment to the scene of the firing. The surviving officers shortly afterwards made their appearance, and recounted the tale of treachery and blood. Thirty-nine Christian souls fell that night. Directly the firing ceased, the work of destruction commenced, and the prisoners of the jail, and bad characters of the city and neighbouring villages, finding themselves free from restraint, broke loose and joined the mutineers, first to plunder the treasury, and then to burn and destroy the station. The sepoys forming the guard at the main gate were at once disarmed, and being placed under charge of a party of volunteers, told off for the service, were turned out of the fort at daybreak. The whole garrison remained under arms that night, in hourly expectation of an attack, but all was quiet, saving the station, which resounded with the cries of the exulting population. In the meantime the men of the 6th, glutted with their plunder, sought to reach their homes with their gains, and accordingly abandoning their guns, left the staion, a disorganized body, the following day crossing the Papamhow ghat. On gaining the country, the villagers, aware of the sums of money they carried, surrounded and attacked them wherever they appeared unarmed, for they had thrown away their firelocks to lighten themselves. They afforded an easy prey, and it is generally believed that few succeeded in carrying away their spoil. So completely scattered were the men of the regiment in consequence, that they have never since been heard of as a body. Of the irregular cavalry, about one-half remained faithful. These offered their services to the magistrate, and were directed to proceed to the railway station of Burwaree, and rescue the party of railway officials there besieged. They did so, and

conducted them to the fort in safety. One Sunday, the 7th, the first reinforcement arrived, consisting of a small party of the 1st Madras fusiliers. Shortly after a second detachment of the Ferozepore regiment, and again other parties of fusiliers, and by the time that Colonel Neill arrived, a sufficient force was assembled, to enable him to take measures to re-occupy the station. At this time the city and suburbs were held by a body of rebels, under the now well known Moulvee Lyakut Alee. This man, a weaver by caste, and by trade a school-master had gained some respect in his village by his excessive sanctity; and on the first spread of the rebellion, the Mahomedan zemindars of pergunnah Chail, ready to follow any leader, placed this man at their head, and marched to the city, proclaiming him a governor of the district, in the name of the king of Delhi. His Head-quarters were fixed to the Khooshroo garden, where the two guns, abandoned by the 6th, were dragged, and there the rebel court was held. The first step taken by General Neill, after restoring order in the fort, was to take possession of the village of Daragunge, which commanded the bridge. A detachment of fusiliers and Sheiks cleared the position, and it was finally held by a party of the Ferozepore regiment. This secured the safety of the bridge over the Ganges. The next step was to clear the city and station of the rebels. One party sent to occupy the station was driven back, the rebels being too strong, and daily encounters took place between the insurgents and detachments told off to protect foraging parties. The insurgents consisted chiefly of followers of the rebel zemindars of Chail, and the bad characters of the city and station, principally low-bred Mussulmans and others, who were induced to take up arms, in the hope of finding sufficient plunder in the station. No active movements were made by the insurgents, who were in fact a mere armed mob; but they were sufficiently strong to hold the city and station, and bid us defiance. They appear to have entertained an idea of attacking the fort, for a white flag, mounted on a long bamboo, was found one morning attached to the palisades below the flagstaff battery, supposed to be one of the weakest points of the fort. Treachery was doubtless brewing among the natives employed in the fort, for on the eve of the attack on the city, the Ferozepore regiment, which marched out to occupy a building in Kydgunge, was received, on passing a walled garden, by a volley from a body of concealed men, which disabled many of the privates, and fractured the thigh of the adjutant. The intended move-

ment had evidently been communicated by some one having access to the order book. The force now under Colonel Neill being strengthened daily, a final attack upon the city was determined on, and consequently, on the 17th of June, the plans were carried out. A party of fifty men of the Madras fusiliers, with a company of volunteers under my command, with two howitzers, under Lieutenant Harward, proceeded up the Jumna, while General Neill, with a detachment of the Madras fusiliers and the Ferozepore regiment, attacked the city by land. The steamer anchored at the north side of the city, while the volunteers under cover of the guns and fusiliers' rifles, landed, and co-operating with the main body, drove the rebels from the town. The rebels fled precipitately, and the station was occupied on the following day without opposition. Thoughts were now turned to the situation of the Cawnpore garrison under General Wheeler, who was known to be closely besieged by the mutineers. A force was accordingly organized by Colonel Neill for the relief. Considerable difficulty was experienced in collecting carriage for the troops, from the state of the station and district: but the relieving force was equipped by the 30th, and started that evening. It consisted of the following troops:—400 men of the 1st Madras fusiliers; 400 of the Ferozepore regiment, under Lieutenant (now Lieutenant Colonel) Brasyer; two nine-pounder guns, under Lieutenant Harward; and a party of irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Palliser, composed of the loyal men of two mutinied corps. The column commanded by Major Renaud, (Madras fusiliers) was ordered to reach Cawnpore by forced marches, in consequence of General Wheeler having named a certain date as the last day the ill-fated garrison could hold out. At the same time a steamer proceeded up the Ganges, with a hundred men of the Madras fusiliers, to co-operate with the column. I accompanied the force, having been appointed to do duty with it as civil officer by the commissioner. On the evening of the 1st of July, the fourth encamping ground was reached, when a sepoy despatched by Sir Henry Lawrence from Lucknow, with letters to General Wheeler and the magistrate of Allahabad, arrived in camp. He was the first man to communicate the tidings of the fate of the garrison. This tale was at first doubted, but his story being corroborated by each successive traveller from the direction of Cawnpore, this intelligence was communicated to Colonel Neill at Allahabad, who in reply stated his suspicion that the story had been propogated with a treacherous design, but ordered Major Renaud to

proceed by short marches and shew no sign of a halt or retrograde movement, adding that a force under the command of General Havelock would shortly follow. The column accordingly encamped at Khaga on the 11th of July, and being joined by General Havelock's force at midnight, the whole party reached the village of Bilinda, four miles from Futtehpore, the following morning. No information having been received of the presence of any strong body of rebels in Futtehpore, the camp was drawn up and tents were pitched. It appears however that a force had been despatched from Cawnpore in the meantime to oppose the progress of the British force, and from papers found in the office of the rebels deputy collector Hickmut-oollah, it appeared that the information afforded by the enemy's spies regarding the strength of our column was entirely at fault. Hickmut-oollah was directed to summon the neighbouring zemindars and the followers to oppose the march of the two companies of European soldiers proceeding up the road until reinforcements were sent. This accounts for the bold advance of the rebel force. On taking up a position, a reconnoitring party of the volunteer cavalry had been sent forward with Colonel Tytler, quartermaster general. The enemy perceiving their approach, took for granted the arrival of the small force expected, and acted accordingly. Colonel Tytler, riding back to the camp, gave intelligence of the presence of the rebels. The whole force was under arms immediately, and moved out to receive the enemy. The ground was most favorable for General Havelock's movement, and equally disadvantageous to the attacking force. The ground in front of the camp was firm and dry, while on the other hand the enemy was forced to proceed by the road alone, a morass on each side preventing their deploying into line, or bringing their guns advantageously into action. The consequence was that their first gun was speedily disabled by Captain Maude's fire, and a panic ensuing in front, the whole force was thrown into confusion. The advantage thus gained was quickly followed up, and a retreat ensued. The enemy held the city of Futtehpore and suburbs for a short time, but unable to stand the steady advance of the infantry, and were soon forced to evacuate the position. The day was then gained. The whole of their artillery, consisting of twelve Government guns, was captured with their camp. In this engagement the irregular cavalry proved themselves unworthy of the confidence placed in them from their previous good behaviour. On the evacuation of the city the

volunteer cavalry was ordered to reconnoitre the country to the left, while the irregulars were ordered to the right. They proceeded some distance, when they came across a party of the 2nd light cavalry, amounted to about forty men. Our party (I accompanied the irregulars) numbered nearly a hundred men. The order was given to charge, when the mutineers rode forward at a gallop to meet us, waving their swords as if to invite the irregulars to join them, and showed their indisposition to fight by their gestures. The irregulars pulled up, while the mutineers rode round them, clashing their swords against theirs, while a few dashed in at the officers, who were, however, nobly supported by the native officers of the regiment. Some hand-to-hand engagement took place, and in the meantime a strong body of the light cavalry appeared in the distance, making for us, when the irregulars turned their bridles and fled.

4. Nothing remained for the officers to do but to follow, and in a very short time the main body of the force was gained. Seven horses of the irregulars fell at a ditch, and their riders cut up as they lay. Among those who fell was the Rissaldar of the regiment, a fine gallant man, who had saved Lieutenant Palliser's life in the fight when unhorsed, and who was among the last to fly. The men were subsequently disbanded by General Havelock's order. The column halted at Futtehpore on the 10th, to refresh the men who had suffered great fatigues the day previous. It was then that Lieutenant Brown, of the 50th regiment, joined us. He alone had escaped from Humeerpore, from whence Mr. Loyd, the collector, Mr. Grant, the joint magistrate, and another officer had been forced to fly. He had wandered from village to village for six weeks, well received by the inhabitants of some, and driven out by others, and arrived in camp, much exhausted by fatigue and exposure. He died at Cawnpore of cholera, shortly after the re-occupation of that station. Several families of Europeans hiding in the district of Allahabad had been rescued by Major Renaud's party previously. The column resumed its march on the 14th, and on the morning of the 15th, reached the village of Oude, in the Futtehpore district, where a second rebel force were intrenched, ready to oppose our progress. The enemy was quickly dislodged, and was forced to fly, leaving their cannon again. A stand was made by them at the Pandoo river, a strong position, the only passage over the river being, in consequence of its swollen state, the bridge, behind which were the enemy's intrenchment. One of the enemy's guns (two in number) being

disabled by Captain Maude, and the infantry making a rapid advance, they soon gave way, and the force bivouacked on their position that night. Information was then received of the position taken up by the rebels at the village of Aherwan, at the entrance to Cawnpore, where their chief evidently intended to stake his fortunes. This village is situated about sixteen miles from the Pandoo river, and General Havelock consequently determined to make the march as easy to his men as possible. The column accordingly broke ground at daybreak, and halted and breakfasted half way. At 2 P. M. the enemy's position was gained. Knowing their strength and plan of defence, from the information afforded by spies, the General determined upon turning their flank. This manœuvre completely prevented the enemy using their artillery with the effect that had been intended by their position, and intrenchment by intrenchment being taken in detail, the enemy was, after a hard struggle, forced back. The state of the country now prevented Captain Maude bringing up his gun to the advance, and the temporary check in the progress of the line gave the flying rebels heart. They rallied, and again opened with their guns upon the column, which was now lying down in the open field. The repeated efforts to move the guns were of no avail, and the enemy's artillery remained unanswered. They gained fresh courage, and showed signs of advancing, the band playing in the ranks. General Havelock saw that that moment would decide the battle, and ordering the line to rise, he ordered a final charge. Discharge after discharge of grape swept the ranks; but the line pressed steadily on, and the enemy, dismayed by the cheers of the gallant line, turned, fled, and abandoned the city and station of Cawnpore that night. The next morning the force advanced, and encamped on the cavalry parade ground, on which the position held by General Wheeler was situated. As the column left its ground, the earth shook with the explosion of the powder magazine, which was blown up by the guard before retreating. On that day the fate of the unfortunate ladies and children of the garrison was learnt, and their remains were discovered in the well, where they had been thrown after the massacre on the 15th. The first step taken was to secure a position, and on the 18th the force was marched to Nawabgunj, at the extreme west of Cawnpore, the enemy having fled in that direction. A detachment was sent to Bithoor, which took possession of twelve guns left in the town, and destroyed by fire the premises lately occupied by the miscreant Nana. The relief of

Lucknow was the next object and, with the greatest exertions the passage of the Ganges was effected on the 25th, and General Havelock, with 1,500 men, commenced his first advance upon Lucknow. The greatest difficulties had now to be contended against. Supplies were scanty, the weather was most unfavorable, and the troops suffered great hardships from the want of tents which were not allowed to accompany the force, to enable the column to march lightly, and save the necessity of weakening the force by detaching parties of infantry for baggage guards. On the 29th the village of Oonao was reached, where the advanced body of mutineers was posted. The troops, in their usual gallant manner, drove the enemy back, capturing their artillery. The rebel force retired upon Basserutgunj, a strongly fortified village, four miles distant from Oonao, and situated on the main road to Lucknow. Here again General Havelock gained a victory, driving the enemy back with a heavy loss, and taking their guns; but disease and casualties had so weakened his force, and the strength of the foe was so apparent, that the idea of a further advance, with the hope of a successful entry into Lucknow with the force in the field, was abandoned, and with heavy hearts the column marched back to the village of Mungrawa, where the troops took up their quarters in the deserted huts of the villagers. I was then summoned by General Havelock to join him, having in the meantime assumed the office of joint magistrate of Cawnpore, to which post I was appointed on arrival. Endeavors were then made to induce the peasantry to return to their homes, and printed proclamations were issued by General Havelock's orders, assuring the people that the force had entered Oudh with the sole object of punishing the rebels, and calling upon all well-disposed people to assist the force. These notices had but little effect. The people, well aware of the besieged garrison, and seeing our backward movement, feared the punishment which they knew would await them on the part of the rebels, in case of any expression of loyalty should *we* be unsuccessful. One family alone came forward, whose members afforded most important services in the time of need. Their head man, Omrao Singh, zemindar of Mungrawa, assisted by his relatives, procured provisions for the camp, workmen for the intrenchments, and information of the movements of the rebel. He removed his family to Cawnpore for security; but on our re-crossing, his house was plundered, and he suffered

considerably. He and his relatives have, however, been well rewarded by the deputy commissioner of Oonoa, in consequence of a representation on my part of his services. In the meantime reinforcements were daily arriving at Cawnpore, and General Neill, who had reached the station, was enabled to forward additional troops, swelling the force to 1,400 men, with two heavy siege guns. The second advance upon Lucknow was commenced on the 4th of August. The enemy in the interim had once more occupied Basseerutgunj. The column bivouacked that night in the rain, on the plain in front of Oonao, and in the morning renewed the march. The enemy's position was attacked with the same result as before. Their guns were taken; and they were dispersed. The victory however was dearly gained. The force had sustained a heavy loss from the engagement and effects of the sun, and General Havelock was once more forced to retire. The village of Mungrawa was barely reached, when information was received that a strong body of mutineers had reached Basseerutgunj, and were preparing to follow up our apparent retreat. General Havelock had resolved upon re-crossing the Ganges, as no hope could be entertained of reinforcements for some time, the disturbed state of Bengal necessitating the detention, in the lower provinces, of troops destined for Cawnpore. To secure a safe passage, therefore, General Havelock determined to attack the rebels again, who threatened his rear. All baggage was sent ovr the river and two days' provisions found, the only burden carried by the column. A third time the force advanced to Basseerutgunj, and defeated the enemy after a severe struggle with overpowering number, capturing two guns. The column renewed their march, and on the 10th of August crossed the river in safety. At this time Bithoor was again occupied by the rebel force, consisting of the mutinied 42nd native infantry regiment and detachments of corps with a large body of cavalry, together with a large assemblage of matchlock-men, amounting to 4,000 men, with two Government nine-pounder guns. The Cawnpore garrison, previous to the re-crossing of the force, was too weak to hold the entire station, and the rebels were in consequence emboldened, and made several demonstrations of their power. On one occasion, a party of sowars actually entered the station, and destroyed a police chowkee situated at the west of Cawnpore. On Sunday, the 16th, General Havelock marched to Bithoor, and attacked the enemy's position, which was one of

great strength; the city in front, of which the entrenchments were thrown up, being situated on a hill, and surrounded by a deep ditch, then filled by the Ganges. In front, and in rear of this natural defence, were fields of thick sugarcane, which afforded excellent cover for the enemy. Our artillery consisted of twelve guns, including several mortars, which were not brought into action; and notwithstanding our superiority in this branch, the enemy made a most obstinate resistance, and it was only when one of their guns was disabled by the treachery of a Seikh, who was fighting in their ranks as an artillery-man, that they broke from their position. This fact was communicated by the thanahdar of Bithoor, who had been seized, and who effected his escape on their fight. This man's heart failed him on perceiving his countrymen advancing, and driving home a round shot without a cartridge, he rendered the gun ineffective and fled. The gun was found thus loaded by the artillery officer in charge of the park, on examination. A slight resistance was made in the town, but the troops, vieing with each other in the pursuit, drove them rapidly before them. Having only the volunteer cavalry, General Havelock was enabled to follow the flying enemy, and the infantry being too much exhausted to march beyond the town, the rebels were enabled to cross the Ganges at their leisure. The force bivouacked at Bithoor that night, and returned to Cawnpore the next morning. The camp, now pitched on the cavalry parade-ground, waited the arrival of fresh reinforcements under General Outram. These consisted of regiments fresh from England,—the 5th fusiliers and the 90th. with the addition of batteries of artillery and heavy guns.

A bridge of boats was thrown up, in spite of the attempts of the enemy to oppose our crossing, a position having been taken up by them at Mungrawa. On the 19th of September preparations having been completed, the force crossed and after a short engagement with the enemy, who were driven back to their position, the camp was pitched about a mile from the river. On the 20th the advance was commenced, and shortly after leaving ground the action commenced. The enemy, driven back to their intrenchments, had their right flank turned by the infantry, which threw them into confusion. They fled, and were hotly followed up by the volunteer cavalry, headed by Sir James Outram, and were forced to desert two of their guns. The pursuit was continued to

Basseerutgunj, and for the first time the enemy suffered severely in their flight. Volunteers from their ranks had joined Major Barrow's cavalry, and they now numbered nearly 100 sabres. The troops occupied Basseerutgunj that night. The unexpected movement of the cavalry caused such a panic in the enemy's ranks, that the positions at Bunnee and Nawabgunj were abandoned, and the whole force retired upon Lucknow. This march proved the most harrassing of the whole campaign. From the day of crossing to the close of the twentieth, the rain fell in torrents. Officers and men were unable to change their clothes; servants deserted their masters; and the troops were nigh worn out with the fatigue and privations. On the afternoon of the twenty-third the plain in front of Alum Bagh was reached, where the enemy were drawn up in considerable force in line to meet us. Both armies advanced, and a severe engagement took place. Again the steady and determined front of the British line proved irresistible, and the enemy were driven back into the suburbs of Lucknow, fronting Alum Bagh. There they stood, and General Havelock forming up his camp in both flanks of Alum Bagh, halted. The twenty-fourth was passed in giving the wearied troops rest, and making arrangements for the occupation of Alum Bagh. The whole of the baggage and wounded men, with 250 infantry and two guns, were placed within the wall, and 9 o'clock in the 25th, the advance to the residency was commenced. The usual route to the residency was abandoned, and a by-road being followed, the force marched forward. Strong positions had been selected at the outskirts of the city, and the first mile was passed, though almost literally a sheet of fire. The swamp on each side of the road compelled the force to advance in one long line towards the city, and for some time the whole body of infantry was ordered to lay down in the ground, while Captain Maude, in front, directed his fire against the enemy's artillery. Their guns being silenced, the troop advanced, and driving the enemy into the city, pursued the route laid down by General Outram. This step being unexpected, little opposition was offered until the Kaisur Bagh was reached, from which point the route lay through the city. After a halt to allow the whole of the force to collect, the advance was again sounded, and after running the gauntlet through streets lined with sepoys, sheltered by loop-holed walls, the main body of the infantry reached the residency at the sunset;—the artillery, and a strong body of infan-

try, in the meantime remained under cover at some distance. The intervening places were quicky cleared, and a communication being opened, they joined the garrison. The relieving force was now besieged, with the rest of the garrison, and so remained until the final relief in November. On the evacuation of residency I returned to Allahabad.

H. D. WILLOCK,

Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector.

Shahjehanpore, the 7th December, 1858.

ESCAPE OF MR. CORRIGAN AND FAMILY FROM FUTTEHPORE TO ALLAHABAD.

On the 6th June 1857, about 1 P. M., I heard the report of guns in the direction of Cawnpore very distinctly, and wrote to Mr. Macnaghten to say that I thought the troops at Cawnpore had mutinied. The firing continued, without intermission, the whole of the afternoon and night. At 6 P. M. I went to the collector's and found most of the European residents of the station, and the railway people collected there, busily engaged in fortifying the roof of the collector's house. After a short stay I returned home, with the intention of taking my family to the collector's as soon as I saw any signs of an approaching outbreak. About 10 P. M. my road jemadar, Bhujjunlall, came to inform me that the news of the Cawnpore mutiny had reached Futtehpore, and that the towns-people were arming themselves in every direction, and begged of me to leave the station with my family. I immediately ordered two dawk carriages, and in the meantime went to Mr. Sherer's to tell him that I thought the best thing I could do was to proceed to Allahabad, and leave my family in the fort. On my return I found the carriages ready, and after packing up our valuables and some clothing, we started for Allahabad. I must add that my father-in-law, Mr. Lawrence's family were living with me at the time, Mr. L. having proceeded to Agra on leave of absence; he was subsequently massacred at Mynpoory by the Jhansie mutineers. There were eleven of us, *viz.*, Mr. Lawrence and four daughters, myself, Mrs. Corrigan, and our four children,

between the ages of nine months and seven years. We proceeded without difficulty for a few miles; but as soon as we passed Bilinda, word was passed by our servants (of whom we had two stationed on the carriages as look-out men) that a body of sepoys were coming towards us from the Allahabad direction, and on coming closer, I looked through the *jhilmils*, and recognised them as the detachment which had lately escorted our surplus treasure from Futtehpore to Allahabad; they were now returning towards Cawnpore. The party consisted of some sowars of the damnable second cavalry from Cawnpore, and sepoys of the —— N. I. from Banda. Just before leaving home, an aged female servant, who had been about twenty-six years in the service of Mrs. Lawrence, advised the ladies of our family to put on a number of Hindoostanee bracelets, (*choories,*) which she had brought with her, on each wrist; to take off all European jewellery; and to provide themselves with chudders to cover their heads. This advice was followed, and, as will be seen, saved our lives. Our carriages were stopped by the sowars, some of whom said "This is probably the collector saheb of Futtehpore running away; let us *mar* the *sala*." The coachman protested that it was a native zenana sowaree; and at this critical moment my little girl began to cry, and Miss L. put out her hand below the *jhilmils* as if unintentionally. The brutes saw the hand *choories*, and immediately desisted, saying, "O *bhaee*, they are our own people; let them pass." While this was going on, one of the sepoys pushed his bayonet through the back-panel of one of the garees, but fortunately without injury to any of us. We drove on, thankful to God for the interposition of his hand, and blessed the rare foresight which had prompted our old ayah to think of the *choories*.

2. After we had got about a mile further, we found the road covered with torn letters, books and newspapers, and further on ahead of mail bags burning, and the mail cart standing on the side of the road, without horse or driver. The wretches had destroyed the Calcutta mail. I picked up a number of the letters, but lost them subsequently.

3. We passed Khaga about 9 A. M., where all appeared to be quiet, and at 2 P. M. we reached Lohunda, and went into the dawk bungalow to obtain some refreshment. I had scarcely entered, ere I was startled by the report of a gun in the direction of Allahabad; several others followed. In an hour we harnessed the horses again, and continued our journey.

After driving on for ten minutes, we met a dawk garee coming from Allahabad with native passengers. We tried to stop them, but they drove on rapidly, crying out as they passed, "Don't go to Allahabad there has been fearful work there." I was almost paralysed, for Cawnpore and Allahabad were both in open rebellion, and I was between them. There was however no time to lose, and we decided that the nearer we go to Allahabad the better. On we went therefore until we came to Synee, where we were to change horses. There was some delay here, and I asked the man in charge of the chowkey why it occurred. He coolly told me, his horses were knocked up, and couldn't get on without "*mussala.*" I understood the hint, and told him that I would pay for "*mussala,*" but that I would inform the Agent of his conduct. He looked at me, with a fixed stare and said, "*Urejao, toomara ujant juhunum ko gya.*" I had a pair of pistols with me, and was inclined to use them, but on looking round at the large family of helpless ladies and children with me, I felt that it would be prudent to swallow the affront for the present. I paid him for "mussala" accordingly, and had the satisfaction of seeing two fresh horses harnessed and put to. We had got about a mile east of Synee, when we were stopped by a police jemadar, (?) who told us that the villages on the road side between Allahabad and Synee were full of armed Mahomedans, who had begun the work of plunder and bloodshed, and that they had taken away and released a prisoner he was escorting to Allahabad. He begged of us to return, urging that our lives would be sacrificed to a certainty if we proceeded. We turned the carriages round, and returned towards Futtehpore, and about 7 P. M. we reached Khaga, one of our tehseelee and moonsiffee stations. I knew Rujjub Alee, the tehseeldar well, and had frequently obliged him in many ways. I accordingly drove into the tehseel compound, and asked him to let me remain there for the night. He reluctantly agreed, and directed me to an empty hut near the gate. We went in, and I borrowed a few charpoys from the omlah, and after getting the children something to eat, we laid down to rest, disheartened and hopeless. I sent one of our servants to Futtehpore, to bring information of how matters stood there, and endeavoured to sleep. After many weary hours came the morning, and we were discussing all kinds of plans for our escape, when Rujjub Alie sent us some dall and rice in *muttee* dishes. We were just about to begin our breakfast, when intimation was received that a body

of rebel cavalry, (probably some of the 12th irregulars) had just arrived, and had encamped near Khaga. The tehseeldar immediately ordered some of his men to wait on them, and to furnish them with *russud*, and sent word to me that our dawk carriages should be sent away at once, to prevent the suspicion that he was sheltering Europeans. We sent away the carriages with heavy hearts for with them all chances of escape by flight were gone. About 9 A. M. we heard that some of the sowars intended to visit the tehseeldaree, to have the treasure *looted*, and the tehseeldar came shortly after, and directed us to leave the place, telling us he was not going to risk his life for us. I was surprised to see the change which had come over the pliant and obsequious Rujjub Alie of former days; but as I was so entirely in his power, I was obliged to maintain a civil tongue. I begged of him to obtain shelter for us in the village of Khaga, feeling certain that he possessed some influence there, but all in vain. He directed us in a peremptory tone to leave the tehseeldaree. I then sent a man to the moonsiff of Khaga, (Salamut Ali is his name I believe,) begging to be sheltered until the sowars left Khaga, telling him also that if he would only permit the ladies and children to remain in his house (as he had a family of his own,) I would take my chance outside. But I had mistaken my man; he, too, was a scoundrel Moslem, true to his creed, and sent word to me that he couldn't assist me in any way; and on my repeating the request, he told my servant to go away, and to trouble him no more. This man is still one of our uncovenanted Judges at Futtehpore!

4. We prepared to leave the tehseelee, and procured some articles of native clothing, and endeavoured to disguise ourselves with the assistance of our servants, and one or two of the Hindoo omlah, who appeared to entertain some degree of pity for us. We got enough of chudders, &c., and having completed our disguise, we left the tehseelee. Our change of costume was only of service to us in preventing our being recognised as Europeans at a distance: it did not attract the notice of the mob to as great an extent as European garments would have done; but our walk, accent, manners and habits betrayed us wherever we went.

5. At noon precisely we left the tehseelee gate. We had previously divided our valuables (worth between 5,000 and 6,000 rupees) into several small packets, each one of the party having secreted one. One of the servants who accompanied

us, carried a tin cash-box containing jewellery, silver spoons, &c., worth about 1,800 rupees. We were all barefooted, and before we were many minutes out, the scorching sand (8th June) blistered our feet completely, and we were unable to move without severe pain, especially as our way lay partly through cultivated fields, where the stalks of the last crop were yet standing. A brahmin (of Sursye, near Khaga) had accompanied us under the pretence of shewing us the way to the nearest dhak jungle, where we could conceal ourselves until the sowars passed on. We had not gone more than 500 yards when I heard a shriek, and on turning round, I saw with horror that Mrs. Lawrence had been attacked by two men with drawn swords. I begged of her to give up her packet; she did so, and they made off as quick as lightning. I recognised these two men; they were both chuprassis, one of the tehseelee, the other of the moonsiffee establishment of Khaga. We had not got fifty yards further, before another party of seven armed men attacked us, and rid us of a few more packets. We were then about ¾ths of a mile from the tehseeldaree, and shortly came to a large cutcha well, where an old man was irrigating a field, and after drinking some water, we went down into the lowest part of the excavation (*pyree*) attached to the well, to rest ourselves. While sitting there, we saw a column of smoke in the direction of the tehseeldaree, and learnt from the brahmin that the sowars had given up the railway Engineer's bungalow and other houses, and the tehseeldaree cutcherry, to the mob, to be plundered and destroyed. The villagers were hastening in large bodies to the scene of loot, armed principally with iron-bound lattees; and shortly we saw them returning, laden with spoil. We rose from the *pyree*, and went into a cotton field, about a hundred yards further on, and sat down in a corner. The field was surrounded by a mud wall, about four feet high; the cotton plants were nearly the same height, and rather bushy in the middle of the field. The brahmin took the cash box from our servant, telling us he would take care of it for us, and as he had a drawn sword in his hand, we thought it best to be extremely polite. About half an hour after this, a mob of about two hundred villagers, armed with lattees, came towards the field, and begged of the brahmin to endeavour to divert their attention, while we went into the thickest part of the field, where we gathered our little ones, and sat down encircling them. The mob came on, and the brahmin entered into conversation

with several of them, and directed their attention to the quantity of loot the tehseel and other places would afford. He appeared to be a man of some influence, for the mob moved on towards the tehseel excepting a few men, who appeared to be his personal friends, and who came into the field and sat down near him. It was then about sunset, and I begged of the brahmin to take us to his house for the night, apprehensive that the mob would murder us on their return, if they found us alone. He told us he would, and we arose and followed him to Sursye, surrounded by his friends; and on arriving at his house, we sat down in a cow-house at the entrance, when he coolly took a ring off my finger, and a silver watch which was hanging inside my pyjamahs, and took these and cash-box inside to his family. I could hear the females inside talking to him, surprised and overjoyed at the rich booty he had acquired; they talked of it as a 'God-send!' It was now dusk, and he came out and told us that his village was not a safe place, and that he would take us to a friend's house, at a short distance off, where we should be protected. Some of his people led the way, and after another weary trudge of a mile, we arrived at a small *poorwa*, and were stopped at a house near the middle of it. The brahmin held a whispered conversation with the owner, and left us, telling us he would call to see us daily. We saw him no more. I have since ascertained that his name is Ramsahai. The owner of the house, accompanied by some others, led us into the courtyard, and asked us if we had any valuables, and on my replying in the negative, he took a bundle from one of our servants and opened it. It contained some children's clothing, and a small bag containing ten rupees, all of which he gave back to us; but about midnight, when the other men were elsewhere, he asked me to give up the bag, and on my replying that I hadn't it, he made a blow at me with his lattee, but I was standing near a wall at the time, and as soon as I saw the lattee coming down, I moved to one side, and a projecting timber from the roof caught the blow. He then left me, and went up to Mrs. Corrigan, and holding his club above her head, asked her for the bag; she gave it up, and he retired. Although we had been plundered of the greater part of our jewellery, the ladies had contrived to secret a couple of gold chains, and some rings, in the folds of their hair, and a packet containing a hundred rupees and a gold watch in their dresses.

INDORE.

Indore, 8th June 1857.—Perhaps a short account of what is passing here may interest your readers.

In common with all Hindustan, Indore has been more or less agitated. As soon as it was suspected that the Bengal sepoys at Mhow were disaffected, Colonel Durand, the Governor General's agent, called in some of the contingents from Bhopal, Rajpur, and other stations, as well as assistance from the Nawab of Taora and others. But for this precaution there is no saying what might have happened. The Maha Raja, Tukajee Rao Holkar Bahadur, hesitated not an instant in evincing his attachment to the Government. All this tended to keep things quiet.

The day before yesterday a rumour was spread that the Mhow sepoys were coming down upon us. The inhabitants of the city, like natives everywhere, were thrown into consternation,—running about here and there. To tranquillise them His Highness's troops, with guns, were posted on the Mhow side, and the contingents at the Residency were, I believe, warned to keep themselves ready. These measures had the effect of restoring order and quiet in a very little time.

It is not improbable that the Mhow sepoys, seeing that they could do nothing by themselves, contemplated moving up towards Neemuch to fraternise with their disaffected brethren at that station; but whether so or not, they did not stir, and I do not think our peace will be again disturbed; although there is a belief amongst the townspeople that the Neemuch regiments are coming down to join the men at Mhow.

That there has exised, and still exists, considerable alarm cannot be denied, the events at Meerut, Delhi, and elsewhere were sufficiently appalling,—and what was there in Central India to give confidence? Nothing but the contingents and the good faith of the chiefs; not a regiment of Europeans in the whole country. H. H. Holkar's conduct on this trying occasion has been conspicuously exemplary. Young as he is, the cool, composed firmness he has displayed entitles him to unqualified praise. On the recent alarm being excited his unmoved manner inspired his ministers, courtiers, and all who surround him with a confidence which was soon communicated to the bankers and merchants and others in the city, the fruits of which we are now experiencing.

It is not to be supposed that His Highness's troops did not, in common with every native of Hindustan, Brahman and Moslem, entertain a fellow feeling with the disaffected, where the hue and cry was *faith* and *religion;* and that it required

no little energy and tact to keep those feelings from overflowing, I think, may be readily conceded. I am, however, convinced in my own mind, that there is not a man in the Maharaja's service who would not stand by him to the last; and any attempts to injure the Residency or the city would meet with a warm reception.

Suspicious symptoms having for some time appeared among some portions of the British contingent, Holkar, with flaming professions of friendship, had furnished, from his own artillery, guns to assist in defence of the Residency. These, accordingly, were placed where their men had cover, and from whence they could be moved up to any point with facility.

On the morning of the 1st July, Colonel Durand, after receiving a letter from Mr. Colvin, was in the act of penning a telegram for Lord Elphinstone, when he heard an unusual noise: and, on going out to ascertain the cause, was informed that Holkar's artillery were loaded. Scarcely had he received this piece of information, when it was followed by their actually opening fire; which they did by pouring rounds of grape into the *Bhopal* contingent cavalry at its *pickets*, and the infantry in their *tents*—all of course, quite unprepared,—many cooking, others bathing, &c.

The surprize was complete, and the cavalry never recovered itself. The officers could not get the men to form; and when Colonel Travers, with great audacity, charged Holkar's guns and fairly got among them, he was accompanied by only five of his troopers. Daring as was this charge, it is clear that it could make no effectual impression, though it gained time, and made Holkar's artillery move to a position where they were less exposed to a second attempt of the kind, and were supported by *Holkar's horse*, swarming under every cover they could find. Holkar's guns then re-opened.

Colonel Durand had two guns of the Bhopal contingent; these, as soon as Holkar's artillery came out into its new position, were placed where they could reply, and opened fire so effectually that they forced Holkar's guns again to shift their ground. The infantry of the British contingent, however, behaved very ill. They not only would not, and did not obey their officers, but even threatened to shoot them, and actually drove away their sergeants. Neither the Mehidpore nor the Bhopal infantry fired a shot. The cavalry, meanwhile, though professedly loyal, were scattered like a flock of wild young colts, careering hither and thither, and keeping as clear as they could of the fire of Holkar's artillery, which now

swept both sides of the Residency as well as plunged into it.

A part of the Bheel corps was avowedly unlikely to stand or act in the open field; so Colonel Durand had allotted to them the defence of the Residency, which is a large stone building; but he soon found that the little Bheels were in much too great a fright to take up the idea of a defence of even the stone building. It was with the utmost difficulty that any one of them could be induced to take up any one of the places pointed out to them.

Matters were in this very critical state, and the fire getting heavier and heavier on the Residency, to which all the ladies and children had come, when, for a third time at least, Captain Macguire reported to Colonel Durand, that the cavalry would certainly be off without them, as they had been imploring him to seize the moment for saving the lives of the ladies and children, which might not again present itself as Holkar's guns and cavalry were some of them moving round to cut off all retreat, &c. The state of the cavalry, an utterly unmanageable, though ostensibly loyal set of men, was but too palpable even to the most inexperienced; and, at last, Colonel Durand felt compelled most unwillingly to give the order to prepare to retire. Then presented itself the difficulty that they had no adequate means of carrying off men and children, surrounded as they would be by a hostile force. Still, on the other hand, to attempt any longer to defend a post so assailed, with material that would not fight, seemed like a wanton sacrifice of helpless women and children; more especially, since, by seizing the critical moment, there appeared some chance of being able to draw off with the honor of a soldierly retreat.

Accordingly, Colonel Durand felt it a duty to persist on the order to retire—directing the ladies to mount the gun waggons, leaving guns and limbers clear, &c., and so they drew off under a heavy fire of grape and round shot from Holkar's artillery, covered by the Bheel corps, and Colonel Travers with the Bhopal contingent horse. They retired towards the Limrole Ghat; but on reaching Tellore, they learnt that the pass had been pre-occupied by Holkar's horse and guns; while it was only too plain that their own cavalry over whom the officers had lost all control, were bent on marching towards their own homes at Sehore. So, after being driven by their enemies from the Residency, they were driven in part at least by their professed friends from their proper line of retreat. Mundleser had been prepared by Colonel Durand's orders, some time before, as a place of refuge, in case of necessity; and now he wished to reach it. However, with the pre-occu-

pation of the pass in force, and the impossibility of taking the Bhopal contingent with him, there was no help for it, but to fall back on Sehore, distant 100 miles; which they reached in three days—no ordinary march, at such a season of the year, over such ground, by such a mixed company of officers, ladies and children. But it seems that their cavalry did not feel that they were moving fast enough to please them; as part left, and shot far ahead of the party. Some indeed, had bolted from Indore, and never drew bridle till they reached Sehore—being wild with fright, and giving out that all the Europeans had been murdered.

Let it be remembered that Lawrence in Lucknow and Lawrence in Lahore, &c. had European soldiers (though alas far too few) on whom they could place implicit reliance. Whereas Colonel Durand, by his own inherent energy of character held Indore for weeks without a European soldier, and with materials which he knew well could not stand trial. And when at last overpowered by Holkar's troops, under circumstances of almost unparalleled treachery, he managed by his coolness and decision, to bring off a large company of officers, women and children, under a heavy fire of grape and round shot!

Mutiny at Mhow.

Captain Hungerford to the Adjutant General, Bombay Army.

Mhow, July 4, 1859.

I forwarded on the morning of the 2nd instant, an electric telegraph message to the agent at Ackarpore, requesting that officer to report to the Bombay Government and to Colonel Woodburn, commanding a field force, our position at Mhow in the hope that reinforcements may be hurried on to our relief.

At 10 P. M., on the first instant, a mutiny took place at this station, of the native troops, consisting of the 23rd regiment N. I. and a wing, 1st L. C.; Colonel Platt, commanding the station and 23rd regiment N. I.; Captain Fagan, the Adjutant of that regiment; and Major Harris commanding 1st L. C., were cut down by the mutineers. These officers were blindly confident of the fidelity of their troops. Though repeatedly warned that the men were not staunch, yet no precautionary measures for the safety of the station, I regret to say, were taken until the very last moment: at half past 6 P. M. on the 1st instant only, could I prevail on the commanding officer to allow me to occupy the fort at Mhow, the only place where Europeans could take refuge in the event of a rise of the native troops.

At 11 A. M. on the morning of the 1st instant, Colonel Platt had called on me with a letter from Colonel Durand, acting resident at Indore, begging that the battery under my command might be forwarded to Indore instantly. I marched my battery, therefore, at once on Indore; but on getting half way I was met by a sowar with a note from Colonel Trowers, commanding the Bhopal contingent, stating that he was retreating on the Mundlaiser road. As it was impossible to know where Colonel Trowers might be, and he was accompanied by Colonel Durand and the other British residents at Indore, I returned to Mhow.

On the commencement of the mutiny I turned out my battery; Colonel Platt and his adjutant preceded me to the parade ground, and were shot down before our arrival. On arriving in the lines we were forced upon; but the lines were nearly deserted, and the men had marched *en masse* on Indore.

From the blown state of my horse in the morning, and the darkness of the night which prevented our seeing anything, it was impossible to follow the mutineers, and as I had no covering party of any description, I returned to the fort after having fired several rounds of round shot into the lines.

During the last three days we have laid in ample stores of provisions for some time, and are prepared to hold our position until relieved; we are threatened by an attack from the rajah of Indore, or the mutineers, and are anxious and quite ready to meet them, but as sudden retribution should reach the scoundrels, who have shown such treachery and ingratitude to their benefactors, I trust that Colonel Woodburn may be ordered to hurry on a portion of his dragoons, by the aid of whom we can amply avenge ourselves for what has been done.

Yesterday and to-day I have turned out a portion of my battery, accompanied by flanking parties of officers, to destroy the villages surrounding Mhow, in which many of the mutineers have taken refuge, and from whence they have turned out to burn and pillage the houses in the cantonments. Several villages have been burned, much property recovered, and sepoys and troops destroyed.

Brevet Major Cooper to the Officiating Adjutant General Bengal Army.

Head Quarters, Mhow, 9th July, 1857.

It is with feelings of extreme pain that I fulfil the duty of reporting for the information of His Excellency the Com-

mander-in-Chief, the circumstances of the mutiny of the sepoys of the 23rd regiment N. I., and the murder by their hands of Brevet Colonel Platt, commanding the regiment, and of Lieutenant and Brevet Captain and Adjutant Fagan.

On the 1st July, 1857, Colonel Platt received about half past 10 A. M. a pencil note from Lieutenant-Colonel Durand, agent for the Governor-General in Central India, at Indore, stating that the Residency at that place was attacked by Holkar's troops. Subsequent information came that Lieutenant-Colonel Durand had been overpowered, and that he, with several officers and ladies, had been obliged to fly for their lives from Indore, accompanied by a few faithful troops only.

About noon, Colonel Platt despatched the two flank companies of the 23rd regiment N. I. under command of Captain Trowers, and accompanied by Lieutenant Westmacott, down the road to Bombay, with orders to bring back into cantonments at all hazards two nine-pounder brass guns, belonging to the Maha Rajah, which had passed through Mhow two hours previously, with the assistance of a troop of 1st L. C. under Captain Brooks, who overtook the guns, and brought them to a stand still till the infantry came up; this duty was satisfactorily performed, and the guns brought back into the fort at Mhow, about 3 P. M.; no casualties having occurred in the detachment.

Meanwhile Colonel Platt was taking every precaution for the defence of the cantonments, expecting an attack from Holkar's troops, and placing full reliance on the loyalty and attachment of his regiment. The ladies and children with the European battery of artillery were ordered into the fortified square, and the officers of the 23rd N. I., were ordered to proceed at dusk to their men's lines, and remain there all night ready at any moment to turn out and repel any attack—at about a quarter past 10 P. M., several of them were sitting together talking in front of the lines of the grenadier company, when a shot was heard from the cavalry lines on the left followed by several others. Immediately afterwards the fusiliers commenced in the rear of the lines of the grenadier company 23rd N. I., and was rapidly taken up from right to left all along the lines of huts. The men were evidently firing on their officers, who, supposing the lines were attacked by Holkar's troops, went towards their respective cavalry lines and the quarter guard to turn out the men to repel the attack. It soon, however, became evident what was the true state of the case, and finding they could do nothing, and as the parade ground was literally whistling with bullets fired from the lines at them, the officers made their escape to the fort; there they

found Colonel Platt, who had not as yet been down to the lines, and whom it was difficult to persuade of the fact of the regiment having mutinied; so confident was he of their loyalty.

However, the men of the regiment on duty at the fort gate were immediately disarmed and turned out by the artillery, and four guns of the horse battery were immediately got ready and went down to the sepoy lines. Colonel Platt, however, without waiting, ordered Captain Fagan, his adjutant, to accompany him, and the two rode down together to the lines of the 23rd N. I. They were never seen alive again; all night after the return of the four guns they were anxiously expected; but it now appears that they were shot down by the men by a volley whilst Colonel Platt was in the act of haranguing them, and before the guns had time to come up. Their bodies as well as those of their horses were found next morning lying on the parade ground in front of the bells-of-arms, literally riddled with bullets. Colonel Platt had also been fearfully gashed by the cut of a tulwar across the mouth and the back of the head. The two guns under Capt. Hungerford of artillery opened on the lines with grape and canister, and speedily cleared them of their occupants. The men all rushed out of cantonments not even waiting to take their property with them, and with the cavalry went off to Indore, not, however, before they had managed to burn down the regiment mess house and the bungalows of several other officers.

Since then small parties have occasionally returned, or have been hanging about the neighbouring villages, from which the guns drove them out on the following day.

The remainder of the officers with their families are safe in the fort at Mhow, and the officers have all placed themselves under the orders of Capt. Hungerford, commanding fort, and act as volunteers for night duties and sentries on the walls, and to accompany the guns mounted as a covering party whenever they have occasion to move out. They, with myself await the orders of His Excellency the C. in C., as to our future disposal; but as yet the disturbed state of the country will not admit of our leaving the fort. Of the men of the regiment, only the drum major, a Mussalman, and five Christian drummers have remained with their officers. Two sepoys preserved the life of Lieut. Simpson, who was on picket duty with them on the night of the mutiny, and brought him safely into the fort next morning; but though I promised these men promotion to havildar, they have since gone and joined their comrades. The colors of the regiment have been carried away as well as the arms, except a certain number recovered;

returns of which shall be hereafter furnished. The regiment magazine has been blown up by Captain Hungerford's orders. We are now in a dangerous position, in a weak fort, utterly untenable against an enemy with guns for any length of time, with only a handful of Europeans, in the midst of a country risen all around; but we trust to be able to hold our own until such time as assistance, so much needed, may reach us.

Other Accounts.

16*th July*, 1857.—As so many contradictory accounts seem to have reached you regarding the recent occurrences at this place and Indore, perhaps the following narrative may prove acceptable.

On the morning of 1st July about eight A. M. heavy firing was heard here, coming from the direction of Indore. Shortly afterwards Colonel Platt, commanding at Mhow, got a pencil note from Colonel Durand at Indore, containing these words: "Please send the European battery over sharp, Holkar has attacked us at the Residency:" the battery started accordingly, but after reaching half way, a note from Indore informed the officer commanding the artillery that the Resident had been obliged to fly from Indore, so the battery had better return, which it did accordingly. At 10 A. M. the same morning, two guns of Holkar's nine-pounders, with an ammunition limber, had passed through the centre of Mhow cantonment, down the Bombay road.

Colonel Platt on hearing of this, supposed that the guns had gone to take possession of the passes in rear of Mhow, and ordered out the flank companies of the 23rd native infantry under Captain Trower and Lieutenant Westmacott, and a troop of light cavalry under Captain Brooks, with orders to overtake the guns and bring them back into Mhow cantonments, at all risks. This service was duly performed. Captain Brooks having galloped ahead about three miles, and taken possession of the guns until the infantry came up, when the gunners were disarmed, and the whole returned to cantonments about three P. M.

Meanwile, as an attack upon Mhow by Holkar's troops was anticipated by Colonel Platt, who was under the impression conveyed to him by Colonel Durand that Holkar was against us, precautionary measures were taken for defence. The European battery went into the arsenal or fortified square, the ladies and children being also sent to the same place,—a picket of light cavalry was thrown out about five miles on the Indore road under two Lieutenants, and another of fifty

sepoys under Lieutenant Simpson, to the north of cantonments near the nullah. All officers were ordered to proceed to the lines of their men and to remain there all night, ready to turn out at a moment's notice, and the men were kept accoutred. The arsenal guard was increased by thirty men, and every thing was ready to resist the attack if made.

About 10¼ P. M. whilst Lieutenant Martin was engaged in conversation with one of his men, the villain took advantage of his officer's back being turned for a moment, and raised his carbine and fired at him. The shot providentially missed, but the alarm being given, the fire was taken up by other troopers, and all the cavalry officers then in the lines, in a tent, had to run for their lives, the troopers chasing them for some distance and firing at them. All however happily escaped as well as the riding master, though they reached the fort in a state of dreadful exhaustion. The officers of the 23rd native infantry had been eating their mess dinner in the quarters of the serjeant major of the regiment, on the right of their lines, and were sitting outside smoking and talking opposite the pile of arms of the grenadier company, when the shots were heard from the cavalry. In less than a minute the firing commenced from the huts of the grenadier company, evidently aimed at the officers sitting in the front, but happily without effect. The fusilade was taken up the whole length of the infantry lines, and the officers (who most of them had their horses at hand saddled and bridled) immediately sprang up. Several of them, thinking an attack was made by Holkar's troops, rushed to the quarter guard and to their own companies to turn their men out to repel it, but the true state of the case soon became evident. The men were not only deaf to their officer's orders, but fired at them as they were standing in front of the lines, and soon the whole parade-ground was whistling with bullets fired from every direction. Nothing could now be done, and the officers made their escape to the arsenal, fired on as they went by the men. None of them were however touched. On reaching the arsenal, Colonel Platt was found there. He had not been to the lines, and would scarcely believe the fact of the mutiny, so infatuated was he with the idea of the loyalty of his men and their personal attachment to himself, notwithstanding all the warnings given him. However, he ordered the artillery in the fort to get ready and proceed to the lines, after all the sepoy guard inside the fort had been disarmed and turned out by Captain Hungerford. As soon as the horses could be put to, four guns under Captain H. started for the infantry lines, but Colonel Platt, without waiting for them and calling upon

his Adjutant, Captain Fagan, to accompany him, rode down to the lines without any other attendance. They were never seen alive again. As yet the exact manner of their death is uncertain, but they were found the next morning lying in front of No. 7. company riddled with balls, and the colonel cut with a tulwar across the mouth, and his head cut nearly in two by a blow from behind. It is said by some ten drummers who made their escape that the colonel went up to a body of sepoys and commenced haranguing them; and they hearing the guns coming, and thinking he was trying to keep them engaged till they could be opened upon them, let fly a volley at him and the adjutant. Another account says that some cavalry troopers gallopped up, saying they had murdered their commanding officer Major Harris, what were the infantry going to do! When just at that time Colonel Platt appeared, a whisper ran amongst them, and before a moment elapsed, he was shot down. The guns coming up shortly after, two wounded horses were seen standing in front, which were shot down when the guns opened on the lines with grape. At the first discharge the cowardly rascals all rushed from the lines, and bolted across the race course towards Indore, the cavalry having preceded them; and there is no doubt, that the guns going out as they did, though a great risk in the dark against a courageous foe, saved the bazars from being plundered, and a number of houses from being burnt, as the sepoys ran clean out of cantonments, leaving every thing in the way of property behind them, though thay managed to walk off with all the money in the treasure chest, and the new regiment colours. After the battery returned to the arsenal, some of them must have come out of their hiding holes, as they set fire to the mess house of the 23rd N. I., and the Seikhs drank as much brandy as they could, smashing the rest. Three other houses were also burnt in the infantry, and two in the cavalry lines; but the greatest losses occurred from the officer's own servants, who took advantage of their masters having gone for refuge to the fort, and plundered the property left in the houses to a great extent, and then went off to Indore with the mutineers. The confusion in the arsenal for the first twenty-four hours, was "worse confounded," guns, limbers, horses, carriages, beds, chairs, ladies, children, &c., besides magazine stores, all mixed up in a mass together. However matters got pretty straight in this respect next day. Captain Hungerford, as being the only officer here with any men under his orders, took command of the fort, and the officers of the two regiments besides. The non-military portion of the community were formed into two divisions of volunteers under the command of the two

senior captains. (Trower, 23rd native infantry, and Brooks, 1st light cavalry) and took night duties on the walls, as well as accompanying the guns, as a covering party on all occasions of their leaving the fort. Poor Major Harris, of the 1st light cavalry, was murdered by a party of his troopers who lay in wait for him; and his dead body and that of his horse were found lying on the road near the cavalry mess house, much gashed. He was met by one of the infantry officers who was escaping to the fort, and was told of what had occurred, but he would not take warning, and persisted in going up to the cavalry lines, where he met his fate, though the manner of it is not exactly known. Lieutenant Dent had a narrow escape: a pistol was fired at him, close to his face by one of his men on picket, but it happily missed, and Lieutenant D. clapped spurs to his horse and rode for his life, escaping in safety. Lieutenant Simpson, the infantry officers on picket duty, could not keep his men at their posts when the firing in the lines commenced, so he went up with them, riding in the middle of them. On hearing the guns, the sepoys rushed in one direction, and he went in the other, two men accompanying and taking care of him. He slept in the suddur bazar all night in a Parsee's shop, the sepoy watching over him, and next morning they brought him into the fort. Though told they should be made havildars for their conduct, they took the first opportunity of slipping away and joining their comrades.

The night of the 1st was a night of anxiety, both on account of the unprotected state of the arsenal, the number of ladies inside it, and the uncertainty of the fate of the absentee officers, regarding whom at that time nothing was known.

On the morning of the 2nd, Captain Hungerford sent out four guns to bring in the bodies of the murdered officers (whose fate was soon learnt) and to clear the cantonments of any rascals that might be about.

The bodies of Colonel Platt and Captain Fagan, of the 23rd, and of Captain Harris, 1st light cavalry, were brought in and buried in a corner of one of the bastions, all three in one grave.

Dr. Thornton, of the 1st light cavalry, whose house was the most distant from cantonments, was happily rescued alive, he having hid in a drain all night when his house was visited by the troopers, and having come out on seeing the guns approach.

On the 3rd instant the guns went out again, and burnt some villages near cantonments where the mutineers were harbouring, and from which they had been driven. A corporal of the artillery chased and cut down a trooper of the 1st light

cavalry in a most gallant manner. Martial law has been proclaimed, and one naique of gun lascars, and two sepoys of the 23rd native infantry sent in by Holkar from Indore, have been hanged. Most of the artillery drivers and gun lascars, who were no doubt partakers with the others in their evil designs, have bolted to join the other mutineers, thereby seriously crippling the batteries.

After the mutineers reached Indore they were joined by some of Holkar's troops and between them they plundered the Government treasury, but they could not carry away more than nine or ten lacs.

The balance belonging to Government, about four or five lacs, has been collected and sent into Mhow fort, and Holkar's conduct has been very good. He was unable to control his mutinous troops who attacked the Residency, but he himself has been a friend to the British, and Colonel Durand laboured under a complete delusion when he believed Holkar had attacked him. He is wise by this time probably. Holkar has too much to lose, not to stand fast by the British Government, and he has given since Colonel Durand's flight sufficient proofs of his friendship. Sergeant Murphy of the artillery, and Captain Magniac of the Bhopal contingent, did their duty like men,—the former having given the rascals a round from one gun which staggered them, and the latter having charged the mutineers' guns, cut down one man, and wounded (on dit) their leader Sauted Khan in the face, but his rascally Seikh Sowars would not back him; they pulled up and left him to do it alone. He ought to be rewarded, even his single charge checked the enemy for a time. The rise at Indore and Mhow, had evidently been concerted before hand, when a party went in from Mhow on the 29th ultimo to obtain pay for the troops, and came back, you may be sure, with full instructions.

The men of both regiments here had been treated with the utmost kindness and consideration by their officers, and their conduct was inexcusable, as they had no cartridge plea to offer.

We are all right here as yet. The fort is in a state of defence, and we are ready for any one; at the same time we should not be sorry to see the Bombay column arrive, to enable us to return to our houses, as at present it is not safe to do so.

The mutineers, joined by the 5th infantry, Gwalior contingent from Augur, and have gone up the Agra road, we shall hear more of them by and bye probably.

Colonel Durand, who fled with his party of ladies to Sehore, has been obliged to leave that place, as we hear the Bhopal

contingent and the Ranee's troops have mutinied, and Colonel Durand has gone to Hoosungabad, where he arrived on the 6th instant.

Fort, July 6.—What many of us have long feared has happened—viz. a mutiny in our regiment, and in that of the cavalry stationed with us. Nearly every regiment of sepoys in the army had mutinied; and after hearing of the fall of Delhi, and from our isolated position, we expected that we might escape, but it was not to be our fate: it began as follows:—On the morning of the 1st we heard guns in the direction of Indore, and about 11 o'clock two guns passed through the centre of our cantonments, and down the Bombay road. An hour after they had passed an express came in from Indore, telling us the Residency had been attacked by the Mussulman population of the city, and the native troops had refused to fire on them; that Colonel Durand and all the Europeans that had escaped the massacre were retreating on the Simrole road, and that we were to stop the two guns at all hazards, as they were going to command the pass on the Bombay road, through which Woodborn's column had to march. When the order was given for two companies of ours to turn out and a detachment of cavalry, I noticed our men were very long turning out, and, on the march, would not step out, although every moment was of consequence. The cavalry were before us and came up with the guns. Captain Brookes ordered a charge, but they hesitated, and at last went on, he leading, and killing one man who attempted to draw his sword. The guns were taken by him, but he could not disarm them until we came up. We took the arms from the gunners, yoked the bullocks to the guns, and came back to cantonments. I noticed how sulky the men were, and when I went to the lines to lodge their ammunition, they told me they had an order to keep forty rounds in their pouch, but I would not let them, and there was a good deal of grumbling, but they all pretended they were faithful to us, and only wanted their arms in case they were attacked from Indore. However, in riding away from the lines I saw the men collected in groups talking, and some with muskets in their hand; this made me more suspicious, and I went and reported it to the Colonel; he, poor man, thanked me, but evidently did not doubt the good faith of the regiment. However, thank God, my representations, coupled with the assistance of the officer commanding the artillery, made him give orders for the occupation of the place we are now in; but, to give our men confidence in

us, we had guards datached to our bungalows, and had orders to sleep in our lines. Our dinner was taken down to our serjeant-major's house, close to the lines, and there we sat down. During dinner we saw a light on the roof of our mess-house. I went up, and it was put out by the cook. Not one of the sepoys of the guards was there. That made me nervous, but I went back to the lines, and we all sat in a group, talking. After a little while they came and told us there was a light in another roof. I went up and beat out the fire with my cap, and was assisted by a sepoy on guard from my own house. After extinguishing it I went back and sat down. Some officers proposed we should then go to our beds at the bells-of-arms of each of our companies, and we were going, when some one said, "The report is the regiment will rise at 10 to-night." It then wanted ten minutes, and our Major said, "Oh, very well; let's wait and see." By Jove, the words were hardly uttered when we heard shots in the cavalry lines, and we all sprang up, some one crying out we were attacked in rear by the Bheels. We all ran towards our companies, but as I got to mine I was received by two shots, one in rear and one in front; an officer was behind me, and I sang out, "The men are firing on us, there is no hope—run." I then saw the adjutant galloping towards our quarter guard; he was received by a volley. He, poor man, saw it was hopeless, and told Dysart to run. It was a bright, beautiful moonlight night, and we were in our white uniforms, so they could see us for a long distance. I ran and received a volley from our grenadier company, but the bullets went all round me. After a little I was dead beat, and could not move, but, seeing a syce running away with an officer's horse, I seized it, and mounted, but, not liking to carry away an animal that belonged to another man who might be in danger, I waited under the shade of an empty guard-house to see for him, but I heard footsteps, and, looking round the corner, I saw the men of our hospital guard within fifty yards of me. I thought then I was done for, but put the horse to a gallop, and heard a shot ping by me quite close. I then made for the fort, and found the gateway all confusion. Our poor Colonel was there on horseback, and, infatuated to the last, would not believe the men had mutinied, and called on the adjutant to follow him to the lines. That was the last we saw of the poor fellows. We instantly disarmed the native guard in the fort, and turned them out, mounted sentries at the bastions ourselves, and prepared for the worst. It was a fearful night, for some of our officers were on picket duty by themselves, miles out on the Indore road, and we feared their death was certain; in

fact, the escapes were wonderful. One officer, who had hid in the bazar all night came into the fort at daybreak, telling us the Colonel and Adjutant of our regiment had been killed in our lines, and that Major Harris was lying dead in the road, shot by his own troopers. The only one we could not account for was Dr. Thornton, of the cavalry. Hearing the bodies were lying there, we resolved to bring them in, and went out with two guns and some officers mounted to protect them. The scene of pillage and confusion was horrible; our mess-house was burnt to the ground; my own house also. I have lost everything except my sword and pistols, which I had on at the time of this outbreak, ... Having recovered the bodies, and not knowing how many men were near us, we returned to the fort and had the melancholy task of burying them; throughout all this I cannot express the admiration I feel at the way the ladies have behaved—cheerful, and assisting in every way in their power; poor things, without servants or quarters, huddled together, they have had to do everything for themselves, and employ all their time in sewing bags for powder for the guns, well knowing the awful fate that awaits them if the place is taken; there has not been a sign of fear, they bring us tea or any little thing they can, and would even like to keep watch on the bastions if we would let them

Yesterday Holkar's vakeel came over and disclaimed all participation in the mutiny. We shall see if he is sincere, for they offered to send all the treasure that was not carried off over here, but I have my doubts. We have no money, and the people round, seeing the state of affairs, won't let us have anything without paying for it. We hear Woodburn's column will be here on the 15th. God speed it! There is no water in the fort; we are dependent for it from a well close by, and if we are invested I don't know what we shall do. It all depends on Holkar, for our mutineers have marched to that rallying place of the faithful, Delhi, to assist there. I don't know whether you will ever get this letter, for the road is lined with people to intercept the daks. You should see the state we are in,—men making up cannister, ladies sewing powder bags, people bringing plunder recovered, artillery mounting guns, and I don't know what all; all of us dirty and tired with night watching; we mount sentry duty to take the weight of it off the artillerymen; we snatch sleep and food as we can; we have made a few foraging parties, and I succeeded in driving back our mess sheep to the number of 150, and recovered a lot of mess stores; but all our silver and furniture has been stolen and burnt. This is not a regular fort—merely

a sort of store place for spare guns, &c. But we are putting it in as defensible a state as we can, and I think we shall stagger a few before they capture it. Martial law is proclaimed, and a gallow is in course of erection outside the fort gates. Mercy is a word we have scratched out; in fact mercy to them is death to us.

Mhow, July 23.—Since I last wrote to you we have had some very hard work. On the 1st of this month the troops broke out at Indore, fourteen miles from here. We were ordered out with our battery, but when we had gone seven miles and a half news came that the insurgents had taken another road, so we returned and found the station in great alarm; some of the rebels had brought up two guns while we were away, but they were taken by the cavalry. Two of our horses dropped down dead just as we came in, so you may imagine the rate at which we went there and back, having six horses to each gun and six to the waggon. After dinner we were ordered to clear out of the barracks into the arsenal, and we got most of the things in by dark. About half-past 8 P. M. one of the native infantry officers came galloping in, saying that the regiment was up; in came another from the cavalry with the same story. Our horses were so knocked up that we placed the guns inside, so as to play through the gate in case of an attack. We had forty of the native infantry on guard inside; next up came Colonel Platt and said they were outside and the battery must be brought out. We could not, for it takes half-an-hour to put in horses and get ready. The first thing we did was to disarm the guard we had inside, which was done promptly; we found every man with his piece loaded, and some of them with three balls. There was only one shot fired on our side, and not one on theirs; the reason of this was we had them in front of our guns and could have sent them to 'kingdom come' in no time. During the time this was going on Colonel Platt rushed outside along with one of the officers of his regiment and tried to persuade them to come back. We were ordered to fire; the port fires were lit; and as soon as they saw that, away they went, so we had no firing inside. It was a great pity the old Colonel was in the gateway, or we should have mown them down nicely with grape. I must not forget to mention that Colonel Platt was like a father to the men, and when he had an opportunity of leaving them and joining an European corps last summer the men petitioned him to stay. He had been upwards of thirty years with them, and when the riot took place he had so much confidence in them that he rode up to their lines before we could

get out. When we found him next morning both cheeks were blown off, his back completely riddled with balls, one through each thigh, his chin smashed into his mouth, and three sabre cuts between the cheek-bone and temple; also a cut across the shoulder and the back of the neck. Two others were killed, one native Indian and one cavalry officer—total three. I never saw such mangled bodies in my life, and never wish to see the like again. Had the Colonel not been so rash we should not have lost a man. But I am wandering from my story: when the battery was ready away we went, the blaze from the officers' quarters serving to light us on our way; as we were going there were several shots fired at us, but we could not see the offenders, as they generally came from the backs of houses, &c., however, when we got into their lines balls came pretty fast, so we unlimbered and gave them three rounds of grape and round shot, from five 9-lb. guns and one 24-lb. howitzer. As soon as the first round was fired they fled to the other side of the river. We then came back to our little garrison, but got no sleep that night. Next morning we mounted eight guns on the bastions, two at each corner. We have been hard at work ever since. The first four nights and days we got no rest. My face and arms are skinned, the same as if they had been scalded, and my lips are at the present moment one mass of scabs with the heat of the sun. We are not very regimental now; I have been out two days with three guns, recovering stolen property and setting fire to villages. After the first day's work all the native drivers left us (on the 2nd instant), so we had no choice but to mount and drive ourselves. Three of the drivers returned, one of them so late that we taught him how to dance upon nothing. We are hanging all we can get hold of, the gallows is just in front of one of our siege batteries. We have mounted twelve heavy guns—six in front and four in rear, also one in front of each battery inside, so that if they take the outside ones they will have to come through a gateway up to the muzzles of our eighteen guns. In all we have twenty-four guns from 9 to 24, pounders. The inside of the place is like a fair; it is not much more than 200 yards square, and we have all our horses, bullocks, carts, carriages, furniture, &c. We have everything up from the barracks. Officers work with pickaxe and spade just the same as the men; all are alike so far as duty goes; officers do sentry at night with firelocks on their shoulders. It is a mercy that any of us are alive, and nothing but the hand of providence saved us all from a bloody death. It was not known to the natives in this station where we were when we went towards Indore, or they would have cut all the Eu-

ropeans who remained in the station to pieces. One troop of cavalry came up and met us to cover our guns. They (the natives) could have made nice work of us in a narrow road, but they had no pluck. Thank God we were back and had a little time to spare before they commenced. We are all living in sheds and doing the best we can. The square is covered with tents, and we sleep in the open air every night. I expect we shall move out of this when we get a reinforcement. We have about thirty volunteers, civil and others. God bless you, I am thankful for the mercies He has shown me, nothing but His hand could have saved us in the way we have been saved. I expect when we get out we shall cut up all we come across. Mark my words, there will be great bloodshed in this country before long. John Company will not have his subjects murdered in this way without some satisfaction. There are old soldiers here who say this is twenty times worse than any campaign, for this reason that we do not know the moment that we may be attacked by the insurgents, or yet their number. You may be glad of this letter, for it is a great chance when you may get another, for they stop and rob the mail. Keep up your spirits and trust in God. I am sure He will not forsake those who trust in him. I have seen His hand put forth in our defence already, and I thank God for our escape. Another thing, the rains stopped, and we have had none since we came in here, only one shower; before the row commenced the rain came down in torrents. This massacre has sickened all Europeans, and set them against this country and the black blood that is in it. I shall never like a black man again.

22*nd July*, 1857.—Captain Shakespear has not yet arrived here, but is expected at Mhow shortly. Captain and Mrs. Hutchinson and child are quite safe, and well settled in the Fort of Mhow; they were in a very dangerous state at Jhabwah, but His Highness sent an escort headed by Buxee Khoomansing for their rescue, and I am happy to say that they succeeded in bringing them together with a party consisting of Dr. Chisholm and Mrs. Stockley with her four children quite safe to Mhow. Two Europeans, named Norish and Moren, were under the protection of the rajah in the palace, and they were afterwards made over to the commanding officer at Mhow.

There were also two East Indians, named Ferrel and Finlay, with some women and children in the palace, and they were sent to Mhow some few days ago.

The thatch bungalows in the Residency have all been

burnt, and the pucka houses are greatly destroyed, but the latter can be easily repaired. The Residency itself is not much damaged, and only requires some trifling repairs.

His Highness' General Hospital, and the telegraphic line constructed by Dr. Impey, between the palace and the Residency, were quite destroyed by the mutineers.

Fort of Asseerghur saved.

The defection at Indore and Mhow excited great apprehensions for the safety of the fortress of Asseerghur, which was garrisoned by a wing of the 6th Gwalior infantry. It was obvious how very disastrous the capture by mutineers of a fortress with a prestige like Asseerghur would be, and the extreme importance that disaffected and fanatical men would attach to such an occurrence. The inhabitants of Asseerghur and its neighbourhood were well affected towards the Government, and by embodying for temporary service 100 to 150 active men, the commandant conceived the safety of the fortress could be secured. The first thing to be done was to remove the contingent out of the fort before the news from Indore and Mhow could reach them. This was effected without delay; the commanding officer being ordered to encamp his men outside the fort, that they might be ready to accompany the field force expected at Asseerghur in a day or two. The temper of the sepoys was very uncertain; a good deal of murmuring and dissatisfaction was heard in the bazar, and one or two sepoys used in conversation with a Murwaree the significant words, 'Wait, and you will see what happens to-morrow morning.' The majority, though not satisfied perhaps, were not likely, the commandant thought, to break out in open mutiny, nor would the native officers, he believed, have supported them in so acting. Still he felt great anxiety, and shortly after midnight the fort adjutant received an express from Boorampore, conveying the alarming news, that the company of this regiment detatched from Asseerghur in June had broken into open mutiny, and were making the best of their way to Asseerghur. Under these circumstances a havildar of the regiment, with two well affected and loyally disposed sepoys, was immediately sent off by the havildar major of the regiment, to meet the mutineers, and endeavour to induce them to return to Boorampore. Partly by persuasion and partly by threats the company did return, and mainly to this circumstance the safety of the fortress is attributable. At sunrise the Regiment paraded and marched below in a quiet and orderly manner; immediately after which

a party of eighty-five men, who had been quietly got together a day or two previously, and warned to be in readiness, were marched into the fortress, and in another hour the regimental guards were relieved, and joined their comrades at the encamped ground. The commandant had previously communicated to the officer commanding a detachment of Bheel corps his wish that he should disarm the mutinous company at Boorampore, which duty he efficiently performed.

The proceedings of the commandant were duly reported to the authorities. The Commander-in-chief in communicating them to Government stated that he considered the prompt and decided conduct of the commandant (Colonel LeMessurier) on this occasion to have mainly contributed to our tenure of that important stronghold at the present crisis. The Government, in reply, remarked that Colonel LeMessurier deserved very high commendation for the ready resolution with which he acted on this trying occasion, and by which he had no doubt secured the important fortress under his charge from falling into the hands of the mutinous troops, and requested His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, to warmly express to Colonel LeMessurier the thanks of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council for the service he had rendered to the state. Immediately after followed the attack upon the capital of the north-west provinces.

Siege of Lucknow.

From Brigadier Inglis, Commanding Garrison of Lucknow
To Secy. to Govt. Military Department, Calcutta.
Dated Lucknow, 26th September 1857.

Sir,—In consequence of the very deeply-to-be-lamented death of Brigadier General Sir H. M. Lawrence, K. C. B., late in command of the Oude Field Force, the duty of narrating the military events which have occurred at Lucknow since 29th June last, has devolved upon myself.

On the evening of that day several reports reached Sir Henry Lawrence that the rebel army, in no very considerable force, would march from Chinhut (a small village about eight miles distant on the road to Fyzabad) on Lucknow on the following morning; and the late brigadier general therefore determined to make a strong reconnoisance in that direction, with the view, if possible, of meeting the force at a disadvantage, either at its entrance into the suburbs of the city or at the bridge across the Gokral, which is a small stream

intersecting the Fyzabad road, about half way between Lucknow and Chinhut.

The force destined for this service, and which was composed as follows, moved out at 6 A. M., on the morning of 30th June:—

Artillery.—4 guns of No. —, horse light field battery.
4 ditto of No. 2, Oude field battery.
2 ditto of No. 3, ditto ditto ditto.
An 8-inch howitzer.

Cavalry.—Troop of volunteer cavalry.
120 troopers of detachments belonging to 1st, 2nd and 3rd regiments of Oude irregular cavalry.

Infantry.—300 Her Majesty's 32nd.
150 13th native infantry.
60 48th ditto ditto.
20 71st ditto ditto (Sikhs.)

The troops misled by the reports of wayfarers—who stated that there were few or no men between Lucknow and Chinhut—proceeded somewhat further than had been originally intended, and suddenly fell in with the enemy, who had up to that time eluded the vigilance of the advanced guard by concealing themselves behind a long line of trees in overwhelming numbers. The European force and the howitzer, with the native infantry, held the foe in check for some time, and had the six guns of the Oude artillery been faithful, and the Sikh cavalry shown a better front, the day would have been won in spite of an immense disparity in numbers. But the Oude artillerymen and drivers were traitors. They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and abandoned them, regardless of the remonstrances and exertions of their own officers, and of those of Sir Henry Lawrence's staff, headed by the brigadier general in person, who himself drew his sword upon these rebels. Every effort to induce them to stand having proved ineffectual, the force, exposed to a vastly superior fire of artillery, and completely outflanked on both sides by an overpowering body of infantry and cavalry, which actually got into our rear, was compelled to retire with the loss of three pieces of artillery, which fell into the hands of the enemy, in consequence of the rank treachery of the Oude gunners, and with a very grievous list of killed and wounded. The heat was dreadful, the gun ammunition was expended, and the almost total want of cavalry to protect our rear made our retreat most disastrous.

All the officers behaved well, and the exertions of the small body of volunteer cavalry—only forty in number—under Cap-

tain Radcliffe, 7th light cavalry, were most praiseworthy. Sir Henry Lawrence subsequently conveyed his thanks to myself, who had, at his request, accompanied him upon this occasion (Colonel Case being in command of H. M.'s 32nd.) He also expressed his approbation of the way in which his staff—Captain Wilson, officiating deputy assistant adjutant general; Lieutenant James, sub-assistant commissary general; Captain Edgell, officiating military secretary; and Mr. Couper, C. S. —the last of whom had acted as Sir Henry Lawrence's A. D. C., from the commencement of the disturbances,— had conducted themselves throughout this arduous day. Sir Henry further particularly mentioned that he would bring the gallant conduct of Captain Radcliffe and of Lieutenant Bonham, of the artillery, (who worked the howitzer successfully until incapacitated hy a wound,) to the prominent notice of the Government of India. The manner in which Lieutenant Birch, 71st N. I., cleared a village with a party of Sikh skirmishers, also elicited the admiration of the brigadier general. The conduct of Lieutenant Hardinge, who, with his handful of horse, covered the retreat of the rear guard, was extolled by Sir Henry, who expressed his intention of mentioning the services of this gallant officer to His Lordship in Council. Lieutenant-Colonel Case, who commanded H. M.'s 32nd regiment, was mortally wounded whilst gallantly leading on his men. The service had not a more deserving officer. The command devolved on Captain Steevens, who also received a death-wound shortly afterwards. The command then fell to Captain Mansfield, who has since died of cholera. A list of the casualties on this occasion accompanies the despatch.

It remains to report the siege operations.

It will be in the recollection of His Lordship in Council that it was the original intention of Sir Henry Lawrence to occupy not only the residency, but also the fort called Muchhee Bhowun—an old dilapidated edifice, which had been hastily repaired for the occasion, though the defences were even at the last moment very far from complete, and were moreover commanded by many houses in the city. The situation of the Muchhee Bhowun with regard to the residency has already been described to the Government of India.

The untoward event of the 30th June so far diminished the whole available force, that we had not a sufficient number of men remaining to occupy both positions. The brigadier general, therefore, on the evening of the 1st July, signalled to the garrison of the Muchhee Bhowun to evacuate and blow up that fortress in the course of the night. The orders

were ably carried out, and at 12 P. M. the force marched into the residency with their guns and treasure without the loss of a man; and shortly afterwards the explosion of 240 barrels of gunpowder and 6,000,000 ball cartridges, which were lying in the magazine, announced to Sir Henry Lawrence and his officers—who were anxiously waiting the report—the complete destruction of that post and all that it contained. If it had not been for this wise and strategic measure, no member of the Lucknow garrison, in all probability, would have survived to tell the tale; for, as has already been stated, the Muchhee Bhowun was commanded from other parts of the town, and was moreover indifferently provided with heavy artillery ammunition, while the difficulty, suffering, and loss which the residency garrison, even with the reinforcement thus obtained from the Muchhee Bhowun, has undergone in holding the position, is sufficient to show that, if the original intention of holding both posts had been adhered to, both would have inevitably fallen.

It is now my very painful duty to relate the calamity which befel us at the commencement of the siege. On the 1st July an 8-inch shell burst in the room in the residency in which Sir H. Lawrence was sitting. The missile burst between him and Mr. Couper, close to both; but without injury to either. The whole of his staff implored Sir Henry to take up other quarters, as the residency had then become the special target for the round shot and shell of the enemy. This, however, he jestingly declined to do, observing that another shell would certainly never be pitched into that small room. But providence had ordained otherwise, for on the very next day he was mortally wounded by the fragment of another shell which burst in the same room, exactly at the same spot. Captain Wilson, deputy assistant adjutant general, received a contusion at the same time.

The late lamented Sir H. Lawrence, knowing that his last hour was rapidly approaching, directed me to assume command of the troops, and appointed Major Banks to succeed him in the office of chief commissioner. He lingered in great agony till the morning of the 4th July, when he expired, and the Government was thereby deprived, if I may venture to say so, of the services of a distinguished statesman and a most gallant soldier. Few men have ever possessed to the same extent the power which he enjoyed of winning the hearts of all those with whom he came in contact, and thus ensuring the warmest and most zealous devotion for himself and for the Government which he served. The successful defence of the position has been, under Providence, solely attributable to the foresight

which he evinced in the timely commencement of the necessary operations, and the great skill and untiring personal activity which he exhibited in carrying them into effect. All ranks possessed such confidence in his judgment and his fertility of resource, that the news of his fall was received throughout the garrison with feelings of consternation only second to the grief which was inspired in the hearts of all by the loss of a public benefactor and a warm personal friend. Feeling as keenly and as gratefully as I do the obligations that the whole of us are under to this great and good man, I trust the Government of India will pardon me for having attempted, however imperfectly, to pourtray them. In him every good and deserving soldier lost a friend and a chief capable of discriminating, and ever on the alert to reward merit, no matter how humble the sphere in which it was exhibited.

The garrison had scarcely recovered the shock which it had sustained in the loss of its revered and beloved general, when it had to mourn the death of that able and respected officer, Major Banks, the officiating chief commissioner, who received a bullet through his head while examining a critical outpost on the 21st July, and died without a groan.

The description of our position, and the state of our defences when the siege began, are so fully set forth in the accompanying memorandum furnished by the garrison engineers, that I shall content myself with bringing to the notice of His Lordship in Council the fact that when the blockade was commenced, only two of our batteries were completed, part of the defences were yet in an unfinished condition, and the buildings in the immediate vicinity, which gave cover to the enemy, were only very partially cleared away. Indeed, our heaviest losses have been caused by the fire from the enemy's sharpshooters stationed in the adjoining mosques and houses of the native nobility, the necessity of destroying which had been repeatedly drawn to the attention of Sir Henry by the staff of engineers. But his invariable reply was—"Spare the holy places, and private property too, as far as possible"; and we have consequently suffered severely from our very tenderness to the religious prejudices, and respect to the rights of our rebellious citizens and soldiery. As soon as the enemy had thoroughly completed the investment of the residency, they occupied these houses some of which were within easy pistol shot of our barricades, in immense force and rapidly made loopholes on these sides which bore on our post, from which they kept up terrific and incessant fire day and night, which caused many daily casualties, as there could not have been less than 8,000 men firing at one time into our position. Moreover,

there was no place in the whole of our works that could be considered safe, for several of the sick and wounded who were lying in the banquetting hall, which had been turned into an hospital, were killed in the very centre of the building, and the widow of Lieutenant Dorin, and other women and children were shot dead in rooms into which it had not been previously deemed possible that a bullet could penetrate. Neither were the enemy idle in erecting batteries. They soon had from twenty to twenty-five guns in position, some of them of very large calibre. These were planted all round our post at small distances, some being actually within fifty yards of our defences, but in places where our own heavy guns could not reply to them, while the perseverance and ingenuity of the enemy in erecting barricades in front of, and around their guns in a very short time, rendered all attempts to silence them by musketry entirely unavailing. Neither could they be effectually silenced by shells, by reason of their extreme proximity to our position, and because, moreover, the enemy had recourse to digging very narrow trenches about eight feet in depth in rear of each gun, in which the men lay while our shells were flying, and which so effectually concealed them, even while working the gun, that our baffled sharp-shooters could only see their hands while in the act of loading.

The enemy contented themselves with keeping up this incessant fire of cannon and musketry until the 20th July, on which day, at 10 A. M., they assembled in very great force all around our position, and exploded a heavy mine inside our outer line of defences at the water gate. The mine, however, which was close to the Redan, and apparently sprung with the intention of destroying that battery, did no harm. But as soon as the smoke had cleared away, the enemy boldly advanced under cover of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, with the object of storming the Redan. But they were received with such a heavy fire, that after a short struggle they fell back with much loss. A strong column advanced at the same time to attack Innes's post, and came on to within ten yards of the palisades, affording to Lieutenant Loughnan, 13th N. I., who commanded the position, and his brave garrison, composed of gentlemen of the uncovenanted service, a few of Her Majesty's 32nd foot and of the 13th N. I., an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, which they were not slow to avail themselves of, and the enemy were driven back with great slaughter. The insurgents made minor attacks at almost every outpost, but were invariably defeated, and at 2 P. M. they ceased their attempts to storm the place, although their musketry fire and cannonading continued to harass us

unceasingly as usual. Matters proceeded in this manner until the 10th August, when the enemy made another assault, having previously sprung a mine close to the brigade mess, which entirely destroyed our defences for the space of twenty feet, and blew in a great portion of the outside wall of the house occupied by Mr. Schilling's garrison. On the dust clearing away, a breach appeared, through which a regiment could have advanced in perfect order, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination, but were met with such a withering flank fire of musketry from the officer and men holding the top of the brigade mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their numbers lying on the crest of the breach. While this operation was going on, another large body advanced on the Cawnpore battery, and succeeded in locating themselves for a few minutes in the ditch. They were, however, dislodged by hand grenades. At Captain Anderson's post they also came boldly forward with scaling ladders, which they planted against the wall; but here, as elsewhere, they were met with the most indomitable resolution, and the leaders being slain, the rest fled, leaving the ladders, and retreated to their batteries and loop-holed defences, from whence they kept up, for the rest of the day, an unusually heavy cannonade and musketry fire. On the 18th August the enemy sprung another mine in front of the Sikh lines with very fatal effect. Captain Orr (unattached,) Lieutenants Mecham and Soppitt, who commanded the small body of drummers composing the garrison, were blown into the air; but providentially returned to earth with no further injury than a severe shaking. The garrison, however, were not so fortunate. No less than eleven men were buried alive under the ruins, from whence it was impossible to extricate them, owing to the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy from houses situated not ten yards in front of the breach. The explosion was followed by a general assault of a less determined nature than the two former efforts, and the enemy were consequently repulsed without much difficulty. But they succeeded, under cover of the breach, in establishing themselves in one of the houses in our position, from which they were driven in the evening by the bayonets of H. M.'s 32nd and 84th foot. On the 5th September the enemy made their last serious assault. Having exploded a large mine, a few feet short of the bastion of the 18-pounder gun, in Major Apthorp's post, they advanced with large heavy scaling ladders, which they planted against the wall, and mounted, thereby gaining for an instant the embrasure of a gun. They were, however, speedily driven back with loss by hand

grenades and musketry. A few minutes subsequently they sprung another mine close to the brigade mess, and advanced boldly; but soon the corpses strewed in the garden in front of the post bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of that garrison, and the enemy fled ignominiously, leaving their leader—a fine-looking old native officer—among the slain. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resolution, and every where with the same want of success. Their loss upon this day must have been very heavy, as they came on with much determination, and at night they were seen bearing large numbers of their killed and wounded over the bridges in the direction of cantonments. The above is a faint attempt at a description of the four great struggles which have occurred during this protracted season of exertion, exposure, and suffering. His Lordship in Council will perceive that the enemy invariably commenced his attacks by the explosion of a mine, a species of offensive warfare, for the exercise of which our position was unfortunately peculiarly situated, and had it not been for the most untiring vigilance on our part, in watching and blowing up their mines before they were completed, the assaults would probably have been much more numerous, and might, perhaps, have ended in the capture of the place. But by countermining in all directions, we succeeded in detecting and destroying no less than four of the enemy's subterraneous advances towards important positions, two of which operations were eminently successful, as on one occasion not less than eighty of them were blown into the air, and twenty suffered a similar fate on the second explosion. The labor however, which devolved upon us in making these counter-mines, in the absense of a body of skilled miners, was very heavy. The Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council will feel that it would be impossible to crowd, within the limits of a despatch, even the principal events, much more the individual acts of gallantry which have marked this protracted struggle. But I can conscientiously declare my conviction, that few troops have ever undergone greater hardships, exposed as they have been to a never-ceasing musketry fire and cannonade. They have also experienced the alternate vicissitudes of extreme wet and of intense heat, and that too with very insufficient shelter from either, and in many places without any shelter at all. In addition to having had to repel real attacks, they have been exposed night and day to the hardly less harassing false alarms which the enemy have been constantly raising. The insurgents have frequently fired very heavily, sounded the advance and shouted for several hours together,

though not a man could be seen, with the view, of course, of harassing our small and exhausted force, in which object they succeeded, for no part has been strong enough to allow of a portion only of the garrison being prepared in the event of a false attack being turned into a real one. All therefore had to stand to their arms, and to remain at their posts until the demonstration had ceased; and such attacks were of almost nightly occurrence. The whole of the officers and men have been on duty night and day, during the eighty-seven days which the siege had lasted, up to the arrival of Sir J. Outram, G. C. B. In addition to this incessant military duty, the force has been nightly employed in repairing defences, in moving guns, in burying dead animals, in conveying ammunition and commissariat stores from one place to another, and in other fatigue duties too numerous and too trivial to enumerate here. I feel, however, that any words of mine will fail to convey any adequate idea of what our fatigue and labors have been—labors in which all ranks and all classes, civilians, officers, and soldiers, have all borne an equally noble part. All have together descended into the mine, all have together handled the shovel for the interment of the putrid bullock, and all, accoutred with musket and bayonet, have relieved each other on sentry, without regard to the distinctions of ranks, civil or military. Notwithstanding all these hardships, the garrison has made no less than five sorties, in which they spiked two of the enemy's heaviest guns, and blew up several of the houses from which they had kept up their most harassing fire. Owing to the extreme paucity of our numbers, each man was taught to feel that, on his own individual efforts alone depended in no small measure the safety of the entire position. This consciousness incited every officer, soldier and man, to defend the post assigned to him with such desperate tenacity, and to fight for the lives which providence had entrusted to his care with such dauntless determination, that the enemy, despite their constant attacks, their heavy mines, their overwhelming numbers, and their incessant fire, could never succeed in gaining one single inch of ground within the bounds of this straggling position, which was so feebly fortified, that had they once obtained a footing in any of the outposts, the whole place must inevitably have fallen.

If further proof be wanting of the desperate nature of the struggle which we have, under God's blessing, so long and so successfully waged, I would point to the roofless and ruined houses, to the crumbled walls, to the exploded mines, to the open breaches, to the shattered and disabled guns and defences, and lastly, to the long and melancholy list of the brave and

devoted officers and men who have fallen. These silent witnesses bear sad and solemn testimony to the way in which this feeble position has been defended. During the early part of these vicissitudes, we were left without any information whatever regarding the posture of affairs outside. An occasional spy did indeed come in with the object of inducing our sepoys and servants to desert; but the intelligence derived from such sources was, of course, entirely untrustworthy. We sent our messengers, daily calling for aid and asking for information, none of whom ever returned until the 26th day of the siege, when a pensioner named Ungud came back with a letter from General Havelock's camp, informing us that they were advancing with a force sufficient to bear down all opposition, and would be with us in five or six days. A messenger was immediately despatched, requesting that on the evening of their arrival on the outskirts of the city, two rockets might be sent up, in order that we might take the necessary measures for assisting them while forcing their way in. The sixth day, however, expired, and they came not; but for many evenings after officers and men watched for the ascension of the expected rockets, with hopes such as make the heart sick. We knew not then, nor did we learn until the 29th August—or thirty-five days later—that the relieving force, after having fought most nobly to effect our deliverance, had been obliged to fall back for reinforcements, and this was the last communication we received until two days before the arrival of Sir James Outram on the 25th September.

Besides heavy visitations of cholera and small-pox, we have also had to contend against a sickness which has almost universally pervaded the garrison. Commencing with a very painful eruption it has merged into a low fever, combined with diarrhœa; and although few or no men have actually died from its effects, it leaves behind a weakness and lassitude which, in the absence of all material sustenance, save coarse beef and still coarser flour, none have been able entirely to get over. The mortality among the women and children, and especially among the latter, from these diseases and from other causes, has been perhaps the most painful characteristic of the siege. The want of native servants has also been a source of much privation. Owing to the suddenness with which we were besieged, many of these people who might perhaps have otherwise proved faithful to their employers, but who were outside the defences at the time, were altogether excluded. Very many more deserted, and several families were consequently left without the services of a single domestic. Several ladies have had to tend their children, and even to wash their

own clothes, as well as to cook their scanty meals entirely unaided. Combined with the absence of servants, the want of proper accommodation has probably been the cause of much of the disease with which we have been afflicted. I cannot refrain from bringing to the prominent notice of His Lordship in Council the patient endurance and the Christian resignation which have been evinced by the women of this garrison. They have animated us by their example. Many alas! have been made widows and their children fatherless in this cruel struggle. But all such seem resigned to the will of Providence, and many, among whom may be mentioned the honored names of Birch, of Polehampton, of Barbor, and of Gall, have, after the example of Miss Nightingale, constituted themselves the tender and solicitous nurses of the wounded and dying soldiers in the hospital.

It only remains for me to bring to the favorable notice of His Lordship in Council the names of those officers who have most distinguished themselves, and afforded me the most valuable assistance in these operations. Many of the best and bravest of these now rest from their labors. Among them are Lieutenant-Colonel Case and Captain Radcliff whose services have already been narrated; Captain Francis, 13th N. I.—who was killed by a round shot—had particularly attracted the attention of Sir H. Lawrence for his conduct while in command of the Muchhee Bhowun; Captain Fulton, of the engineers, who also was struck by a round shot, had, up to the time of his early and lamented death, afforded me the most invaluable aid; he was indeed indefatigable: Major Anderson, the chief engineer, though, from the commencement of the siege, incapable of physical exertion from the effects of the disease under which he eventually sank, merited my warm acknowledgments for his able counsel; Captain Simons, commandant of artillery, distinguished himself at Chinhut, where he received the two wounds which ended in his death: Lieutenants Shepherd and Arthur, 7th light cavalry, who were killed at their posts; Captain Hughes, 57th N. I., who was mortally wounded at the capture of a house which formed one of the enemy's outposts; Captain McCabe, of the 32nd foot, who was killed at the head of his men while leading his fourth sortie, as well as Captain Mansfield, of the same corps, who died of cholera—were all officers who had distinguisned themselves highly. Mr. Lucas too, a gentleman volunteer, and Mr. Boyson, of the uncovenanted service—who fell when on the look-out at one of the most perilous outposts—had earned themselves reputations for coolness and gallantry.

The officers who commanded outposts—Lieutenant-Colonel

Master, 7th light cavalry; Major Apthorp, 41st native infantry; Captain Sanders, 41st native infantry; Captain Boileau, 7th light cavalry; Captain Germon, 13th native infantry; Lieutenant Aitken, and Lieutenant Loughnan, of the same corps; Captain Anderson, 25th native infantry; Lieutenant Graydon, 44th native infantry; Lieutenant Langmore, 71st native infantry; and Mr. Schilling, Principal of the Martiniere college—have all conducted ably the duties of their dangerous positions. No further proof of this is necessary than the fact which I have before mentioned, that throughout the whole duration of the siege the enemy were not only unable to take, but they could not even succeed in gaining one inch of the posts commanded by these gallant gentlemen. Colonel Master commanded the critical and important post of the brigade mess, on either side of which was an open breach, only flanked by his handful of riflemen and musketeers. Lieutenant Aitken, with the whole of the 13th native infantry, which remained to us with the exception of their Sikhs, commanded the Bayley Guard—perhaps the most important position in the whole of the defences; and Lieutenant Langmore, with the remnant of his regiment (the 71st), held a very exposed position between the hospital and the Watergate. This gallant and deserving young soldier and his men were entirely without shelter from the weather, both by night and by day.

My thanks are also due to Lieutenants Anderson, Hutchinson and Innes, of the engineers, as well as to Lieutenant Tulloch, 58th N. I., and Lieutenant Hay, 48th N. I., who were placed under them to aid in the arduous duties devolving upon that department. Lieutenant Thomas, Madras artillery, who commanded that arm of the service for some weeks, and Lieutenants Macferlane and Bonham rendered me the most effectual assistance. I was however deprived of the services of the two latter, who were wounded, Lieutenant Bonham no less than three times, early in the siege. Captain Evans, 17th B. N. I., who owing to the scarcity of artillery officers, was put in charge of some guns, was ever to be found at his post.

Major Lowe, commanding H. M.'s 32nd regiment; Captain Bassano, Lieutenants Lawrence, Edmonstoune, Foster, Harmar, Cooke, Clery, Browne and Charlton, of that corps, have all nobly performed their duty. Every one of these officers, with the exception of Lieutenants Lawrence and Clery, have received one or more wounds of more or less severity. Quarter-Master Stribbling, of the same corps, also conducted himself to my satisfaction.

Captain O'Brien, H. M.'s 8th foot; Captain Kemble, 41st

N. I.; Captain Edgell, 53rd N. I.; Captain Dinning, Lieut. Sewell, and Lieut. Worsley, of the 71st N. I.; Lieutenant Warner, 7th L. C.; Ensign Ward, 48th N. I., (who, when most of our artillery officers were killed or disabled, worked the mortars with excellent effect;) Lieutenant Graham, 11th N. I.; Lieutenant Mecham, 4th Oude locals; and Lieut. Keir, 41st N. I., have all done good and willing service throughout the siege, and I trust that they will receive the favorable notice of his Lordship in Council.

I beg particularly to call the attention of the Government of India to the untiring industry, the extreme devotion and the great skill which have been evinced by Surgeon Scott (Superintending Surgeon,) and Assistant Surgeon Boyd, of H. M.'s 32nd foot; Assistant Surgeon Bird, of the artillery; Surgeon Campbell, 7th light cavalry; Surgeon Brydon, 71st N. I.; Surgeon Ogilvie, sanitary commissioner; Assistant Surgeon Fayrer, civil surgeon; Assistant Surgeon Partridge, 2nd Oude irregular cavalry; Assistant Surgeon Greenhow; Assistant Surgeon Darby, and by Mr. Apothecary Thompson, in the discharge of their onerous and most important duties.

Messrs. Thornhill and Capper, of the civil service, have been both wounded, and the way in which they, as well as Mr. Martin, the deputy commissioner of Lucknow, conducted themselves, entitles them to a place in this despatch. Captain Carnegie, the special assistant commissioner, whose invaluable services, previous to the commencement of the siege, I have frequently heard warmly dilated upon, both by Sir H. Lawrence and by Major Banks, and whose exertions will probably be more amply brought to notice by the civil authorities on some future occasion, has conducted the office of Provost Marshal to my satisfaction. The Reverend Mr. Harris and the Reverend Mr. Polehampton, assistant chaplains, vied with each other in their untiring care and attention to the suffering men. The latter gentleman was wounded in the hospital, and subsequently unhappily died of cholera. Mr. McCrae, of the civil engineers, did excellent service at the guns, until he was severely wounded. Mr. Cameron, also, a gentleman who had come to Oude to enquire into the resources of the country, acquired the whole mystery of mortar practice, and was of the most signal service until incapacitated by sickness. Mr. Marshall, of the road department, and other members of the uncovenanted service, whose names will, on a subsequent occasion, be laid before the government of India, conducted themselves bravely and steadily. Indeed, the entire body of these gentlemen have borne themselves well, and have evinced great coolness under fire.

I have now only to bring to the notice of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council the conduct of the several officers who composed my staff:—Lieutenant James, sub-assistant commissary general, was severely wounded by a shot through the knee at Chinhut, notwithstanding which he refused to go upon the sick list, and carried on his most trying duties throughout the entire siege. It is not too much to say that the garrison owe their lives to the exertions and firmness of this officer. Before the struggle commenced, he was ever in the saddle, getting in supplies, and his untiring vigilance in their distribution after our difficulties had begun, prevented a waste, which otherwise, long before the expiration of the eighty-seven days, might have annihilated the force by the slow process of starvation.

Captain Wilson, 13th N. I., officiating deputy assistant adjutant general, was ever to be found where shot was flying thickest, and I am at a loss to decide whether his services were most invaluable owing to the untiring physical endurance and bravery which he displayed, or to his ever-ready and pertinent counsel and advice in moments of difficulty and danger.

Lieutenant Hardinge—an officer whose achievements and antecedents are well known to the government of India—has earned fresh laurels by his conduct throughout the siege. He was officiating as deputy assistant quarter master general, and also commanded the Sikh portion of the cavalry of the garrison. In both capacities his services have been invaluable, especially in the latter, for it was owing alone to his tact, vigilance and bravery, that the Sikh horsemen were induced to persevere in holding a very unprotected post under a heavy fire.

Lieutenant Barwell, 71st N. I., the fort adjutant and officiating major of brigade, has proved himself to be an efficient officer.

Lieutenant Birch, of the 71st N. I., has been my A. D. C. throughout the siege. I firmly believe there never was a better A. D. C. He has been indefatigable, and ever ready to lead a sortie, or to convey an order to a threatened outpost under the heaviest fire. On one of these occasions he received a slight wound on the head. I beg to bring the services of this most promising and intelligent young officer to the favorable consideration of his Lordship in Council.

I am also much indebted to Mr. Couper, C. S., for the assistance he has on many occasions afforded me by his judicious advice. I have, moreover, ever found him most ready and willing in the performance of the military duties assigned

to him, however exposed the post or arduous the undertaking. He commenced his career in Her Majesty's service, and consequently had had some previous experience of military matters. If the road to Cawnpore had been made clear by the advent of our troops, it was my intention to have deputed this officer to Calcutta, to detail in person the occurrences which have taken place, for the information of the Government of India. I still hope that when our communications shall be once more unopposed, he may be summoned to Calcutta for this purpose.

Lastly, I have the pleasure of bringing the splendid behaviour of the soldiers, *viz.*, the men of H. M.'s 32nd foot, the small detachment of H. M.'s 84th foot, the European and native artillery, the 13th, 48th and 71st regiments native infantry, and the Sikhs of the respective corps, to the notice of the Government of India. The losses sustained by H. M.'s 32nd, which is now barely 300 strong; by H. M.'s 84th and by the European artillery, show at least that they knew how to die in the cause of their countrymen. Their conduct under the fire, the exposure, and the privations which they have had to undergo, has been throughout most admirable and praiseworthy.

As another instance of the desperate character of our defence and the difficulties we have had to contend with, I may mention that the number of our artillerymen was so reduced that on the occasion of an attack, the gunners, aided as they were by men of H. M.'s 32nd foot, and by volunteers of all classes, had to run from one battery to another wherever the fire of the enemy was hottest, there not being nearly enough men to serve half the number of guns at the same time. In short, at last, the number of European gunners was only twenty-four, while we had, including mortars, no less than thirty guns in position.

With respect to the native troops I am of opinion that their loyalty has never been surpassed. They were indifferently fed and worse housed. They were exposed—especially the 13th regiment—under the gallant Lieutenant Aitken, to a most galling fire of round shot and musketry, which materially decreased their numbers. They were so near the enemy that conversation could be carried on between them; and every effort, persuasion, promise, and threat was alternately resorted to, in vain, to seduce them from their allegiance to the handful of Europeans, who, in all probability, would have been sacrificed by their desertion. All the troops behaved nobly, and the names of those men of the native force who have particularly distinguished themselves, have been laid before Major

General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., who has promised to promote them. Those of the European force will be transmitted in due course for the orders of his Royal Highness the General commanding-in-chief.

In conclusion, I beg leave to express, on the part of myself and the members of this garrison, our deep and grateful sense of the conduct of Major General Sir J. Outram, G. C. B.; of Brigadier General Havelock, C B., and of the troops under those officers who so devotedly came to our relief at so heavy a sacrifice of life. We are also repaid for much suffering and privation by the sympathy which our brave deliverers, say our perilous and unfortunate position, has excited for us in the hearts of our countrymen throughout the length and breadth of Her Majesty's dominions.

Defences of the Residency.

The outbreak at Meerut and Delhi, and reports of general disaffection among the sepoys, caused Sir Henry Lawrence to take immediate measures for the defence of the place. Some time previously he had selected the Muchee Bowun as a site for our magazine and stores, and judging it, from its very commanding position and the moral effect that the occupation of it would exercise over the city, he in the first instance proceeded to strengthen it. The works were commenced on the 17th May, and carried forward with unremitting energy by Lieutenant Innes, under the general direction of Major Anderson, chief engineer, until the commencement of the siege.

The defence of the residency was also commenced, though at first it received a secondary share of attention. It was not till after the mutiny in cantonments (30th May) and the subsequent mutinies of corps in the districts, that it became apparent that we should have probably to defend ourselves against a combined attack of mutineers and rebels from the country and city. The more clear this became, the more clearly the inadequacy of the Muchee Bowun as a fortified position became apparent. It was also seen that, if the mutineers came on in great force, we had not sufficient hands to man both it and the residency; and it having been ascertained after full consideration, that the defects of the Muchee Bowun, both as regards defensive measures and shelter of troops, and the large European community, Sir Henry Lawrence made up his mind to abandon it, on the investment of the city by the enemy.

On this being decided (11th June) the defences of the residency were proceeded with with vigor. Prior to this, the Chief Engineer was doubtful as to the extent of the force he had to shelter within the line of defences, or to man the works, but now he could form a definite plan, and he lost no time in forming a connected line of defensive works round the buildings he thought it necessary to occupy.

The residency compound was first protected by a line of parapet and ditch across it; a strong battery, since named "the Redan," was constructed in a corner of the garden, which furnished a command over the iron bridge.

A battery (called "the Cawnpore") was constructed at the opposite point of our position enfilading the Cawnpore road, and was then designed chiefly as a barrier to the approach of mutineers from Cawnpore.

Two other batteries were partially constructed, one between Gubbins' and Ommaney's compounds, the other between the slaughter-house and sheep-pen; but neither were ready at the commencement of the siege, and want of labor prevented their being completed afterwards.

Heavy and light guns and mortars, more or less protected by parapets, were placed in various positions intermediate to the above-mentioned principal batteries. Those positions are marked in the annexed sketch, though of course various changes occurred during the siege; a gun or mortar having been frequently required to silence an enemy's battery, and withdrawn when the object was accomplished.

Mr. Gubbins, by means of laborers procured by his subordinates, carried on the defences of his own compound; and the general line round our position was continued from battery to battery, and house to house, by abbatis (in lanes), and by parapets and ditches, or stockades.

Outside our line of works also a great amount of labor was required. Masses of buildings extended to within a few feet of us, in nearly every direction, and though some of them would act as traverses to us from the enemy's batteries, the majority were a most undoubted source of annoyance to us, and it was necessary to proceed with their removal as vigorously as our means permitted. Several mosques, which occupied positions commanding us, were left alone, much to our future injury; but I believe the reason that prevented their removal was a good one, namely, the danger of precipitating an outbreak before we were prepared for it. But, apart from this, the demolition of private buildings was far from complete. The affair of Chinhut brought the enemy upon us earlier, I

believe, than was anticipated by any individual of our force, and our command of labor having been limited, we had to close our gates with nothing in many places separating us from the besiegers, but the width of the streets. The houses that remained became nests of rebels, and besides forming secure starting points for their mines, enabled them from under shelter to keep a deadly fire of musketry upon us day and night, and it is to it, and not to round shot, that we have to attribute the greater part of our casualties. The latter was mainly injurious in destroying the buildings occupied by our troops and camp followers; and, though the loss of life, considering the amount of battering they sustained, was much less than was to be expected, it was a constant source of danger and annoyance to the garrison, and the repair of damage entailed heavy labor on men who were weakened by exposure and want of rest.

The enemy proceeded to invest the place immediately on the return of our force from Chinhut on the 30th June. The Muchee Bowun was still garrisoned by our troops, though the treasure, and greater portions of the munitions and stores, had been previously removed to the residency; and it now became an object of primary importance to withdraw the garrison without loss. A telegraphic message was communicated to Lieutenant Innes, the engineer officer, to the effect that the powder in the magazine, about 200 barrels, was to be used in blowing up the fort, and that the garrison was to leave at midnight on the 1st July. This order was carried out with perfect success, and the garrison marched into our gates without the loss of a man.

The garden battery was one of the first established by the enemy. It played on the guard house at the Cawnpore battery, the battery itself, brigade mess, Anderson's, and judicial commissioner's. The combined fire of heavy guns and musketry on the Cawnpore battery became so deadly, that our guns could not be served, and eventually it was thought necessary to withdraw them and to leave the position to be defended by musketry, and to repair the parapets as fast as they were damaged by the enemy's round shot.

At the beginning of the seige, the eight-inch howitzer which fell into the enemy's hands at Chinhut was placed out of sight of our guns on the opposite bank of the river near the bridge of boats, and kept up a destructive fire on the Residency. It was by one of the shells from it that Sir Henry Lawrence was killed.

Batteries were also established by the enemy on the road leading from the iron bridge in front of Gubbins's house, the

brigade mess, and post office, and at the clock tower, and all the buildings were more or less damaged by them. A portion of the Residency was battered down, and six men were buried in the ruins. Many of the buildings were reduced to such a state as to appear to be quite untenable, but the garrison continued to occupy nearly all; and though the defences of the posts have been very much weakened by the continued and heavy fire, not a single one has been abandoned; on the contrary, several buildings (financial commissioner's, Sago's, and Innes's) have been occupied and strengthened *since* the commencement of the seige.

When the enemy found that neither by repeated attacks, nor by the destruction of our buildings, he could force us from our posts, he had recourse to mining. This had been anticipated, but the chief engineer, acting under the suggestion of the late Captain Fulton, would not take the initiative as he apprehended that our enemies would at once follow our example, and that the unlimited command of labor they possessed would give us a poor chance of competing with them.

20*th July*.—The first mine exploded by the enemy was at the Redan. It preceded a general attack, and both as regards direction and distance was a complete failure. This was followed by one at the angle of the Seikh square, and is the only one from which any loss of life on our side has been sustained.

27*th July*.—The sound of the mining had not been heard owing to the proximity of the cavalry horses, and the guard were completely surprised. Seven drummers were killed on this occasion.

10*th August*.—Two other mines at the building occupied by the Martiniere boys and at Sago's were also exploded, but beyond breaking the outer line of walls, did no damage. The enemy in no case showed any great alacrity in assaulting the breaches and we soon formed retrenchments in rear of them.

We had meanwhile commenced countermining, and on the 5th August foiled a mine of the enemy's against the guard house at the Cawnpore battery, and since then, up to the arrival of the relieving force, we have been incessantly employed in mining and countermining. We have generally worked into their galleries, and after having frightened the miners away, have destroyed them, or, in some cases, we have blown in their galleries by charging and firing our own. I need hardly add that this was a service of danger.

Two of our mines, for directly offensive objects, require separate notice, the one at Sago's, to the enemy's guard-room, which we blew down with a loss to them of—it is supposed—

between twenty and thirty men. The second, to Johannes's house, in which we destroyed above eighty of the enemy. The explosion was followed by a sortie to cover the demolition of the remainder of the house and one adjoining, which object was effectually accomplished, and relieved us from the destructive fire of many of the enemy's best marksmen. I may mention that several sorties were made on other occasions, and with equal success.

We had, on the arrival of the relieving force, fifteen galleries ready for countermining further operations of the enemy. Several of the enemy's galleries have since been discovered and destroyed.

I believe I have now noted every measure of importance with reference to the defence and attack of the place in an engineering point of view, and it remains for me to add the means at our disposal for carrying on work.

During the early part of the siege we had working parties of H. M.'s 32nd regiment. On one work during the night, I have had forty-two men. The soldiers, however, had their other duties to perform, they were exposed to rain, and were very often under arms, which prevented their having a proper amount of rest. They could therefore have little physical strength left to work in the trenches, and as the siege progressed, their numerical strength became so much reduced, that it was necessary to give up European working parties almost entirely, and to depend on the sepoys. The latter came forward most willingly, and I cannot speak too highly of the way in which they worked. They have also been of material assistance in our mining operations, and a party of the 13th N. I.—thanks to the good management of Lieutenant Aitken—have constructed a battery for an eighteen pounder, worked the gun, and dug a shaft and gallery at their own post.

There has been but one squad of European miners, eight men under Serjeant Day, all of whom have worked with the most unremitting zeal throughout.

As regards general superintendence, the late Major Anderson, chief engineer, designed the defences of the Muchee Bowun and Residency, and until shortly before his death, directed the construction of the various works and repairs.

Captain Fulton became the senior engineer officer on the demise of Major Anderson on the 11th August. He had constructed the greater portion of the defences, powder magazines, &c., and up to the day of his death displayed the most unremitting energy, in spite of bad health, in advancing our work. In particular he took a most active part in foiling the enemy's attempts to destroy our advanced posts by mines,

and the manner in which he conducted the blasting operations during our sorties invariably excited the admiration of all who were present, officers and men.

In the performance of the above mentioned, and engineering operations generally, he received the most able and untiring support from Lieutenants Hutchinson, Innes, and Tulloh, and the late Lieutenant Birch, and latterly,* since Captain Fulton's death, I have received much assistance from Lieutenant Hay, assistant field engineer. The active part I myself have taken in the superintendence of works has been small, owing to my having suffered from continued ill health.

Finally, I beg to bring to the notice of the brigadier the excellent service performed by the late Mr. Casey, head accountant to the chief engineer, who had been serjeant major of sappers, and who was recommended by Major Anderson for the rank of assistant field engineer; of the late Mr. Supervisor Barrett; Mr. Beale, overseer; and Serjeant Ryder, assistant overseer—all of whom have left families behind them.

J. C. ANDERSON, *Lieut.*,
Garrison Engineer.

LUCKNOW,
5th October 1857.

INCIDENTS OF THE SIEGE.

A staff-officer has well described, in his diary of the siege, the state of things which obtained in the garrison during the first few days, in the following words:—

"It is difficult to chronicle the proceedings of these few days, for everywhere confusion reigned supreme. That unfortunate day of Chinhut precipitated every thing, inasmuch as we were closely shut up several days before anything of the kind was anticipated. People had made no arrangement for provisioning themselves; many, indeed, never dreamt of such a necessity; and the few that had were generally too late. Again, many servants were shut out the first day, and all attempts to approach us were met by a never ceasing fusilade. But though they could not get in, they succeeded in getting out; and after a few days, those who could boast of servants or attendants of any kind formed a very small and envied minority. The servants, in many instances, eased their masters of any superfluous articles of value easy of carriage. In fact, the confusion can be better imagined than described.

"The head of the Commissariat had, most unfortunately for the garrison, received a severe wound at Chinhut, which effectually deprived them of his valuable aid. His office was all broken up; his gomashtas and baboos were not with us, and the officers appointed to assist him were all new hands. Besides all this, the first stores opened were approachable only by one of the most exposed roads, and very many of the camp-followers preferred going without food to the chance of being shot. Some did not know where to apply, so that for three or four days many went without rations; and this in no small degree added to the number of desertions. Owing to these desertions, the commissariat and battery bullocks had no attendants to look after them, and went wandering all over the place looking for food; they tumbled into wells, were shot down in numbers by the enemy, and added greatly to the labour which fell on the garrison, as fatigue parties of civilians and officers after being in the defences all day repelling the enemy's attack, were often employed six and seven hours burying cattle killed during the day, and which, from the excessive heat, became offensive in a few hours. The artillery and other horses were everywhere to be seen loose, fighting and tearing at one another, driven mad for want of food and water; the garrison being too busily employed in the trenches to be able to secure them."

It became necessary to take measures to relieve ourselves of these horses, and a party was told off to drive them outside the works, where they were readily appropriated by the enemy. Several lingered close to the works, and four or five died close under my (Mr. Gubbins's) south-west bastion, compelling me to send out men at night, under fire, to throw them into wells, or bury them.

There is no doubt that one great cause of the desertion of the native servants was the insufficient care bestowed upon them. It was difficult to shelter all the Europeans; and the native servants were, therefore, necessarily greatly exposed. Constantly in danger of being struck down by the bullets or shot of the enemy, and ill supplied with food, it is not surprising that many deserted. I myself lost fewer than my neighbours. My baker was shut out; but we retained throughout the siege the services of a khansamah, khidmutgar, and cook. The families of the first two resided in my enclosure, which circumstance was a great security for their good behaviour.

For some time before the siege our supplies had, however, been husbanded. We possessed some supply of bottled beer. This, which was esteemed the greatest luxury during the siege, had ceased for many days to be served

to the gentlemen, and was reserved for the nursing ladies, of whom there were four among our guests and for the sick. One glass of sherry and two of champagne or of claret was served to the gentlemen, and less to the ladies, at dinner. One glass of light wine, Sauterne, was provided at luncheon. It must be here remarked that sherry soon came to be of higher value than champagne, or the lighter French wines, which could not be kept after having been once opened. There was a good deal of the latter description of wines in the garrison, and the best never attained a higher price than sixty rupees: the price of sherry rose to above seventy rupees per dozen. Our regular meals had also been diminished from three to two. A cold luncheon only was served, and we made an early dinner at four. By these timely precautions the supplies which we had were husbanded, and the wants of our numerous guests were provided for during the whole siege. Besides, we were often able to render assistance to persons in other garrisons who urgently needed aid, and to the wounded in hospital. After the siege had begun, and the commissariat arrangements got into train, rations were issued of beef or mutton, with flour or rice, and salt, to Europeans, according to a fixed scale. These were made over to my servants and cooked by them, such additions being made to the meal as our store-room afforded. These, however, besides the daily addition of spices, and sugar, were limited to a few canisters of preserved salmon, and a few of carrots, which were produced whenever we invited a friend from any of the other garrisons to dinner. The party invited did not bring his rations, so that the meal demanded some addition. When the sheep were all used up, beef only was served out in rations, which was usually made into stews, in consequence of our rarely getting a piece that could be boiled or roasted.

At dinner, our chief luxury were rice puddings, of which two daily appeared on table. The eggs for these were derived from a few poultry which we had managed to preserve; and the milk from goats and two cows belonging to our guests, which were half starved during the siege. Occasionally a plum pudding or jam pudding was made, and always caused great excitement at the dinner-table. The demand for these delicacies was great; and there was often none left for the lady of the house, who generally helped them. One cup of tea was made for each person at six in the morning, our English maid, Chiver, presiding at the tea-table. Another cup at the ten o'clock breakfast, and another at night. We enjoyed both sugar and milk in our tea, a luxury which few possessed besides our garrison: and this often attracted friends.

Daily Food.

Our grand diet consists of coarse, exceedingly coarse, "attah," (ground corn with all the husks unsifted), "mash dall," (a nasty black slippery kind of lentils), and bitter salt, with every other day, a small piece of coarse beef, half of it bones. The whole of this, when passed under the hands of my *chef-de-cuisine*, a filthy black fellow, who cooks for three or four others, and whom I am obliged to pay twenty rupees a month, results in an abomination which a Spartan dog would turn up his nose at. I have been robbed of nearly half my cigars, too; and a smoke is now a luxury, which I must only occasionally indulge in.

Famine Prices.

September.—Here we are, in the grouse-shooting season of merry England; but here in India, we shoot black men instead. Articles of consumption are sometimes obtainable, how and where from we do not ask. "Attah" (coarse flour), one rupee per seer; "ghee" (melted butter), very rancid, ten rupees per seer; sugar, sixteen rupees a seer; country leaf-tobacco, two rupees a leaf; a dozen of brandy, 150 rupees to 180; a dozen of beer, seventy rupees; a ham, ninety rupees; a bottle of pickles, twenty rupees, and all other things in proportion.

I have given up smoking tobacco and have taken to tea-leaves and neem-leaves, and guava fruit leaves instead, which the poor soldiers are also constantly using. I had sold my gold chain and watch for 250 rupees to one of the men who had more money than he could keep, and I was, therefore, enabled to enjoy the luxury of a cigar as long as I could get it for a rupee, but the price has come up to three rupees each now, I cannot afford that. Provisions are not always to be had even at the above-mentioned fearfully high prices, and money is of no use to me now, except for the immediate requirements which I can occasionally have for it. Indeed, I never thought I could ever come to care so little for rupees as I do now, and my only wonder is, how any of us can at such a time at all attach importance to such dross.

The Plague of Flies.

To one nuisance, the "flies," I have already alluded; but they daily increased to such an extent that we at last began to feel life to be irksome, more on their account than from any other of our numerous troubles. In the day, flies, at night musquitoes. But the latter were bearable, the former

intolerable. Lucknow had always been noted for its flies, but at no time had they been known to be so troublesome. The mass of putrid matter that was allowed to accumulate, the rains, the commissariat stores, the hospital, had attracted these insects in incredible numbers. The Egyptians could not possibly have been more molested than we were by this pest. They swarmed in millions, and though we blew daily some hundreds of thousands into the air, this seemed to make no diminution in their numbers. The ground was still black with them, and the tables were literally covered with these cursed flies.

We could not sleep in the day on account of them. We could scarcely eat. Our beef, of which we get a tolerably small quantity every other day, is usually studded with them; and while I eat my miserable dall and roti (boiled lentil soup and unleavened bread), a number of scamps fly into my mouth, or tumble into the plate, and float about in it, *impromptu* peppercorns and—I was about to say something wicked—but really even the reminiscence of this annoyance is enough to make a saint swear.

The poor Martiniere pupils, who go about the garrison more filthy than others, and apparently more neglected and hungry even than we are, are made use of to drive away these insects from the sick in hospital, and others.

Ladies without Servants.

Much wearisome labour and drudgery fell on the ladies in those houses from which the servants had deserted. There they had to perform for themselves and husbands many menial offices, which those of our garrison escaped. But the hardest cases were those where individual ladies messed by themselves. They were at first allowed twelve ounces of meat daily; but this was reduced in September to six ounces, which, poorly cooked, was barely sufficient to afford sustenance: and I have since heard of cases where ladies have had to gather their own sticks, light their own fire, knead and make their own chuppatties, and cook with their own hands any other food which formed their meal. To their honour be it said, that these hardships and privations were always patiently and cheerfully borne. Never probably, indeed, has the noble character of Englishwomen shone with more real brightness than during this memorable siege. Far from being in our way, they were ever a source of comfort and help to us; ready to tend the sick, to soothe and comfort the dying, and to cheer and sustain the living by all those numberless offices of love and affection which woman only understands.

Hammered Shot and Rifle Practice.

During the siege, we at different times collected from our rooms, housetop, and enclosure, as many as five hundred cannon shots, which were sent to our magazine. Of these by far the largest proportion was hammered shot. There was no resource for us, therefore, but to keep them down with our rifles when they became very troublesome: and, as I was myself the most practised marksman in our garrison, I had plenty to do. The enemy were very clever in arranging their loopholes, keeping the inside of the building dark, and allowing no light *through;* so that it was not easy to tell whether the shooter was at the loophole or not. What we found the best practice, and one which we learnt from Captain Fulton, who was himself an excellent shot, was, for one person to watch the opening with a glass, while the marksman kept his rifle laid for the loophole. So soon as the first announced that the enemy had appeared, the latter fired. The fellows showed little pluck; and whenever one of our bullets had fairly entered the loophole, firing would be discontinued from it for several hours. During the first fortnight of the siege, the enemy's fire was almost incessant. It slackened usually towards sunset, and was resumed at intervals during the night. At night, however, they always fired a good deal of blank ammunition.

Music of the Mutineers.

We were continually insulted by the music of the mutineers. At early dawn their bugles regularly began sounding the assembly, and a variety of regimental calls; while the shrill horns and drums of the Rujwarra (a name used to designate the zemindarree forces) kept up loud and dissonant screams, which were again renewed every evening. Occasionally their bands paraded in our sight and played "God save the Queen," or other tunes which they had learnt in our service.

The Scout Ungud.

My few remaining messengers, with one or two obtained from other officers, were soon sent out with despatches from Major Banks; but none of these ever returned, nor was an answer ever obtained. Indeed, however trustworthy the messenger might be, it was scarcely possible for him to enter our position, in consequence of the extreme vigilance of the enemy. Posts had been carefully established by them in the houses all round us, from which strict watch and look-out was kept. Beyond these again were other posts and pickets; and all the principal thoroughfares of the city and suburbs were observed

and all passers-by challenged and examined. It was therefore a service of extreme danger and difficulty, either to leave our position with letters or to bring letters in; and the only man who ever effected this was my scout Ungud. Save by his hand, after the siege had begun, I never attempted to send a letter out.

Later in the siege, Colonel Inglis nominated Captain Hardinge to be assistant quarter-master-general to him, and with his assistance endeavoured to effect the transmission of despatches. A number of persons left our entrenchment for this purpose. Once a sepoy of the 48th N. I., fully accoutred, left our works, pretending to desert to the enemy, his despatch being concealed underneath the metal plate of his musket stock. On another occasion an old woman was let out, who promised to deliver the letters entrusted to her to some friend in the city, by whom they were to be forwarded. But none of these, I believe, ever returned; nor had we ever reason to know that they had delivered the despatches. The only messenger besides Ungud who ever succeeded in delivering a despatch, was one Aodhan Singh, a sepoy of the 1st O. I. infantry, orderly to Brigadier Gray; but he failed to bring in the reply with which he was entrusted.

Nor could any picture more characteristic of the siege be presented, than one which should represent Ungud just after one of his midnight entrances, recounting to our eagerly-listening ears the events which he had witnessed. The low room on the ground-floor, with a single light carefully screened on the outer side, lest it should attract the bullets of the enemy; the anxious faces of the men who crowded round, and listened with breathless attention to question and answer; the exclamation of joy as pieces of good tidings were given out, and laughter at some of Ungud's jeers upon the enemy. More retired, would be shown the indistinct forms of the women in their night attire, who had been attracted from their rooms in hopes of catching early some part of the good news which had come in. The animated and intelligent faces of our messenger, as he assured us of the near approach of help, occupies the foreground. All these together form a scene which must live, as long as life ramains in the memory of us all.

From Ungud we learned many pieces of intelligence. Of all these, the most terrible and mournful was the sad account of the massacre of the women and children who were prisoners at Cawnpore, by that arch-fiened the Nana. We listened to his sad tale of this deed of superhuman wickedness, in hopes that more precise intelligence hereafter might assure us that it was not so bad as Ungud represented. But, alas! his words

proved all too true. Among other facts, he mentioned that the risaldar of Fisher's horse, who had been at first appointed general by the mutineers, had been killed by one of our rifle balls while reconnoitring, from a loop-hole; and that a soobadar of one of the N. I. regiments, named Ghumundee Singh was then their leader; that a boy of eleven or twelve years of age, a member of the Oudh royal family, had been proclaimed king; his mother, the Begum, being regent; while some authority was still exercised by the Môlovee, who had accompanied the mutineers from Fyzabad.

After a day's rest Ungud again went out, bearing despatches and plans of our position, and of the roads leading to it, from Brigadier Inglis for General Havelock. These were rather bulky, and a reward of 5,000 rupees was promised to him if they should be safely delivered.

On the night of the 15th of August, Ungud, our only successful messenger, came in again at my post, bearing a letter addressed to me by Colonel Fraser Tytler. It was dated the 4th August at Mungulwar; and the following is a transcript of its contents:—

"To M. GUBBINS, Esq.

"Dear Sir,

"We march to-morrow morning for Lucknow, having been reinforced. We shall push on as speedily as possible. We hope to reach you in four days at furthest. You must *aid us in every way, even to cutting your way out, if we can't force our way in. We are only a small force.*"

N. B. The words printed in italics were written in Greek characters.

It appeared from the account given to us by Ungud, that he had received this despatch, as was evident from the date, nearly a fortnight before. He accounted for the lateness of its delivery, by telling us that he had been made prisoner by the enemy, while endeavouring to bring the letter in, and had been long detained in custody. Having been released, however, he had retraced his steps to the General's camp at Mungulwar, which place he had found abandoned. Proceeding on thence to the Ganges, he had found that the whole of General Havelock's camp had recrossed the river to Cawnpoor. Ungud told us that this movement had been caused by the Nana having threatened Havelock's rear, and the Station of Cawnpoor; at which place the General was awaiting reinforcements.

After, therefore, Brigadier Inglis had read the letter, I proposed to him that we should consult upon the reply which

should be sent. He courteously came over to my quarters during the day, and showed me the reply which he proposed to send. It was the following:—

"A note, from Colonel Tytler to Mr. Gubbins reached last night, dated at Mungulwar, the 4th instant, the latter paragraph of which is as follows—'You must aid us in every way, even to cutting your way out, if we can't force our way in,' —has caused me much uneasiness, as it is quite impossible, with my weak and shattered force, that I can leave my defences. You must bear in mind how I am hampered; that I have upwards of 120 sick and wounded, and at least 220 women, and about 230 children, and no carriage of any description, besides sacrificing twenty-three lacs of treasure, and about thirty guns of sorts.

"In consequence of the news received, I shall soon put the force on half rations, unless I hear again from you. Our provisions will last us then till about the 10th of September.

"If you hope to save this force, no time must be lost in pushing forward. We are daily being attacked by the enemy, who are within a few yards of our defences. Their mines have already weakened our post, and I have every reason to believe they are carrying on others. Their 18-pounders are within 150 yards of some of our batteries, and from their position, and our inability to form working parties, we cannot reply to them, and consequently the damage done hourly is very great. My strength now in Europeans is 350, and about 300 natives and the men are dreadfully harassed; and owing to part, of the Residency having been brought down by round shot, many are without shelter. Our native force having been assured, on Colonel Tytler's authority, of your near approach, some twenty-five days ago, are naturally losing confidence, and if they leave us I do not see how the defences are to be manned. Did you receive a letter and plan from me from this man 'Ungud?' Kindly answer this question.

"Yours truly,

"J. Inglis,

Brigadier."

"To General Havelock."

On the following night, accordingly, Ungud started with this despatch.

It is difficult to understand how so serious an error was at the time made by the Commissariat staff, from whom no doubt the Brigadier's information in respect to our supply of food was derived. Much of the grain and provisions had indeed been got in by the civil authorities; and it is probable that the

Commissariat had not sufficiently examined their resources. But certainly at the time it was well known in the garrison that we possessed a plentiful abundance of grain and ghee; and a supply of cattle which would afford fresh-meat rations much beyond the period indicated. Rum, indeed, for the soldiers was running short, and fodder had to be used carefully. Facts, however, speak for themselves. We were not put on half-meat rations until the 25th of August, when they were reduced as here shown:—

PERSON.	FULL SCALE.	REDUCED SCALE.
Each fighting man	1 lb.	12 oz.
„ woman	12 oz.	6 oz.
„ child over 12 years ...	12 oz.	6 oz.
„ child under 12 years...	4 oz.	4 oz.
„ child under 6 years ...	4 oz.	2 oz.

We were joined on the 25th of September by a force of upwards of 2,700 men, under General Outram, which brought in no grain to add to our supplies, but gun-bullocks only. This new force, as well as the old garrison, were fed for eight weeks longer out of the stores of grain which we originally possessed. And when we finally abandoned the place, the granary of wheat laid in by me, which had been put at the disposal of the Commissariat, was left behind, and their own surplus stores required 500 camels to transport.

Ungud did not return for eleven days. But again made his appearance at my post at midnight of the 29th, and brought Havelock's reply; a letter worthy of the noble soldier who wrote it. It was dated at Cawnpoor the 24th August, and was as follows:—

MY DEAR COLONEL,

"I have your letter of the 16th inst. I can only say do not *negotiate*, but rather perish sword in hand. Sir Colin Campbell, who came out at a day's notice to command, upon the news arriving of General Anson's death, promises me *fresh troops*, and you will be my first care. The *reinforcements* may reach me in from *twenty to twenty-five days*, and I will prepare everything for a march on Lucknow.

"Yours very sincerely,

"H. HAVELOCK, Br.-Gen."

"To Col. Inglis, H. M. 32nd Regt."

N. B.—The italics indicate Greek characters.

Ungud had found it impossible to cross the Ganges near Cawnpoor, where one side of the river was held by the mutineers, and the opposite one by the British forces. He had gone by Futtehpoor Chowrâsee, the residence of the talooqdar Jussa Singh, and crossed at the Nana Mhow Ghaut. He told us that the Nana was at Futtehpoor, having been defeated in a fresh engagement by Havelock, at Bithoor, where the mutineers declared that the 42nd regt. N. I., called by the natives, "Jansen," had greatly distinguished themselves, and boasted that they had crossed bayonets with the British troops. Jussa Singh, he told us, had died of his wounds.

On the occasion of this visit of Ungud, an amusing incident occurred. I had been ill with fever, and was lying down in a room which had been a lady's dressing-room, and which contained a cheval glass. Ungud was seated on the floor by my side, and was replying to the many questions with which I plied him. I presently observed him to put on an anxious look, and direct uneasy glances towards the glass, which was large, and reflected his whole person. Soon he turned round, and facing himself in the mirror, exclaimed with energy "Kia! toom bhee sipahy ho? What! are you also a soldier?" I burst out laughing, the mistake was so absurd. He had taken his own reflection for a strange sepoy, who he thought was listening to his words. Presently, he too discovered his mistake, and joined heartily in my merriment.

The enemy used to subject every person who was stopped by any of their pickets, in his passage along the road or through the streets, to the strictest search: so that extraordinary precautions were required to secret despatches. Those delivered and brought by Ungud were written on small pieces of thin paper, sometimes in the Greek character. They were tightly rolled up, and inserted into a quill, which was then closed at either end with sealing-wax. We were informed that whenever despatches were found upon any person so detained, he was put to death; and many were detained in confinement on mere suspicion of their being "cossids."

First Relief of Lucknow.

From Brigadier General H. Havelock, Commanding Oude Field Force. To Captain H. W. Norman, Assistant Adjutant General, Head Quarters.

Residency, Lucknow, 30th September, 1857.

Sir,—Major General Sir James Outram, having, with characteristic generosity of feeling, declared that the command of the force should remain in my hands, and that he would

accompany it as civil commissioner only, until a junction could be effected with the gallant and enduring garrison of this place, I have to request that you will inform his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, that this purpose was effected on the evening of the 25th instant. But before detailing the circumstances, I must refer to antecedent events. I crossed the Sye on the 22nd instant, the bridge at Bunnee not having been broken. On the 23rd I found myself in presence of the enemy, who had taken a strong position, his left resting on the enclosure of the Allum Bagh, and his centre and right drawn up behind a chain of hillocks. The head of my column at first suffered from the fire of his guns, as it was compelled to pass along the trunk road between morasses; but as soon as my regiments could be deployed along his front, and his right enveloped by my left, victory declared for us, and we captured five guns. Sir James Outram, with his accustomed gallantry, passed on in advance, close down to the canal. But as the enemy fed his artillery with guns from the city, it was not possible to maintain this, or a less advanced position for a time taken up; but it became necessary to throw our right on the Alum Bagh, and refuse our left, and even then we were incessantly cannonaded throughout the 24th; and the enemy's cavalry, 1,500 strong, crept round through lofty cultivation, and made a sudden irruption upon the baggage massed in our rear. The soldiers of the 90th, forming the baggage guard, received them with great gallantry; but lost some brave officers and men, shooting down, however, twenty-five of the troopers and putting the whole body to flight. They were finally driven to a distance by two guns of Captain Olphert's battery.

The troops had been marching for three days under a perfect deluge of rain, irregularly fed, and badly housed in villages. It was thought necessary to pitch tents, and permit them to halt on the 24th. The assault on the city was deferred until the 25th. That morning our baggage and tents were deposited in the Alum Bagh under an escort, and we advanced. The 1st brigade, under Sir James Outram's personal leading, drove the enemy from a succession of gardens and walled enclosures, supported by the 2nd brigade, which I accompanied. Both brigades were established on the canal at the bridge of Char Bagh.

From this point the direct road to the Residency was something less than two miles; but it was known to have been cut by trenches, and crossed by palisades at short intervals, the houses also being all loop-holed. Progress in this direction was impossible; so the united column pushed on, detouring

along the narrow road which skirts the left bank of the canal. Its advance was not seriously interrupted until it had come opposite the king's palace or the Kaiser Bagh, where two guns and a body of mercenary troops were entrenched. From this entrenchment a fire of grape and musketry was opened, under which nothing could live. The artillery and troops had to pass a bridge partially under its influence; but were then shrouded by the buildings adjacent to the palace of Fureed Buksh. Darkness was coming on, and Sir James Outram at first proposed to halt within the courts of the Mehal for the night; but I esteemed it to be of such importance to let the beleaguered garrison know that succour was at hand, that with his ultimate sanction I directed the main body of the 78th Highlanders and regiment of Ferozepore to advance. This column rushed on with a desperate gallantry, led by Sir James Outram and myself, and Lieuts. Hudson and Hargood, of my staff, through streets of flat-roofed loop-holed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up, and overcoming every obstacle, established itself within the enclosure of the residency. The joy of the garrison may be more easily conceived than described; but it was not till the next evening that the whole of my troops, guns, tumbrils, and sick and wounded, continually exposed to the attacks of the enemy, could be brought step by step within this *enciente* and the adjacent palace of the Fureed Buksh. To form an adequate idea of the obstacles overcome, reference must be made to the events that are known to have occurred at Buenos Ayres and Saragossa. Our advance was through streets of houses such as I have described, and thus each forming a separate fortress. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of 10,000 good troops. The advantage gained has cost us dear. The killed, wounded, and missing, the latter being wounded soldiers, who I much fear—some or all—have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe, amounted, up to the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers and men. Brigadier General Neill, commanding 1st brigade; Major Cooper, brigadier, commanding artillery; Lieut.-Col. Bazely, a volunteer with the force—are killed. Col. Campbell, commanding 90th light infantry; Lieut.-Col. Tytler, my deputy assistant quarter master general; and Lieut. Havelock, my deputy assistant adjutant general, are severely, but not dangerously wounded. Sir James Outram received a flesh wound in the arm in the early part of the action near Char Bagh; but nothing could subdue his spirit; and though faint from loss of blood, he continued to the end of the action to sit on his horse, which he only dismounted at the gate of the residency.

As he has now assumed the command, I leave to him the narrative of all events subsequent to the 26th.

From Major General Sir J. Outram, G. C. B. To His Excellency Sir Colin Campbell, G. C. B. Commander-in-Chief.

Lucknow, 30th Sept. 1857.

SIR,—General Havelock having effected his junction with the garrison holding the residency of Lucknow on the evening of the 25th instant, I, on the following day, resumed command of the troops, issuing the order A., of which I enclose a copy for His Excellency's information. I had previously sent a note to the commandant of the garrison, warning him of our approach, and warning him not to be enticed into weakening his garrison by detaching to our support when he should hear us engaged in the city, lest the enemy should avail themselves of that opportunity to assault his position. This note I have since learnt he received—copy enclosed B.

Since we have obtained access to the exterior of the entrenchments, we find that they had completed six mines in the most artistic manner—one of them from a distance of 200 feet under our principal defensive works, which were ready for loading, and the firing of which must have placed the garrison entirely at their mercy. The delay of another day, therefore, might have sealed their fate.

To force our way *through* the city would have proved a very desperate operation, if indeed it could have been accomplished.

After passing the bridge, therefore, which is at the entrance, General Havelock took his force by detours to the right where but little means comparatively of opposition had been prepared, until he approached the front of the "Kaiser Bagh" (king's palace,) from whence a heavy fire was opened upon us, and from that point (through a limited extent of about a quarter mile of street then intervened before reaching the residency) the troops were much exposed to the fire of the enemy occupying the houses on both sides, as well as to some of the besieging guns which had been turned against us, besides being obstructed by ditches which had been cut across the street—all which obstacles were overcome by the usual gallantry and dash of British troops, but at a heavy cost. The residency was joined in the evening; and the cheers of our rescued comrades overcame for the time our regrets for the many who had fallen in their cause.

General Havelock's reports will acquaint your Excellency of details; my own reports commencing from the following

day, when, as the enemy had, during the night, continued to occupy his offensive position and to maintain his fire on the entrenchment, it became my first object to occupy or destroy his works; for, independent of the damage caused by his fire to the now crowded garrison, no communication could be held with the city. I, therefore, on the morning of the 26th, ordered Captain Bazaar to be cleared, which has heretofore harboured the enemy in vexatious proximity to the garrison, and it was occupied by H. M.'s 32nd regiment under Brigadier Inglis, capturing five guns, with a loss of one officer (Captain Hughes, 57th L. I.) and two privates killed and seven privates wounded, thus removing all obstruction from the river side of our position.

On the 27th September, the palaces extending along on the line of the river, from the residency to near the "Kaiser Bagh" ("Tara Kotee," "Chuttur Munzul," and "Forad Buksh"), were occupied for the accommodation of our troops. On the same day, at noon, a party consisting of 150 men made a sortie on another of the enemy's positions and destroyed four guns, at a loss of eight killed and wounded. At day-light on the 28th, three columns, aggregating 700 men, attacked the enemy's works at three different points, destroyed ten guns, and demolished by powder explosions the houses which afforded position to the enemy for musketry fire. This has effectually destroyed his attacks, excepting on one point, where he has still three guns, which it is difficult to get at, but it is not likely the enemy will attempt to maintain that isolated position; and as there has been no fire from thence this morning, it is probable he may have abandoned it. This successful operation was attended by the serious loss of one officer and fifteen men killed and missing, one officer and thirty-one men wounded, the officer killed being Major Simmons, commanding H. M.'s 5th fusiliers, most deeply regretted by the whole army.

Our present prospects have now to be considered. It was the urgent desire of the government that the garrison should be relieved, and the women and children, amounting to upwards of 470 souls, withdrawn.

The army of the enemy has been beaten in the open field without difficulty. The resistance was more obstinate in the suburbs, and at a great sacrifice the troops forced their way to the garrison of Lucknow. The sick and wounded had been left with the baggage in a strong enclosure, called "Alum Bagh," five miles from the Lucknow entrenchment.

In considering the heavy loss at which we forced our way through the enemy, it was evident that there could be no

possible hope of carrying off the sick, wounded, and women and children (amounting to not less than 1,500 souls, including those of both forces.) Want of carriage alone rendered the transport through five miles of disputed suburb an impossibility.

There remained but two alternatives, one to reinforce the Lucknow garrison with 300 men, and leaving every thing behind, to retire immediately with the remains of the infantry upon the "Alum Bagh," thereby leaving the garrison in a worse state than we found it, by the addition to the numbers they had previously to feed the great amount of our wounded and the 300 soldiers, who would barely have sufficed to afford the additional protection that would have been required, without adding such strength as would have enabled them to make an active defence, to repel attacks by sorties; or to prevent the enemy occupying the whole of their old positions; while it would have been impossible for any smaller force than the remainder of our troops, diminished by those 300 men, to have any hope of making good their way back, and that not without very serious loss. I, therefore, adopted the second alternative as the only mode of offering reasonable hope of securing the safety of this force, by retaining sufficient strength to enforce supplies of provisions, should they not be open to us voluntarily, and to maintain ourselves, even on reduced rations, until reinforcements advance to our relief.

Now that Delhi has fallen and released our forces, two brigades might perhaps be spared for this service. But I am satisfied that even one brigade, with two batteries of artillery, could make good its way to the "Dilkoosha" (a position three miles from hence on the Cawnpore side of the canal,) the route to which, the rains now being over, will be practicable for artillery by the direct road from "Alum Bagh."

With such a force established at "Dilkoosha," we could without difficulty open out our communication, and withdraw the whole, or such portion of our forces as may be desired after re-establishing our authority at Lucknow.

Since my decision has been made, I have received a letter from the "Alum Bagh," in which it is stated that they are in great want of provisions, but upon returns of what they have, it is clear that they are not aware of their resources, which were sufficient for some days. I have, therefore, ordered back the cavalry to join them in the night by a circuitous route, with conditional orders to withdraw to Cawnpore, or to maintain their position, as may be found most practicable. Their only difficulty is provisions, as they are placed in a fortified enclosure, defended by two of our heavy

guns, and two 9-pounders, besides other guns taken from the enemy, two hundred and fifty European soldiers, and a number of convalescents fit to bear arms.

A.

Lucknow Residency, 26th September 1857.

DIVISION ORDERS.

The relief of the Lucknow garrison having last night been accomplished by General Havelock and his brave troops, Major-General Sir J. Outram resumes his position as commander of the forces.

The Major-General heartily congratulates General Havelock and the troops whom that gallant and distinguished officer has so gloriously led to victory on their brilliant successes over the hosts that have opposed them since the army crossed the ganges on the 19th instant. He sincerely believes that, in the history of Warfare, British valor was never more conspicuously displayed than on the 21st instant at "Mungulwurra," on the 23rd at "Alum Bagh," and on the 25th, when his heroic comrades forced the city bridge and other formidable obstacles which interrupted their passage to the position held by the beleaguered garrison. The Major-General deeply laments the heavy cost at which the relief of our countrymen has been purchased, but the glorious devotion with which the gallant dead and equally gallant survivors staked their lives to rescue the Lucknow garrison will be deeply appreciated by our Queen and our country, and the safety of those whom we, under God's blessing, have been permitted to redeem from a dreadful fate, must be our consolation for the loss of so many of our noble comrades. The Major-General begs to return his most sincere and heartfelt thanks to the General and his gallant army for their glorious exertions, the only acknowledgment of their achievements which it is in his power to render. On General Havelock it will devolve, in his reports to the Commander-in-chief, to do justice to the army which has so devotedly carried out his orders. But while fully aware, that every arm was stimulated by the same brave spirit, the Major-General deems it right to bear his personal testimony to the admirable conduct of such of the troops as acted under his immediate observation. He would especially note the behaviour of the 90th regiment, who led the advance of the left attack at "Mungulwurra"; that of the volunteer cavalry, who charged the artillery of the retiring enemy and captured two of their guns; that of the 84th and detachment of the 64th attached to it, who led the attack on the enemy's left at "Alum Bagh";

that of Captain Olpherts's battery, who so bravely followed up their retreat on that occasion, and Major Eyre's battery, in opposing the many that afterwards bore on their position; that of the 5th fusiliers and Captain Maude's battery, who led the column on the 25th instant, under a most murderous fire; that of the 1st fusiliers (Madras,) who charged the bridge and battery at the entrance of the city, led by the gallant Assistant Adjutant General Lieutenant Havelock; and finally, that of the 78th Highlanders, who led the advance on the residency headed by their brave commander, Colonel Stisted, accompanied by the gallant Lieutenant Hargood, A. D. C. to General Havelock; Captain Grant, 1st Madras fusiliers; Lieut. Hudson, 64th regiment; and Lieutenant Chamier, A. C. D.

Supplemental Order.

The Major-General regrets to find that, in noticing the services of the troops which came under his personal attention, in division orders of 26th instant, he omitted to mention the regiment of Ferozepore and its gallant leader, Captain Brasyer. The Major-general in that order merely referred to what he himself observed, but was well aware that this regiment was most prominently forward on every occasion. Though happening seldom to be in the same part of the field, he takes blame to himself for having inadvertently omitted to mention their advance with the 90th at "Mungulwurra," which did come under his personal observation. The time has not yet come for the Major-General to notice the conduct of the troops subsequently to his assuming command, during which period the Siekh regiment has been incessantly occupied on most important service; but they may rest assured that they, as well as all the corps who have like them highly distinguished themselves since, will be brought to prominent notice.

B.

To Brigadier Inglis.

North side of the River, 20th Sept. 1857.

Sir,—The army crossed the river yesterday, and all the material being over, marches to-morrow, and, under the blessing of God, will now relieve you. The rebels, we hear, purpose making a desperate assault upon you as we approach the city, and will be on the watch in expectation of your weakening your garrison to make a diversion in our favor as we attack the city. I beg to warn you against being enticed

too far from your works when you hear us engaged. Such diversion as you can make without in any way risking your position, should only be attempted.

(Signed) J. OUTRAM.

PROCEEDINGS OF SIR JAMES OUTRAM'S FORCE.

From Major General Outram, Comdg. Cawnpore and Dinapore Divisions, to Major General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff.

Camp Alum Bagh, 25th November 1857.

SIR,—I have the honor to acquaint His Excellency the Commander-in-chief with the proceedings of this force since the 28th of September. General Havelock has commanded the field force occupying the palaces and outposts, and Brigadier Inglis has continued in command of the Lucknow garrison—an arrangement that has proved most convenient.

The first work required was to open a road-way through the palaces for the heavy train, which had been brought into one of the gardens on the 27th September, and by the 1st October was safely parked within the entrenchment.

Contrary to the expectations expressed in my last despatch, the enemy relying on the strong position of their remaining battery, (the one known as "Phillips' battery,") continued to annoy the garrison by its fire, and to maintain there a strong force. Its capture, therefore, became necessary, and this was effected on the 2nd October, with the comparatively trifling loss of two killed and eleven wounded,—a result which was due to the careful and scientific dispositions of Colonel Napier, under whose personal guidance the operation was conducted. Three guns were taken and burst; their carriages destroyed; and a large house in the garden, which had been the enemy's stronghold, was blown up.

With a view to the possibility of adopting the Cawnpore road as my line of communication with Alum Bagh, Major Haliburton, 78th Highlanders, commenced on the 3rd to work from house to house with the crow-bar and pick-axe.

On the 4th, this gallant officer was mortally wounded; and his successor, Major Stephenson, of the Madras fusiliers disabled. During the whole of the 5th, these proceedings were continued; but on the 6th they were relinquished, it being found that a large mosque, strongly occupied by the enemy, required more extensive operations for its capture than were expedient; therefore, after blowing up all the principal houses on the Cawnpore road, from which the garrison had been annoyed by musketry, the reconnoitring

party gradually withdrew to the post in front of Phillips's garden, which has since been retained as a permanent out-post affording comfortable accommodation to Her Majesty's 78th Highlanders, and protecting a considerable portion of the entrenchment from molestation, besides connecting it with the palaces occupied by General Havelock. During the foregoing operations, the enemy, recovering from their first surprise, commenced to threaten our positions in the palaces and outposts by mining and assaults. As there were only a few miners in the garrison, and none with the field force, the enemy could not be prevented from exploding three mines, causing us a loss of several men; and on the 6th, they actually penetrated into the palaces in considerable numbers.

But they paid dearly for their temerity, being intercepted and slain at all points. Their loss on that day was reported in the city to have been 450 men.

A company of miners, formed of volunteers from the several corps, was placed at the disposal of the chief engineer, which soon gave him the ascendancy over the enemy who were foiled at all points, with the loss of their galleries and mines, and the destruction of their miners in repeated instances.

The Seikhs of the Ferozepore regiment have zealously labored at their own mines, and though separated only by a narrow passage (sixteen feet wide) from the enemy, have, under the guidance and direction of the engineer department, defended and protected their position.

The outpost of H. M.'s 78th Highlanders, under Captain Lockhart, has also been vigorously assailed by the enemy's miners. Its proximity to the entrenchment made it convenient to place it under the charge of the officiating garrison engineer, Lieutenant Hutchinson, under whose skilful directions the enemy have been completely out-mined by the soldiers of H. M.'s 78th regiment.

I am aware of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war: twenty-one shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth, and 3,291 feet of gallery, have been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the palaces and outposts; of these they exploded three, which caused us loss of life, and two, which did no injury; seven have been blown in; and out of seven others, the enemy have been driven, and their galleries taken possession of by our miners;—results of which the engineer department may well be proud. The reports and plans forwarded by Sir Henry Havelock, K. C. B., and now submitted to his excellency, will explain how a line of gardens, courts and dwelling-houses, without fortified *enceinte*, without

flanking defences, and closely connected with the buildings of a city, has been maintained for eight weeks in a certain degree of security; but notwithstanding the close and constant musketry fire from loopholed walls and windows, often within thirty yards, and from every lofty building within rifle range, and notwithstanding a frequent though desultory fire of round shot and grape from guns posted at various distances, from seventy to 500 yards! This result has been obtained by the skill and courage of the engineer and quarter master general's departments, zealously aided by the brave officers and soldiers who have displayed the same cool determination and cheerful alacrity in the toils of the trench and amidst the concealed dangers of the mine, that they had previously exhibited, when forcing their way into Lucknow at the point of the bayonet and amidst a most murderous fire.

But skilful and courageous as have been the engineering operations, and glorious the behaviour of the troops, their success has been in no small degree promoted by the incessant and self-denying devotion of Colonel Napier,—who has never been many hour's absent by day or night from any one of the points of operation,—whose valuable advice has ever been readily tendered and gratefuly accepted by the executive officers,—whose earnestness and kind cordiality have stimulated and encouraged all ranks and grades, amidst their harasssing difficulties and dangerous labour.

I now lay before His Excellency, Brigadier Inglis's report of the proceedings in the garrison, since its relief by the force under my command, since the capture of the enemy's batteries and the occupation of the palaces and posts.

The position occupied by the Oude field force relieved the garrison of the entrenchment from all molestation on one-half of its *enceinte*,—that is, from the Cawnpore road to the commencement of the river front; and the garrison, reinforced by detachments of the 78th and Madras fusiliers was enabled to hold as outposts three strong positions commanding the road leading to the iron bridge, which have proved of great advantage, causing much annoyance to the enemy, and keeping their musketry fire at a distance from the body of the place.

The defences, which had been barely tenable, were thoroughly repaired, and new batteries were constructed to mount thirteen additional guns.

The enemy, after the capture of the batteries, adopted a new system of tactics. Their guns were withdrawn to a greater distance, and disposed so as to act not against the defences, but against the interior of the entrenchment.

The moment they were searched out and silenced by our guns, their position was changed, so that their shot ranged through the entrenchment; and but for the desultory nature of their fire, might have been very destructive.

Under the care of the superintending surgeon, Dr. Scott, the hospital was securely barricaded without detriment to ventilation.

From the Revd. J. P. Harris, chaplain of the garrison, the sick and wounded received the most marked and personal kindness. His spiritual ministrations in the hospital were incessant; his Christian zeal and earnest philanthropy I have had constant opportunities of observing since my arrival in Lucknow; and but one testimony is borne to his exertions during the siege and to the personal bravery he displayed in hastening from house to house in pursuit of his sacred calling, under the heaviest fire. Daily he had to read the funeral service over numbers of the garrison, exposed to shot, shell, and musketry.

Order was established in the magazine, under Captain Thomas, the garrison commandant of artillery and commissary of ordnance; and under Docter Ogilvie, sanatory commissioner, the conservancy department effected great and visible improvements in the condition of the entrenchments, besides removing the horrible collection of filth and putrid carcasses which had accumulated in the places taken possession of by the relieving force.

I cannot conclude this report without expressing to His Excellency my intense admiration of the noble spirit displayed by all ranks and grades of the force since we entered Lucknow. Themselves placed in a state of siege,—suddenly reduced to scanty and unsavoury rations—denied all the little luxuries, (such as tea, sugar, rum and tobacco,) which by constant use, had become to them almost necessaries of life,—smitten, in many cases, by the same scorbutive affections and other evidences of debility, which prevailed amongst the original garrison,—compelled to engage in laborious operations; exposed to constant danger and kept ever on the alert —their spirits and cheerfulness, and zeal and descipline, seemed to rise with the occasion. Never could there have been a force more free from grumblers, more cheerful, more willing, or more earnest.

Amongst the sick and wounded this glorious spirit was, if possible, still more conspicuous than amongst those fit for duty.

It was a painful sight to see so many noble fellows maimed and suffering, and denied those comforts of which they stood so much in need.

But it was truly delightful and made one proud of his countrymen to observe the heroic fortitude and hearty cheerfulness with which all was borne.

From Major General H. Havelock, Commanding Oude Field Force, to Colonel R. Napier, Chief of the Staff, &c. to Major General Sir James Outram, G. C. B.

Lucknow, 16th November 1857.

SIR,—I beg to report, for the information of Major General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., the complete success of the operations in which the troops of my division were employed under his own eye this evening, in capturing a succession of houses in advance of the palace of Fureed Buksh.

I have given in the margin the details of detachments employed.

5th Fusiliers Under Lieutenant Meara.	160
64th Regiment Captain Shute	48
84th Regiment Captain Willis.	160
78th Regiment Captain Lockhart.	142
90th Light Infantry ... Lieut-Colonel Purnell.	181
Regt. of Ferozepore ... Lieutenant Cross.	100

Reserve 200 from 5th Fusiliers, 78th Highlanders, and Regiment of Ferozepore.

Each Column being accompanied by a party of Miners, with tools and Powder bags, under Command of an Engineer Officer.

The nature of the enterprize may be shortly described as follows:

The progress of the relieving force under His Excellency the Commander-in-chief was anxiously watched, and it was determined that as soon as he should reach the Sikunder Bagh, about three miles from the residency, the outer wall of the advance garden of the palace, in which the enemy had before made several breaches, should be blown in by mines previously prepared; that two powerful batteries erected in the enclosure should then open on the insurgents' defences in front, and after the desired effect had been produced, that the troops should storm two buildings, known by the names of the Hern Khana, or deer-house, and the steam engine-house. Under these also three mines had been driven.

It was ascertained, about 11 A. M., that Sir Colin Campbell was operating against the Sikunder Bagh. The explosion of the mines in the garden was therefore ordered. Their action was, however, comparatively feeble, so the batteries had the double task of completing the demolition of the wall and prostrating and breaching the works and the buildings beyond it. Brigadier Eyre commanded in the left battery; Captain Olpherts in the right; Captain Maude shelled from six mortars in a more retired quadrangle of the palace. The troops were formed in the square of the Chuttur Munzil, and brought up

in succession through the approaches, which in every direction intersected the advance garden. At quarter past three, two of the mines at the Hern Khana exploded with good effect. At half-past three the advance sounded. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which this signal was received by the troops. Pent up in inaction for upwards of six weeks, and subjected to constant attacks, they felt that the hour of retribution and glorious exertion had returned.

Their cheers echoed through the courts of the palace, responsive to the bugle sound, and on they rushed to assured victory. The enemy could nowhere withstand them. In a few minutes the whole of the buildings were in our possession, and have since been armed with cannon, and steadily held against all attack. It will be seen by the enclosed return that the loss has been small.

From Brigadier J. Inglis, Comdg. the Garrison of Lucknow, to Colonel R. Napier, Chief of the Staff, &c.

Lucknow Garrison, 12th Nov. 1857.

SIR,—I have the honor to request that you will do me the favor to submit to Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., commanding the forces, the following record of events in this position since the arrival of the army under his command.

1. On the following morning I received instructions to place under the orders of Major Haliburton, 78th Highlanders, as strong a detachment as I could spare from the garrison, in order to strengthen the rear guard which had been left at Mr. Martin's house, in charge of the heavy guns that had arrived with the force. I accordingly detailed a party of 100 men of the 32nd foot, under the command of Captain Lowe, who was accompanied by Captain Bassano, Captain McCab, and Lieutenant Cooke, of the same corps. This detachment remained all day in position with the rear guard, and on the following morning it covered the extreme rear, on the march into the "Fureed Buksh," whence Captain McCabe led a party of volunteers, composed of the 5th, 32nd, and 90th regiments, into a garden, and routed the enemy with great slaughter. Early the next day, this detachment, having performed the arduous duties assigned them, returned to my garrison. In these operations, the 32nd regiment had one serjeant and one private killed, and two serjeants and two privates wounded. Captain Lowe also received a severe wound.

2. The report of the several sorties made under the direction of the Major-General commanding the forces, and in which detachments from this garrison have borne (I would fain hope) a distinguished part, have been so fully detailed by the officers who commanded on these occasions, that I need not enter further on the subject than to express my admiration of the gallant and devoted behaviour of both officers and men.

3. As soon as these operations were terminated, I turned my attention to the state of the batteries and defences of this position, many of which were in a very dilapidated state, as the Major-General is aware, especially the part called the brigade mess, at either flank of which was an open breach, neither of which we had ever been able to repair or strengthen, or ever adequately to defend. But the large number of doolie bearers placed at my disposal by the chief of the staff, and the increased strength of the garrison, enabled me to carry on the works with vigor, and to materially strengthen all my critical positions.

4. Since the arrival of the force, a large mound and a musjid adjacent to Innes's post were taken possession of by the late Lieutenant Graydon, and have been made defensible, as they completely overlook and command the iron bridge, and approach therefrom. A description of the works that have been carried out is fully given in the appended memorandum by the engineer officer. Great praise is due to the great professional skill, the persevering energy, and the untiring personal activity displayed by Lieutenant Hutchinson, under whom the works have been carried out.

5. Owing to the extreme paucity of numbers attached to the garrison magazine, and the harassing duties which have devolved on this establishment during this very protracted siege, it has necessarily always been in a somewhat unsatisfactory state, and I gladly seized the opportunity to remodel it. With this end in view, I directed Lieutenant Thomas, in charge of the magazine, to remove it to the post office compound, as affording the most convenient site for piling shot and collecting together the various materials appertaining to this department. This duty has been ably performed by Mr. Conductor Bewsey, officiating sub-conductor, under the directions of Lieutenant Thomas, and I have now the pleasure to report that all the spare shot and shell has been collected, guaged and piled. The spare muskets and musket barrels have also been collected, and a large supply of cartridges, wads, fuzes, quick and slow matches, have been prepared. The establishment have besides been employed in

repairing sponge staffs, grummetting shot and shell, and in collecting wood, iron, lead, and other materials from the Fureed Buksh and other places. The ordnance drivers have also rendered assistance in removing guns and mortars, and in erecting and repairing batteries and issuing stores.

6. The buried treasure, amounting to nearly twenty-five lakhs of rupees, is being exhumed and placed again under the charge of the civil authorities.

7. The commissariat arrangements made in garrison, under the directions of Sir James Outram, G. C. B., have involved a considerable reduction in rations, and this deprivation, coming as it did upon the garrison at the end of so long a siege, in addition to the want of malt liquor and spirits, has borne somewhat heavily on every one; but all have sustained the deprivation cheerfully, and none more so than the women, whose admirable conduct I have alluded to in a former despatch. An appended memorandum, furnished by the garrison commissariat officer, enters fully into the commissariat arrangements that have been made.

8. The great number of wounded which accompanied the Major-General's force into this position, speedily increased the number of patients from 130 to 627, and as nearly all arrived without bedding, and as there was besides but a small supply of medicine, it became necessary to make every arrangement to meet these wants. In order to provide the requisite shelter, two large double-pole tents have been pitched close to the hospital portico, and a large room in the begum kotee made over for the accommodation of wounded officers. The buildings in the central Seikh square were also assigned to the remaining portion of the sick and wounded. Old tents have been cut up for bedding, and the patients have been made as comfortable as circumstances would admit; and I am sure that Sir James Outram, G. C. B., will have viewed, with the same satisfaction as myself, the excellent arrangements which have been made by that indefatigable officer, superintending surgeon Scott.

9. During the period which this report embraces, the proceedings of the enemy have been marked by much less activity than heretofore. Several of their guns, however, have been moved across the river, whence they have kept up a desultory cannonade, which has been silenced on most occasions by a few rounds of our heavy ordnance.

10. Their musketry fire has, however, occasionally been so heavy, especially by night, as to induce a belief that they intended an attack; but these demonstrations have rarely lasted for any lengthened period, though they have rendered

it necessary that every man should be under arms for the time. Owing to the repairs made to our defences, and the increased cover obtained thereby, our casualties on these occasions have been but few.

11. Among the officers belonging to this garrison, who have fallen since the advent of the major-general's force, I deeply regret to have to record the loss of Captain Hughes, of the 57th regiment N. I., doing duty with H. M.'s 32nd foot, who was mortally wounded at the attack of a house which formed one of the enemy's outposts. Captain McCabe, H. M.'s 32nd foot, a most distinguished officer, has also fallen; he received his death-wound while leading his fourth sortie. Lieutenant Graydon, too, of the 44th regiment N. I., an officer of great merit, was mortally wounded while assisting in barricading his post.

From Captain Crommelin, Chief Engineer, Oude Field Force.
To Captain Hudson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Oude Field Force.

Camp Alum Bagh, 25th November, 1857.

SIR,—In continuation of my letter, dated 12th instant, I have the honor to report, for the information of the major general commanding the Oude field force, upon the "final engineering offensive operations" at the palace and gardens of the Chutter Munzil.

The cavalier battery, alluded to at the conclusion of my previous report, was completed during the night of the 13th instant, and was armed with the heavy guns on the morning of the 14th, *viz.*, the day originally appointed for the storming of the Hern Khanna, engine-house and king's stables.

During the night of the 13th, twenty-nine charges of powder (each 25lbs. in weight) were laid in chambers that had been previously prepared for them, under the foundation of the east face of the advanced garden wall, and immediately in front of the cavalier battery. These charges were intended for the demolition of that part of the wall that screened the engine-house, stables, and the other adjacent buildings that were to be breached from the guns of the battery. I would here remind you that our attack was postponed from the morning of the 14th to that of the 16th. The charges of powder were thus exposed, in common canvas bags, for more than forty-eight hours, to the damaging influence of a very damp sandy soil; so that when they were exploded, their effect, owing to the deterioration of the powder, was only sufficient to shake

and split the wall in several places, and to form a small breach. The wall, however, was so much injured, that the artillery had an easy task in battering down as much as was necessary. The charges, I may mention, were half as large again as those recommended by Sir W. Paseley (our best practical authority on this as well as most other points of engineering detail), and were such as had been successfully used by myself at Peshawur in a precisely similar case.

During the night of the 12th and 13th, the trench was widened for the passage of guns; screens were also constructed in the advanced garden; and other precautionary measures taken, to protect our force against any musketry fire that might be poured in through the breaches in our own wall.

During the 15th the three mines that had been prepared for the formation of breaches in the Hern Khanna were loaded and tamped. These mines were sprung on the afternoon of the 16th. That at the north-west corner of the building effected the breach by which the right and centre columns of attack entered. Lieut. Hall, in his report, erroneously states that this breach was made by the 18-pounder gun at the barricade.

The centre mine failed to explode owing, I imagine, to some wet sand having been dislodged from the roof of the mine by the concussion of our artillery, and having fallen upon the powder house.

The left charge, which was the largest, exploded; but it proved to be ten feet short of the building, and consequently effected no breach or injury. This error in the position of the charge is not to be wondered at, when it is considered—1*st.* that we could not, by the most careful survey, satisfy ourselves as to the exact position of the Hern Khana; and 2*ndly*, that we could not survey the mine itself with the prismatic compass, as no lights would burn owing to the foulness of the air near the end of a gallery that had been carried to the (I believe) unprecedented length of 289 feet without the aid of air-pipes.

On the morning of the 16th every thing was ready for the attack upon the Hern Khana, engine-house, and stables. Copies of instructions, the details of which had been prepared by myself, from memoranda drawn out by Colonel Napier, (chief of the staff,) were handed over to each of the five officers commanding the storming parties, and to the engineer officers accompanying them; and these instructions were further explained, by the aid of plans, to several of the commanding officers.

For an account of the operations of the storming parties, I must refer to the enclosed reports (in original) of Lieuts.

Hutchinson, Russell, Limond, and Hall, with the remark that the duties of the officers under my command appear to me to have been rapidly and efficiently carried out.

I must also refer to a separate report by Lieut. Hutchinson, directing engineer, upon the engineering operations, from the 16th November to the hour of our evacuation of the bailey guard entrenchment and Chutter Munzil palace—confinement to my quarters owing to an injury of the leg having prevented my superintending them personllay.

From Lieut. G. Hutchinson, Engrs., Director of Works, to Captain Crommelin, Engrs., Chief Engineer.

Lucknow, 21st November 1857.

SIR,—I have the honor to forward Lieut. Limond's statement regarding the sortie party he led; also that of Lieut. Hall.

With reference to my own party, I have to state that, starting from the garden picquet-house, Captain Shute and myself led the party to foot of stockade which we scaled, and that then I turned off at once for the house called Captain Orr's, and in unison with Lieut. Hall and Lieut. Hay, who accompanied me, commenced carrying out our instructions. Up to this time not a man had been lost. Captain Shute led his men on beyond the Hern Khana, and took a garden and a gun.

Our mines exploded short; but the mine from the garden picquet decidedly shook and damaged the wall.

Communication with the garden was completed during the night, and all barricades, loop-holes, &c.

From Lieut. M. Hall, Assistant Field Engineer, to Captain Hutchinson, Directing Engineer.

Hern Khana, 21st Nov. 1857.

SIR,—I have the honor to report for the information of Captain Crommelin, field engineer, that in accordance with his instructions, I accompanied the right column of attack on the Hern Khana, under Captain Willis, 84th regiment, on the 16th instant.

Immediately after the explosion of the barricade mine, we sallied out and made for the part of the building where it was intended the right breach should have been made. On arriving at the wall of the Hern Khana, we found the crater of the mine, which was about ten feet short of the wall which remained uninjured. We therefore turned to the left, and

entered the Hern Khana by the left breach, which had been made by the 18-pounder gun at the barricade at end of lane.

On getting into the Hern Khana we turned to our right, passed across the open square, and immediately commenced loop-holing the wall which commands the street dividing our position from the Kaiser Bagh. On your arrival I reported myself to you.

From Lieut. D. Limond, Engineers, to Captain Crommelin, Chief Engineer, Oude Field Force.

Lucknow, 21st Nov. 1857.

SIR,—According to orders, Lieut. Chalmers, Assistant field engineer, and myself, accompanied the detachment of the 90th regiment L. I. on the attack upon the engine-house. Keeping to the left on passing that building, we found the rebels evacuating the same, and followed them up to the most advanced building, the overseer's house, which I at once directed to be barricaded. The enemy opened on it with guns from the Kaiser Bagh, and the house was then abandoned and burnt by Colonel Purnell's orders. The East wall of the Barahduree enclosure was at once loopholed, and the windows to the South blocked up with sand bags. During the night a battery for three light guns was constructed at the Southern extremity of the lane, between the King's Stables and Barahduree enclosure. The doors and windows of the engine-house facing the river were also barricaded. During the night a trench-covered communication was opened to the advanced garden, none being necessary between the engine-house and king's stables.

From Lieut J. Russell, Brigade Major of Engineers, to Captain Crommelin, Chief Engineer.

SIR,—I have the honor to report that, according to order, Captain Oakes, assistant field engineer, and myself, accompanied the detachment under command of Captain Lockhart, H. M.'s 78th, on the 16th instant, in the attack upon the "king's stables."

The detachment was drawn up in line in the front trench of the advanced garden, and on the order for the advance being given, we crossed the parapet of the trench and the breach in our front, and doubled across the open to the "king's stables," on reaching which some confusion occurred, for the lower part of the breach that had been made by

our guns was some four feet from the ground; and not seeing any easy mode of ingress, Captain Lockhart led the way into the enclosure of the steam engine-house on the left, and was followed by many of his men.

On his mistake being pointed out, however, he returned, and in company we entered the courtyard of the stables, which we found deserted. The men of the detachment followed us as quickly as they could.

Our orders were to man the walls of the stables on the side of the enemy; but the latter were retreating fast, pressed by our troops from the Hern Khanna, on seeing which many of the detachment to which I was attached rushed across the road without orders and joined in the pursuit.

At Captain Lockhart's request I went to recall these men, and on my return I found that he had occupied the Barahduree and other buildings in rear of the king's stables. Measures were immediately adopted for securing our position; but in a short time the portion of Captain Lockhart's detachment was withdrawn, and the post left to the charge of a detachment of H. M.'s 90th, under Colonel Purnell.

During the night of the 16th, Lieut. Limond, of engineers, and myself constructed a battery for three guns, which opened fire towards the Kaiser Bagh on the morning of the 17th.

From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, &c. To Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., Commanding the Forces.

Lucknow, 16th October 1857.

SIR,—On the 25th ultimo Colonel Campbell reported to you, that he, with a small party of the 90th not exceeding 100 men and almost all the wounded, the heavy guns, and a large number of ammunition waggons, were in the walled passage in front of the Motee Munzil palace, which position he should be obliged to hold for the night, as he was invested by the enemy, and could not advance without reinforcements.

On the morning of the 26th, a detachment of 250 men, under command of Major Simmons, 5th fusiliers, and part of the Ferozepore regiment, under Captain Brasyer, were sent by your orders to reinforce Colonel Campbell, under the guidance of Captain Moorsom.

They had judiciously occupied a house and garden between Colonel Campbell's position and the palace; but as they were unable to move from their position, I received your orders to proceed to their assistance, with a further reinforcement of 100 men of H. M.'s 78th Highlanders, under Colonel Stisted,

and two guns of Captain Olpherts' battery and Captain Hardinge's sowars.

Captain Olpherts strongly objected to his guns being taken, and on considering the reason that he offered, I took it upon myself to dispense with them, merely taking spare bullocks. Captain Olpherts accompanied me as a volunteer. As I had reason to believe that I could open a communication through the palace, which would bring me near the position of the guns, I took Mr. Cavanagh, an intelligent civilian acquainted with the locality, and examined the palace as far as was practicable, and obtained sufficient knowledge of it, to form my plan of operations.

I then led the party by one of the side outlets of the palace along the river bank to Major Simmons' position, under a smart fire from the enemy, by which, however, we received little damage.

Under cover of the night, all the sick and wounded were quietly and safely transported along the river bank to the entrenchment, by a path practicable for camels and doolies, but quite impracticable for guns. Captain Hardinge made several journeys to bring up fresh doolies, until every sick and wounded man was removed. He also took away the camels laden with enfield ammunition. One of our 24-pounders, which had been used on the previous day against the enemy, but the working of which had ceased owing to the musketry fire which poured upon it, was left in an exposed position; it was extricated in a very daring and dexterous manner by Captain Olpherts aided by Captain Crump (killed), and private Duffy, of the Madras fusiliers.

At 3 A. M. the whole force proceeded undiscovered through the enemy's posts, until the leading division had reached the palace; the heavy guns and waggons were safely parked in the garden which I had reconnoitred on the preceding day. The enemy were aroused too late to prevent the operation; but made an attack on the rear guard, which was ineffective.

I remained with Colonel Purnell to secure the position thus gained with trifling loss. A large body of sepoys was discovered in a walled garden connected with that which contained our heavy guns, by men of H. M.'s 90th, 5th fusiliers, and 32nd, who gallantly charged in, led by Colonel Purnell, 90th and Captain McCabe, 32nd, and almost annihilated them, securing the garden itself as the rear of our position. Measures were immediately taken to open a road for the guns through the palace; by the 1st instant every gun and waggon was safely lodged in the entrenchment.

From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, &c., to Major-General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., Commanding the Forces.

Lucknow, 5th October 1857.

SIR,—On the 1st instant, I received your orders to take the enemy's battery in the position called Phillips's garden, near the Cawnpore road. For this object you placed at my disposal the following troops:—

Detachments of H. M.'s 5th fusiliers; 32nd, 64th, 78th and 90th regiments, and the Hon'ble East India Company's 1st Madras fusiliers, under Major Haliburton, H. M.'s 78th; Captain Shute, H. M.'s 64th; and Captain Raikes, Madras fusiliers, and amounting to 568 men; Lieutenant Limond, engineers, and Lieutenant Tulloh, acting assistant field engineer, attended the column, with a party of five miners of H. M.'s 32nd, and a party of artillery, under sergeant Smith, with means of bursting guns.

In the afternoon of the 1st, the column formed in the road leading to the Paen Bagh, and advanced through the buildings near the jail, occupied the mass of houses on the left and front of Phillips's garden, under guidance of Mr. Phillips, the former occupant, and the enemy were driven from some houses and a barricade on the left of our advance, by fifty men of the Madras fusilliers, led by Lieutenant Groom, under a sharp fire of musketry, in a very spirited manner.

The houses in front were strongly barricaded, and in many cases the doors were bricked up; it was, therefore, late before we had worked a way to a point from whence we could command the enemy's position. A party of the enemy was driven out, and a row of loopholes was commenced immediately, and the ground examined right and left. Attempts to penetrate the garden to the left were ineffectual; to the right an opening was obtained, which disclosed that the enemy's batteries were separated from us by a deep narrow lane, some twelve or fifteen feet below the garden; the latter was surrounded by a deep mud wall, with buildings attached. The face of the battery was scarped and quite inaccessible without ladders. A heavy fire was kept up from the face of the battery, and the lane was flanked by a strong barricade. As it was dark, and a direct attack would be certain to cost many lives, I determined to wait till day-light before assaulting the battery. The position was duly secured, and the men occupied the buildings for the night.

In the morning, after giving the men breakfast, and arranging with the artillery to open fire from the entrenchment,

the troops advanced. A severe fire was opened from the barricade, flanking the lane on the right; but Major Haliburton detached Lieutenant Creagh, Madras fusiliers, with a party to turn the barricade by the Cawnpore road, which was effectually done. The troops then doubled out through the lane, and forced a way through a stockade into the enemy's batteries; the 5th fusiliers and detachment 64th in advance, under Lieutenant Brown, supported by the Madras Fusiliers and H. M.'s 32nd. The enemy was immediately driven from the battery, and Phillips' house occupied without further opposition. A picquet being left in possession, the troops advanced on the guns which had been withdrawn to the end of the garden and to the streets adjoining, and captured two nine-pounders and one six-pounder gun, driving off the enemy who defended them with musketry and grape. The guns were immediately dragged to the garden and burst, their carriages completely destroyed, and their ammunition sent to the entrenchment. Phillips's house was blown up by a party under Lieutenant Innes, engineers, and at dark the troops withdrew to their position of the previous night.

In all the arrangements I was most fortunate in having the aid of that very able and brave officer, Major Haliburton, H. M.'s 78th Highlanders, who deserves particular notice.

I beg to recommend to your favorable notice Captain Shute, H. M.'s 64th, and Lieutenant Brown, 5th fusiliers, who led the party into the battery, and were foremost in capturing the two 9-pounders. I also beg to recommend to your notice Private McHale, H. M.'s 5th fusiliers, who was the first man at the capture of one of the guns.

Lieutenant Limond, of the engineers, was very active in the duties of the engineer department, and in reconnoitring the enemy's position. Captain Dawson and Lieut. Hewett attended me zealously as field orderly officers throughout the operations; and Mr. Cavanagh, superintendent, chief commissioner's office, accompanied the party as a guide, and was always to be found at the front.

The guns were destroyed by Sergeant Smith with the party of artillery.

The position of this battery was so inaccessible, and the locality so little known, that the enterprise of taking it was considered by the experienced chief engineers of the garrison as one of very serious difficulty. Owing to our laborious investigation of its position which enabled us to obtain command of it from the adjacent mass of buildings, I was able to take it at the comparatively small loss of two killed and eleven wounded.

I have only to add, that although I have mentioned the names of those officers who had the good fortune to be at the points of attack, yet the conduct of the whole of the officers and men was in every way deserving of your commendation; they were most eager to assault the battery on the night of the 1st, but I restrained them, as I was convinced that I could effect the desired end without the serious loss that would have then been incurred.

Their attack when made was carried out with their unfailing gallantry.

It is impossible to estimate the loss of the enemy.

From Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, &c., to Captain Hudson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Oude Field Force.

Lucknow, 20th November, 1857.

SIR,—The chief engineer of the Oude field force being wounded at the time of our arrival at Lucknow, and further prevented, until the 8th ultimo, from personally attending to his duties, by an accidental lameness, produced by his arduous exertions in constructing the bridge at Cawnpore for the passage of the force across the Ganges, there devolved upon me many duties not pertaining to my officer, which it is proper that I should report through you, as I believe no officer except myself is acquainted with all that has taken place, and the course of those duties gave me an opportunity of noticing the valuable services of officers which could not otherwise be brought to Major-General Havelock's knowledge.

On the morning of the 27th ultimo, the escort with the heavy train, occupied the range of palaces called the Chuttur Munzil and Fureed Buksh.

Major-General Havelock is aware that these palaces afford the only shelter that our troops could have occupied, and that as mere shelter they give excellent accommodation; as a military position they have very great disadvantages. The northern face is well protected by the river Goomty; but the east and south-east faces are surrounded by buildings and in contact with the city.

The position was too extensive for our force, nearly all of which was occupied in guarding it; but it was susceptible of no reduction, so that most desirable as it was that we should have occupied some of the exterior buildings as flanking defences, we were unable to do so, but were obliged to confine

ourselves to the palaces and gardens, and to erect precautionary defences against any means of annoyance the enemy could devise. Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, of H. M.'s 90th, being in command of the rear guard on the 27th, I requested him to assume command of the palace garden and buildings adjacent to it. On the 28th the palace buildings extending in the direction of the Khas bazar were explored by Captain Moorsom, who, with a party of fifty men of the 90th and 5th fusiliers, gallantly drove the enemy out at the point of the bayonet, killing a considerable number with the loss of one man of H. M.'s 90th. Captain Moorsom then placed a picquet in a house commanding the Cheena and Khas bazars. On the 3rd instant the enemy sprang a mine under the garden wall, which merely shook it without bringing it down. On the 5th they exploded a second mine, which effected a considerable breach, and appeared in some force with the intention of making an assault; but on the head of the column showing itself on the breach, a well-directed fire from H. M.'s 90th caused it to retreat precipitately and with considerable loss. The enemy also burned down one of the gateways of the garden, making a second practicable breach, at which they occasionally appeared to fire a shot or two. Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell had retrenched both these breaches, which it became evident that the enemy had no real intention of assaulting; but they exposed the garden to a severe musketry fire from commanding buildings on the right, called the Hern Khana; it, therefore, became necessary to open trenches of communication, which were commenced by Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell and his officers. On the 6th the enemy blew up the picquet overlooking the Cheena and Khas bazars, causing us a loss of three men, and in the confusion that ensued, penetrated in considerable numbers into the palace, where many of them were destroyed. They are said to have lost 450 men! The remainder were driven back, but continued to occupy a part of the palace buildings, which had been in our possession. Of these the nearest to us is a mosque commanded by our buildings, but giving several easy means of access to our position. On the 8th the enemy attacked from the mosque our nearest picquets; but were repulsed with loss. In order to prevent a repetition of this annoyance, I examined carefully, in company with Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell and Captain Moorsom, the buildings connecting us with those of the enemy, and we succeeded in penetrating to a vault under their position, where, screened by the obscurity, we could see the enemy closely surrounding the entrance, and hear them in considerable numbers overhead. A charge of two barrels of powder was lodged in the vault,

and was fired by Lieutenant Russell, of the Bengal engineers. The effect was complete; many of the enemy were blown up, and their position greatly injured, whilst we obtained a command over the streets leading to the Khas and Cheena bazars, better and more secure from molestation than our previous one. This post was immediately and securely barricaded by Captain Crommelin, of the engineers, who this day resumed his duties as chief engineer, and the value of his services was immediately apparent. Though our position was improved by this explosion, the possession of the mosque was absolutely necessary to our security. I accordingly determined to re-capture it, and on expressing my wishes to Lieutenant-Colonel Purnell, that officer himself accompanied me with a small party of the 90th and Madras fusiliers. The enemy, fifty or sixty in number, were surprised and rapidly driven out with very trifling loss on our side, and the position immediately barricaded and secured by Captain Crommelin; it has ever since formed a good connection between the picquets of the advanced garden and the quarters of Brasyer's Seikhs, and all attempts of the enemy to molest it have been ineffective. It falls within Captain Crommelin's province to report in detail the various operations by which our difficult position, in close contact with the city, occupied by a numerous and persevering enemy, has been defended and protected.

From Lieut. B. M. M. Aitken, Commanding Treasury Guard, To Captain Wilson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, Lucknow.

Lucknow, 21st October, 1857.

SIR,—I have the honour to state, for the information of Brigadier Inglis, commanding the garrison, the proceedings of a party of the regiment under my command, on the night of the 25th, and morning of the 26th September, which ended in the capture of the Teree Kotee.

On the evening of the 25th, after the first column of the relieving force arrived, I heard the shouts of the second column in the city in the direction of the jail, and thinking they might get entangled in the lanes and might suffer from the guns under the clock tower, I took twelve armed sepoys of the regiment, with pick-axes and shovels, for the purpose of clearing away, if possible, the battery under the clock tower. We got over without opposition, as the head of the second relieving column was by this time in the lane and close up to the guns. As I thought this a good opportunity to occupy at least

a portion of the Teree Kotee, I took upon myself the responsibility to take the sepoys through a door made in the wall by the insurgents. We advanced some distance quietly without meeting any one. At last in a court-yard we came upon a small body, eight in number, and took them prisoners, without firing a shot. I left the sepoys in charge of a havildar in this court-yard for the night, and reported the circumstance for the information of Brigadier Inglis, who ordered me to occupy the Teree Kotee with a stronger body in the morning.

Early next morning, we advanced to the bank of the river, and shot a few of the insurgents who attempted to swim the river. At this time I observed a body of men on the top of a building with a gateway. We attempted to get in by breaking in the principal gate, which was barricaded; but found this impossible. Havildar Ramnarain Pande, however, succeeded in breaking down one of the small doors at the side of the gate, and was the first man who made an entrance. We killed some five or six men in the gateway, the others having got into the rooms above, and on the terraces which ran towards the Fureed Buksh. A party of the 32nd came up at this time under a serjeant, and some twenty-five men altogether were shot and bayonetted. We had two sepoys wounded, and one man of the 32nd was killed. I ought to mention that Captain Lowe, of H. M.'s 32nd, arrived with some men after we had got into the rooms, he having been employed in driving the insurgents out of the Captain's bazar. All the sepoys behaved well, and I beg to bring to the notice of the brigadier the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Cubitt, who was most forward throughout the affair.

Unfortunately three of our sepoys were wounded by the Europeans of the second relieving column on the night of the 25th after we got over the battery under the clock tower, they having been mistaken for insurgents.

From Captain E. W. D. Lowe, Comdg. H. M.'s 32nd Regt., To Brigadier J. Inglis, Comdg. Lucknow Garrison.

City Residency, Lucknow, Sept. 27, 1857.

SIR,—I have the honor to acquaint you that, agreeably to your instructions, I proceeded yesterday morning in command of 150 men of the 32nd regiment for the purpose of clearing the Captain's bazar and adjoining posts occupied by the enemy.

The party was in three divisions;—the first, under Captain Bassano on the right; the second, in reserve, under Captain Hughes, 57th N. I., (attached to the regiment); and the third,

under Lieut. Lawrence. The first and second advanced under cover of the thick bushes between our trenches and the road, whilst the third, passing through Innes's outpost, came out on the road through the houses in front, taking two small guns as they entered it, and which they dismounted from their carriages. The enemy were taken quite by surprise, and fled precipitately to the river, leaving a six-pounder gun in the road. They were pursued by our men, and were nearly all shot or drowned in endeavouring to swim the river. Lieutenant Lawrence then led his party towards the iron bridge, and most gallantly succeeded in capturing a 9-pounder gun, just as a second round of grape was about to be fired at them. This gun having been brought away they returned, and we took possession of the ruined mosque, and clearing the Captain's bazar, killed some of the enemy there, and captured an 18-pounder gun and four small guns (two of them without carriages.)

I then proceeded to the Teree Kotee with part of the men; but found it unoccupied. A gate by the river leading into the Furah Buksh palace was then forced, and several of the enemy inside killed. We were here met by a party of the 13th N. I., under Lieutenant Aitken, who had come in by another entrance. Having your orders not to proceed further in this direction I withdrew the men.

Captain Hughes had, in the meantime, led a party again towards the iron bridge, and, killing a great number of the enemy in the houses about, spiked two large mortars, which, however, he was unable to bring away. He was, I regret to say, dangerously wounded whilst forcing the door of a house. As the party retired, they blew up a large magazine of the enemy's powder.

The objects contemplated having been obtained not without loss, as the adjoining return will show, I withdrew the party to the residency, leaving guards at the ruined mosque and Teree Kotee.

From Captain M Galwey, Commanding 1st Madras Fusiliers. To the Deputy Assistant Adjutant General.

Lucknow, November 1857.

SIR,—In reply to your letter dated 4th November 1857, I have the honor to state as follows.

About 2 P. M., on the 27th September 1857, the Madras fusiliers were ordered to parade for a sortie under command of Major Stephenson, commanding the same regiment, for

the purpose of taking some guns in the enemy's Cawnpore battery.

The regiment was told off in three divisions, the strength of it not admitting of a larger number, Captain Fraser had command of No. 1, Captain Galwey of No. 2, and Captain Raikes of No. 3, division; Lieutenant and Adjutant Gosling, Lieutenants Beaumont and Cleland, and Lieutenant the Hon'ble J. Fraser, 1st B. N. I., *d. d.* with the fusiliers, fell in with the regiment. A few men of H. M.'s 32nd regiment, under Lieutenant Warner, 7th B. C Captain Kemble, 41st B. N. I., Lieutenant Huxham, 48th B. N. I., Lieutenant Anderson, Bengal engineers, and Lieutenant Mecham, 27th M. N. I., accompanied the party.

The party proceeded in strict silence out of the Bailey gate to the garden opposite, and passed through a door to the right, about half way down to the garden, which led through bye-paths till it reached the road, at which place there was a considerable street fire from loop-holes and from the tops of houses and from the guns of the enemy in position. A charge was made at the nearest gun, through long grass ruins, small breaches in walls, and a broad ditch. Our men entered by the embrasure, and the enemy immediately abandoned this gun. A considerable delay occurred in making preparations for bursting this gun, which, however, ultimately proved a failure, as some person had spiked it previously and in the hurry of the moment. During this time a party of No. 1., division, under Captain Fraser, proceeded to reconnoitre a little further, when they came on another battery of the enemy, consisting of a 24-pounder and an 18-pounder gun. These were abandoned; but the enemy being all round, and keeping such a fire on his party, Captain Fraser sent back to Major Stephenson to say he required a reinforcement. On this Captain Galwey, of No. 2 division, proceeded with a few men. On reaching the spot, he found that from the number of the enemy (which he calculated from their heavy fire) that the position could not be held without a further reinforcement. The battery was surrounded with high walls, and apparently with no outlets. Captain Galwey returned, and reported this to Major Stephenson. It was now discovered that there were with us no means by which we could destroy or dismantle the guns; so Major Stephenson directed the advanced party to fall back on him, which, however, they did not then do. Captain Fraser spoke in the highest terms of the gallantry of Serjeant Lidster, Madras fusiliers, who spiked the 24-pounder, and of Corporal William Dowling, H. M's 32nd regiment,

who spiked the 18-pounder gun, being at the same time under a most heavy fire from the enemy.

Finding it impossible to burst the first gun, Major Stephenson left a party to protect that gun under a subaltern, and proceeded with Captain Raikes's division No. 3, which he had kept with him to the advanced battery, which, as before stated, was surrounded with high walls. At this time Serjeant Lidster, previously mentioned as having spiked a gun under heavy fire, was killed. Major Stephenson called on some of the volunteers or guides to point out the way to the next battery; but no one knew the way, or seemed at all aware of our locality, and at this time firing being heard in our rear, Major Stephenson was compelled to retire by the way we came, it being quite impossible to go forward without guides. The three guns were left spiked, owing to want of means to destroy them. On the return of the party, it was exposed to a very destructive fire from the enemy, from the tops of houses and loop-holes, and from want of means it was most difficult to take away our killed and wounded. One serjeant, severely wounded, and since dead, must have been left on the ground, had not a private of the 32nd regiment, in the most gallant manner, with the assistance of Captain Galwey, taken him up and carried him to a place of safety. Lieutenant Huxham 48th B. N. I., was wounded.

From Lieut. A. C. Warner, Adjutant 7th Light Cavalry, to Captain Wilson, Offg. Depy. Assistant Adjutant General, Lucknow Garrison.

Lucknow, 7th November, 1857.

Sir,—Agreeably to instructions received, I have the honor to report as follows.

In consequence of there being no available officers with Her Majesty's 32nd regiment, I was selected to command a party of that corps on the 27th September in a sortie for the purpose of capturing some of the enemy's guns, in a battery opposite to our Cawnpore battery.

We paraded about 2 P. M. with the Madras fusiliers, and marched out of the Bailey guard gate, my party in advance, the whole under command of Major Stephenson, of the Madras fusiliers. We proceeded through the "Teree Khotee," across the road in rear of the clock tower, and then took ground to our right. Immediately we had crossed the road, we became exposed to the enemy's fire, and made a rush across a large court-yard through a door-way to our right. After

passing through a succession of narrow streets and holes in the walls, we arrived at the Cawnpore road. We then came on one of the enemy's guns, which was firing grape down the Cawnpore road. I took my party to one side of the embrasure, and on receiving the word of command, we rushed in headed by Major Stephenson. The enemy abandoned their gun, and a naick of the 13th regiment, Kalka Tewaree, spiked it. We then endeavoured to burst it; but owing to the absence of water and other materials failed.

While we were attempting to burst this gun, a party of men under Captain Fraser, of the Madras fusiliers, went on to another battery of the enemy's which was further in advance.

Shortly after this, the party under my command went with Captain Galwey and some of his men to reinforce Captain Fraser. On arriving near his position, we found the enemy in great force on all sides of us, keeping up a very heavy fire. We then retreated, by order of Major Stephenson, on the main body. One of the Madras fusilier serjeants being badly wounded, captain Galwey, Lieut. Mecham, 27th Madars native infantry, private Smith, H. M.'s 32nd, and myself, with great difficulty, managed to get him back to the main body. This private was I regret to say, killed in the retreat. Major Stphenson then ordered us to retreat, which was down by the same route by which we had advanced. During the retreat, we were exposed to a heavy fire from the houses. The conduct of Corporal Cooney and Private Smith, of the 32d, who were both killed, was most noble.

Memorandum regarding the Sortie of the 27th September.

Chuttur Munzil, 8th Nov. 1857.

On the 26th September I was warned by Brigadier Inglis to lead a party from the brigade mess, and having taken the guns in its front, to circle leftwards, taking or destroying all the guns on the way till we should reach our own position at the jail or Teree Kotee. The party, however, that was told off for this purpose on the 26th, was required to help in the heavy guns and rear guard from the motee mehal, and the sortie was therefore temporarily deferred.

2. Having next morning mentioned the proposed sortie to Lieut. Anderson, garrison engineer, at the Fureed Buksh, he stated his opinion of the advisability of the sortie debouching from the jail and going in rear of the square house and proceeding thence in a direction parallel to the road, by which plan we would start fair from our own ground, probably hit on the enemy's usual route, and take the guns in rear.

3. The sortie having been re-arranged for the afternoon of the 27th, Lieut. Anderson proposed to guide it himself. The party was (as I learnt on reaching the first house attacked) commanded by Major Stephenson, of the Madras fusiliers, and the party to explode the guns consisted of artillerymen under the command of Captain Evans. Two sepoys of the 13th N. I. accompanied us, under my orders, with picks, to help in knocking down obstacles, should it be necessary.

4. Lieut. Anderson lead the party out by the Teree Kotee and jail, and rear of the square house to the building now forming the left of the Highlanders' position. The enemy being in possession of it, it was attacked; but the party never appeared to enter the rooms and clear them; it only remained in or rushed through the court-yards and passages, shooting or bayonetting such of the enemy as voluntarily came out.

5. The correct place for debouching from the house was on the same side, only further advanced, as that at which we had entered it, and, as I afterwards found, Lieut. Anderson was waiting there to lead the men out, as soon as they should have taken possession of the house. But waiting for no guidance, they left the house at the point which they reached on rushing through it, and immediately found themselves on the road. Hearing a call for an engineer officer, I went forward, and found the party on the road in front of an embrasure, which was shortly afterwards charged, and the gun taken. Not forty men were present for the first ten minutes, and although Captain Evans and my two sepoys were there, the rest of the explosion party were among the absentees. After waiting ten minutes, and Major Stephenson getting impatient, Captain Evans, hopeless of the arrival of the bursting party and material, spiked the gun. This was no sooner done than they arrived, and the subsequent attempt to blow up the gun was a failure, from the vent being filled up by the spike. During the attempt to burst the gun, an officer (Captain Galwey I believe) came to report the capture of two other guns, the spiking of one of them, and the necessity for reinforcement. Major Stephenson having advanced towards them, asked me where we were, and what was to be done. As to what was to be done, on enquiry from Captain Evans it appeared that the men had drunk all the water reserved to moisten the clay to tamp the guns, that in fact he could not burst them, and there were no spikes present with which to spike them. I therefore said that, wherever we might go, we could destroy no more guns, and that consequently to return to the entrenchment seemed to me advisable. As to the where we were, I said, I thought we were at the battery on the left

of the Cawnpore road, which opinion was also expressed by Mr. Cavanagh. Mr. Phillips, our real guide, could give no opinion at all. To make certain of the locality, I told Major Stephenson I would cross the road and reconnoitre, which I accordingly did, and found that my conjecture had been correct. On my returning, the party had commenced its return to the entrenchments, which it effected by nearly the same route as that by which it had advanced.

The party which remained with Lieut. Anderson, at the house first attacked, prevented the enemy still on it from doing us much injury on our return, otherwise our loss might have been most serious. The separation of the whole party into the two bodies, which was the previous cause of the failure in destroying the guns, is entirely attributable to an advance having been made from that house without the direction of the proper guide.

J. McLEOD INNES, *Lieut., Engineers.*

NOTE.—This sortie was designed to attack the garden battery, and it appears from the experience gained in a subsequent attack (1st, 2nd and 3rd November) that the strength of the party was quite inadequate to accomplish the object required. The real cause of the failure in bursting the guns, instead of spiking that which was taken possession of, appears to have been the delay in bringing up the bursting party.

Had the house alluded to by Lieut. Innes been taken possession of, instead of being nearly passed through, and measures taken to reconnoitre the ground in advance before the party proceeded, it is probable that the result would have been more satisfactory, and that at all events the captured guns would have been effectually destroyed; but without a much larger body of men, the complete conquest and destruction of the whole garden battery could not have been accomplished.

From Major C. Apthorp, Commanding the Reserve, to Captain Anderson, Engineers.

Lucknow, 20th October, 1857.

SIR,—Agreeably to your request, I have the honor to forward a report of the proceedings of the party, under my command, during the sortie of the 29th ultimo. We assembled in the third Seikh square, a little before day-break, as a reserve, to an attacking party, under command of Captain Hardinge, who, when he had taken the guns in front of the brigade mess, advanced to his right to take a gun situated in a strong position in the middle of a lane, to the left front of Mr. Gubbins's house. He placed his men in a flanking position, and came to me for a party to advance and take some houses to the right and left of the lane, from which there was a heavy fire. I advanced through the breach in the Seikh square, with Lieutenant Ouseley, 48th regiment N. I., Lieut. the hon'ble J. Fraser, and thirty-five men, and led them up the lane to the front of the enemy's stockade. I took up a position

with four or five men, and fired on several of the enemy who were trying to escape. Lieutenant Ouseley, the hon'ble J. Fraser, and several men, got over the stockade, and the party under Captain Hardinge, came forward, and the gun, a six-pounder, pointed towards him, was taken possession of. One of our men was killed as we reached the stockade, and one wounded a short time after. Fourteen or fifteen of the enemy were killed, nine of them in two huts to the right and left of the lane. I left this party of the reserve under command of the hon'ble J. Fraser, and went back to the remainder of the reserve, which I found had advanced from the Seikh square, under Captain Galwey, and we proceeded down the lane and took up forward positions in a house which Captain Forbes, 1st light cavalry and his Seik orderly, had examined and reported empty. There was a strong party of the enemy to our left front, who kept up a heavy fire. I placed part of the men under Captain Galwey in front of the house; another party, under captain Forbes, took possession of the upper story of the house; and I detached a third party to take possession of a barricade across the street a little to our right front. Our loss here was one killed and one wounded. Five or six of the men from this position got into a large house still further in advance, and I went and examined the house, and found, after getting into the lower story, that the enemy had begun two mines, the shafts of which were sunk to a considerable depth. I reported this to Lieut. Innes, the executive engineer, who, on examination, decided on blowing them up. Being short of men, I ordered a party of ten, under Serjeant Major Donovan, to come down our centre bastion and occupy the house where the mines were. He remained in charge till the mines were blown up. During the time I was thus occupied, Lieutenant Ouseley rendered great service, by capturing a gun, which had checked the advance of the party to which he was attached, by being planted at the end of a very narrow lane, about sixty or seventy yards long. Lieut. Ouseley, accompanied by Serjeant Higgins and four men of the 1st Madras fusiliers, went through a number of houses and narrow passages, to the right of the lane, and finding their further progress stopped by a very high and steep bastion, where they distinctly heard the voices of the enemy, they ascended it, led by the above-named officer, found it unoccupied, and rushed across it into a house, from which they fired down upon and killed two out of some forty men assembled below them; and raising a cheer, routed the enemy and took possession of the gun, without losing a man, or giving the enemy the power of discharging the piece, to which

drag-ropes were attached to enable the enemy to pull it round the nearest corner, should we attempt to charge it. A party of eight or ten men, from Captain Galwey's position, under Lieut. Cleveland, reinforced Lieut. Ouseley, and after the gun had been removed, they retired, and the bastion was blown up. Afterwards two small guns were found in a lane close to this battery, and taken possession of by Lieuts. Ouseley and Aitken, 13th regiment N. I. The three were dismantled from their carriages and were sent into the garrison, and the carriages broken up and burnt. Our loss at this point was one killed and two wounded—one of the latter, Mr. Lucas, whose zeal and gallantry on every occassion during the siege, every one has heard of. About eleven o'clock we returned into garrison, having examined and cleared the guns from the whole of the front of Mr. Gubbins's house. We had not time or men to examine the houses in front of our centre bastion, which I much regret, as there are constant reports from the men, that mining is going on; but I have no good reason to suppose so, as I have invariably, when called, found the houses unoccupied, and heard no noises that would lead me to suppose that mining was going on.

From Lieutenant J. C. Anderson, Garrison Engineer, to Colonel R. Napier, Military Secretary, &c.

Lucknow, 19th October 1857.

Sortie on the 29th September, from the Left Square Brigade Mess, for the object of destroying the enemy's guns left in front of Brigade Mess, in front of Cawnpore Battery, and on the left of Cawnpore road.

This sortie proceeded simultaneously with two others—one from the Seikh Square to the right of the brigade mess, and another from the Redan towards the iron bridge, led by Captain McCabe, H. M.'s 32nd regiment, with a few of the men of his regiment, who had, during the siege, been on duty on the posts opposite the position to be attacked. The whole strength of the sortieing party was 200 men, with a reserve of 150 men.

At day light the party issued from an opening in the brigade mess wall, and formed up under cover of a wall which runs parallel to the other at the distance of a few paces. The advance was then made in file, the men having to scramble over the debris of a house which had been blown down on a former occasion, and a rush made direct on the enemy's gun, 18-pounder, which lay behind a breast-work,

at the distance of eighty yards from the brigade mess. The gunners fired two rounds at us when we made our appearance, but before they could fire again, we had scaled their battery and driven them to flight. We then proceeded to force a building immediately to the left of the gun. The lower story was quickly occupied. Captain McCabe, the gallant leader of many former sorties, was mortally wounded in the operation, and some delay having in consequence occurred, a few of the enemy in the upper-story had time to kill and wound several of our men before they were attacked and bayonetted. After the house had been taken possession of, a picquet of twenty-five men was left to hold it, while the main body of our men proceeded along a narrow lane, under command of Major Simmons, H. M.'s 5th fusiliers, to occupy two large buildings, about sixty and eighty yards, respectively, in advance of the first, with several other smaller buildings adjoining; the loss to the enemy in all being probably above thirty men. On our side we had the misfortune to lose Major Simmons, who was killed by a musket shot while leading his men into the most advanced building. We had now progressed to a position from which we had a view of the enemy's 18-pounder gun in front of the Cawnpore battery. It lay in a lane, running towards the Cawnpore road, the end of which was barricaded and loop-holed; and directly in line with it, on the opposite side of the road, the enemy occupied a house from which they kept up a hot musketry fire on our position.

I then sent for the reserve, and desired that an officer of rank might be sent to command the whole party. General Sir J. Outram having become acquainted with our progress, sent word that, unless further advance could be made without danger of considerable loss, the design of proceeding against the enemy's gun, now in our view, should be abandoned, and that the party should retire after destroying in succession the houses we had taken possession of. After consulting with Captain Evans, (attached to the artillery,) who had meanwhile destroyed the enemy's gun, which we left at the first house and also a 6-pounder gun in its neighbourhood, I returned a reply to the general that further advance could not be made without considerable loss, and I proceeded to demolish the three large houses we held, commencing with the one furthest in advance, and withdrawing the party gradually to the rear. This operation, in which thirteen barrels of powder were expended, destroyed the principal musketry cover of the enemy against our defences between the brigade mess and Cawnpore battery, and the destruction of the guns in front of

the latter, together with that effected by the sortieing parties acting in conjunction with us to the right, has relieved a considerable portion of our work from serious annoyance.

The party returned about 9½ A. M.

From Lieut. G. Hardinge, commanding Irregular Cavalry, &c.
To Colonel R. Napier, Chief of the Staff.

Lucknow, 22nd October, 1857.

SIR,—Agreeably to your orders, I have the honor to report that the under-mentioned parties were made over to me to take the guns to the front and right of the brigade mess and Seikh square:—

H. M.'s 32nd regiment, under Lieut. Cooke	20 Men.
H. M.'s 78th Highlanders, under Captain Lockhart	140 „
1st Madras fusiliers, under Captain Galwey	90 „
Total.....	250 Men.

We fell in and filed out of the breach in the Seikh square at day-break of the 29th September 1857.

The advance consisted of H. M.'s 32nd main body H. M.'s 78th Highlanders, reserve of 1st Madras fusiliers, the engineers under Lieut. Innes, artillery under Lieut. J. Alexander, Major Apthorp, (whose report I enclose,) Captain Forbes, and Lieut. Ouseley, knowing the ground, accompanied the reserve.

We formed silently under cover of some broken ground. The first gun, a brass 12-pounder, was taken by H. M.'s 32nd with a cheer. By keeping to the right of the embrasure, we avoided the discharge. Lieut. Cooke and Private Kelly were first at the gun.

The 32nd occupied a house in rear of the gun, and enabled the artillery to burst it unmolested.

The 78th Highlanders, led by Captain Lockhart, who was slightly wounded, then charged a gun to the right. The covering party of the first gun, and a considerable body of the enemy, rallied round this gun. Serjeant James Young, 78th Highlanders, the first man at the gun, bayonetted one of the enemy's gunners while re-loading, and was severely wounded by a sword-cut.

I ordered up a party of the 1st fusiliers, under Lieut. the Hon'ble J. Fraser, to take the enemy in rear, and a number of them were killed here and in the houses in the neighbourhood. Hand grenades used with good effect.

Proceeding further to the right, opposite Mr. Gubbins's

house, our further progress was stopped by a small gun and some wall-pieces at the end of a narrow lane.

Lieut. Ouseley, 48th N. I., and Lieut. Aitken, 13th N. I., took these pieces in flank after a difficult detour, by getting into a house above them, and with a cheer and volley routed the enemy. This manœuvre was most skilfully and gallantly executed. Serjeant Higgins, with four men of the Madras fusiliers, and Private Browne, 32nd, are stated to have been the first men at the gun. Mr. Lucas, a volunteer, well known for his bravery, was mortally wounded here.

Major Apthorp and Captain Forbes, with the fusiliers under Captain Galwey, occupied the houses commanding the pieces which were brought away. Two shafts of a mine were here discovered and blown up.

The batteries and barricades were completely burnt and destroyed. Working parties of the Seikh cavalry, under Lieut. Graham, and sepoys of the 13th N. I., under Lieut. Aitken, did good work.

I enclose Lieut. Innes's report. Under cover of the houses blown up, the party fell back unmolested.

One heavy gun was burst, three smaller ones and some wall-pieces brought in.

Our loss was four killed and eleven wounded, including Mr. Lucas and Captain Lockhart.

Memorandum of Demolitions effected by the Party under Captain Hardinge, on the 29th September 1857.

Lucknow, 21st October, 1857.

The party for demolition consisted of six miners of H. M.'s 32d regiment, with a fatigue party of six men supplied from the troops under Captain Hardinge's guidance. It carried six barrels of powder, with the requisite supply of hose, port-fire, and slow-match.

2. The house that covered the first gun taken, was the first selected for demolition. I accordingly laid in it a charge of two barrels. This done, Captain Hardinge pointed out the two next places which he proposed to destroy. They were houses in which the enemy were said to be, and to eject whom would have been attended with no benefit, but probably with a considerable loss of life. One house being in a dilapidated condition, I laid one barrel of powder against the middle of its outer-wall; the other was strong, and I therefore lodged two barrels against its wall in a similar position.

3. These charges being laid, it was decided to defer the explosions till the time should arrive for retiring, when they

should be fired in a reverse order to that in which the charges were laid.

4. On the capture of the guns by the reserve, I lodged a barrel of powder at the stockade where they had been, and fired it. The demolition was successful.

5. I had thus laid out all the six barrels, when Major Apthorp, in command of the reserve, reported the discovery of a house with mines in it, leading probably to the bastion and out-houses in Mr. Gubbins's compound; I mentioned the want of powder; but Lieutenant Graham arriving and reporting that more powder had been placed at my disposal, I requested to have four barrels sent me. On proceeding to examine the house and mines, I found that there were two shafts, but no galleries. No *mines* then had to be destroyed, only the house in which, therefore, I lodged and fired two barrels of powder, bringing down the side of the house facing the entrenchments.

6. The time for the party to retire having now arrived, I fired the mines mentioned in para. two, in a reverse order to that in which the charges had been laid. As the explosion did not occur till the rear guard was on the entrenchment side of the buildings successively demolished, the inspection of the results could not be made on the site of the building destroyed, but as well as observation from a tolerably short distance could enable a decision to be arrived at, all the demolitions were successful.

Report of a Sortie made on the 29th September, 1857, towards the Iron Bridge.

Lucknow, 22nd October, 1857.

On the morning of the 29th ultimo, I was directed, by Lieutenant General Sir James Outram, G. C. B., to proceed as guiding officer with a column under the command of Captain Shute, H. M.'s 64th regiment.

2. The principal object of the expedition was to destroy a twenty-four-pounder gun, situated on a mound about 200 yards from Mr. Hill's shop, which had been doing immense injury in the garrison during the siege.

3. The party started from Innes's outpost about day-break, and took and spiked two mortars and four zemindaree guns of small calibre, destroying the carriage of the latter. The guns were placed on the roads leading towards the iron bridge and past Mr. Hill's shop, and the column had to traverse a distance of 1,200 yards from the outpost before reaching the last gun. The party then returned about 300 yards, and quitted the road to reach the twenty-four-pounder gun above-mentioned.

It was taken possession of, and the houses near having been occupied, it was destroyed successfully.

I regret, however, to add that the column sustained considerable loss in consequence of an order with reference to occupying the houses in its rear leading to the iron bridge not having been carried out.

J. GRAYDON, *Lieut.*
44th Regt. N. I.,

From Lieutenant G. Hardinge, Commanding Irregular Cavalry, &c., to Colonel R. Napier, Chief of the Staff.

Lucknow, 5th November, 1857.

SIR,—Agreeably to your order I have the honor to report that, on the 2nd ultimo, the under-mentioned party was put under my command for taking the guns to the right of the Cawnpore road :—

H. M.'s 32nd, Lieut. Cooke	68	Men.
H. M.'s 84th Regiment	12	,,
Madras Fusiliers	15	,,
Artillery	7	,,

On coming up to the batteries, we found the enemy had deserted them, and withdrawn one or two guns. They had burst a very heavy gun on the Cawnpore road, and another, an iron eighteen-pounder, had the muzzle blown off. I had this destroyed after burning the batteries and blowing up a large mosque, in which four barrels of powder were placed.

I withdrew the party unmolested, the enemy only firing from some distant houses. One man of H. M.'s 32nd regiment was wounded.

Lieutenant Graham and twenty Seikh cavalry formed the working party.

Memorandum of Work executed at Captain Lockhart's post, from the first possession of it until the 21st of November 1857.

Barricades were at once and primarily erected at all outlets and loopholes cut along all the walls.

Doorways of communications opened between the three main houses, which originally were distinct buildings, and such arrangements made as enabled us to command to the utmost the ruins on the right and left of position.

A cannon-proof barricade was erected across the Khas bazar, communicating with the 84th's post, and an embrasure opened through it for a gun : a second barricade was afterwards placed across the Cawnpore road.

The enemy commenced mining against us on the left of our position, about six days after our occupying the post. We sunk a shaft, preparatory to driving a gallery, to meet them; but before we could complete the shaft, the enemy exploded a very large charge of powder, some ten feet short of our outer enclosure wall, which had the effect of shaking down the wall and filling up our shaft, by the masses of earth thrown into the air and descending into our shaft. I regret to say we lost one man in this shaft. By some fatality, though the men on duty and at the mine saw the enemy's train burning, and volumes of smoke issuing out of the houses, from which they knew the enemy were mining, they did not move from the spot, but merely sent to report to their officer. We were prepared for the explosion, and had the enclosure all ready barricaded off, so that the enemy gained nothing by the mine.

From this time up to within the last six days, we have been almost constantly at work day and night, countermining against them.

Our general success has been very good, having held our ground with an expenditure of but 200 lbs. of powder, and resisted numerous attacks of the enemy's miners.

On two particular occasions our success was more than usual. A gallery, driven from one of our shafts intercepted a gallery, of the enemy's and our explosion completely cut off some twelve feet of it; so that the next morning, on breaking into the portion so cut off, we dug out, or rather dragged out four dead bodies, the enemy's miners having been completely cut off in a tomb as it were, for the gallery they were in was not broken down, but stopped up by our explosion.

In this case our operations commenced from shaft D.

We broke into their gallery some twelve feet from one wall about twelve o'clock at night, and Serjeant Day, our superintending miner, remained below, assisted by others, holding the entrance to their gallery until I arrived.

On entering the enemy's gallery, I took Corporal Thompson, of the 78th Highlanders, with me, and observing the apparently great length of the enemy's mine, proceeded cautiously to extinguish the lights, so as to keep ourselves in darkness as we advanced. At this time the enemy were in the mine at or near their shaft, which, contrary to their usual practice, they evidently wished to hold uninjured. They severally fill them in at once when we take their gallery.

I proceeded, extinguishing the lights, until I distinctly saw the enemy at the far end, and to advance further, would be to advance in a blaze of light. I therefore laid down and waited, as our preparations above, carried on under Lieutenant Tulloch, were not yet ready. Whilst lying there, I saw

a sepoy with musket at trial advance down the mine, and when within forty feet of him, fired at him. My pistol missed fire, and before Corporal Thompson could hand me his pistol the sepoy had retreated. After remaining some time longer, I placed another man with Corporal Thompson, and went up to get an officer down, as I felt it required a very steady man down there to support us. While we were laying the charge, and making various arrangements, which utterly precluded our watching against an enemy's advance, at the same time, Lieutenant Hay, of the 78th Highlanders, then commanding the picquet, kindly volunteered and took up my old post. Lieutenant Tulloch and Serjeant Day quickly got the powder down, and all arrangements ready, when we then withdrew Lieutenant Hay behind the partial barricade we had formed; and whilst here, still watching with Corporal Thompson, he got two shots at another man who attempted to come down the mine, and apparently wounded him. The enemy made no more attempts to come down the mine, but went outside their building, and came over our heads, apparently with the intention of breaking through. After some quarter of an hour's walking over head, they, I conclude, could not find the direction of the mine, and retreated into the house.

Our charge of fifty pounds which I had laid outside our barricade, and eighty-two feet up the enemy's gallery, was soon tamped, and the charge fired by Lieutenant Tulloch. The charge being laid with nine feet of sand bag tamping behind it, and none in front, the main force of the powder acted towards the enemy's shaft, but it took down forty feet backwards towards us, leaving us forty feet to use as a listening gallery. I deduce the enemy's mine to be two hundred feet long and upwards, from the reconnoitring of Lieut. Hay and myself before we commenced laying our charge, and from the position of the house it came from. The gallery had numerous air-holes and was thoroughly ventilated.

I was much indebted to Lieut. Hay and Corporal Thompson in this business, and also to Lieut. Tulloch, who himself also fired the mine—a somewhat difficult task, as our bore being short, he had to retreat some sixty feet through the enemy's gallery and ours, and then of the shaft. Such is a brief account of our mining operations.

The total length of gallery work run is 500 feet, and five shafts, averaging twelve feet deep, with a drain of five feet each.

The nine-pounder gun I placed in position in the house on the left of our position, as shown in the plan, and it was useful in silencing the fire of a gun of the enemy's firing from a stockade up the lane.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS, ANECDOTES, &c.

Opening of seditious letters.

The danger of sedition being diffused through the medium of the Post Office was obvious, and all letters addressed to sepoys were opened at the principal stations. Thousands of other vernacular letters were also inspected, and at many stations the Magistrate became the Post Master. The correspondence showed but too well how necessary this precaution was. The number of seditious letters thus discovered was alarmingly great. The treason was generally couched in figurative and enigmatical phrases. A strange interest attached to those revelations, as showing what the natives really said of us among themselves at that juncture. It was abundantly manifest, that the sepoys and others really did believe that we intended to destroy their caste by various devices, of which the impure cartridge was one; that the embers of Mahomedan fanaticism had again began to glow, and that we were observed to be but a mere handful of Whites amidst a vast population of Asiatics. These things, often before imagined, in regard to natives, were now veritably seen under their own hand, in letters never intended for European eye.

Conduct of Hindoostanees in the Punjab.

The deportation of Hindoostanees from the Punjab was another special measure. The Hindoostanees from the Punjab were bound to us by many ties. We had brought them with us into this, to them, foreign province, and placed half its patronage at their disposal. More skilled in service than Punjabees, they were largely and profitably engaged in every kind of occupation and profession throughout the Punjab. In the various administrative branches, many of the best appointments had fallen to them, and there was an admixture of them even in the Police. It might have been hoped that, removed from the immediate influence of Hindoostan, they would behave as well as the Punjabees. But no; wherever they were employed, they showed a tendency to intrigue against us. There were many excellent instances to the contrary no doubt, but such was the general rule. There is no proved case of treason on the part of Hindoostanee officials of the highest

rank, but more than one was suspected. It is remarkable that there were four cases of subordinate native medical officers turning traitors. At Sealkote the native private servants, for the most part, behaved infamously at the time of the mutiny. At Murree there was strong suspicion against the private servants also. Again, our stations swarmed with hangers-on and camp-followers, who, though brought up and nourished by us, would be the first to lift up the hand against European life and property. The Hindoostanee officials were, therefore, weeded out of the various branches of the public service, and large numbers of unemployed Hindoostanees were sent down country in caravans. Some 2,500 persons were thus deported from Lahore alone during 1857.

The Hindu and Mahomedan during the Mutiny.

I cannot, says Mr. Raikes, give a fairer instance of the difference between the conduct of the Hindus and Mahomedan people at the time of the mutiny, than was afforded in our own Court at Agra. We had numerous Mahomedans and Hindoos with a small sprinkling of Christians at the bar. With one exception all the Mahomedan pleaders left the Court. one of them, Sufdur Ali by name, was hanged by order of Mr. Harrington for plundering the property of an English Officer. The rest gave no assistance whatever to us. The Hindoos on the contrary exerted themselves to protect and secure the property of their English Judges, preserved our horses and moveable property, and did whatever else they could to show their loyalty and affection; the Mahomedans either deserted us or joined the rebels. And so it was all over the North Western Provinces, a Mahomedan was another word for rebel. The only Mahomedan who behaved well amongst our pleaders in the Sudder Court was Ahmed Bux. His history is curious; originally a trooper in the 3rd Cavalry, the very regiment which commenced the mutiny at Meerut, he was deputed to the Court to watch some cause; his extraordinary ability excited the attention of Mr. George Edmonstone, at that time Register of the Court, he advised the trooper to give up his arms and aspire to the pleader's '*toga*.' Ahmed Bux studied, took his diploma and certificates, and became the pleader of the Agra Bar. During the mutiny he showed such zeal for our cause that he was accused of being a Christian, and on retiring to his own estates he still gave such aid to the Magistrate as to entitle him to the marked notice and thanks of Government.

The Loyal Few.

Mr. Raikes gives the following to shew the conduct of some of our troops at the time of the mutiny :—

Major Raikes described the mutiny of his troops of Cavalry thus—

Hindoo Sing Kechi Ressaldar (native officer of the Kechi caste from the neighbourhood of Gwalior) told the Major not to go to the lines, for the men had sworn not to move. He and some other native officers escorted Major Raikes to within eight miles of Agra, crying and saying they were ruined, but into Agra they would not go, for, said they, all the men say we shall become Christians if we go to Agra. The Kechis were all on Major Raikes's side, but were threatened with death to their women and children by the Mahomedans of the Regiment.

In Major Burlton's corps (also Gwalior Contingent Cavalry) the troopers on going into mutiny actually paid the bazaar debts of an officer's servant to the regimental tables to enable the man to go off with his master.

Again, Major McKenzie, of the 8th Irregular Cavalry, told me that his Ressaldar, Mahomed Nizam, (now Sirdar Bahadoor) when a mile or two out of Bareilly in the retreat to Nynee Tal, was told by the Major to go back and look after his three motherless boys, who were left in the lines of the mutineers. The old man answered, "give me your hand;" then looking up to heaven with tears in his eyes, he exclaimed, "I will go with you and do my duty." I must remark once for all, that thousands of the sepoys were driven into mutiny unwillingly, by the bad character of such corps who killed the favored officers in order to compromise their associates, and thus prevent the influence which only would stay the disaffection.

How the Rebels used the Electric Telegraph.

As for the Telegraph, it became a favorite engine in the hands of the village marauders, who used the iron sockets, (mounted on carts) as guns, and cut up the wires into slugs.

The Native Press.

Hardly a week passed, says Mr. Raikes, but some native Sirdar or Chief came to me with streaming eyes to implore me to put a stop to printed attacks made on his family affairs, which he considered ruinous to his honor. Every police or re-

venue official was obliged to subscribe to these ruffian prints by threats of being exposed as inefficient, corrupt, &c. Throughout India this mischief prevailed. In February a native paper addressed the public thus: "Now is the time for India to rise; with a Governor General who has had no experience of public affairs in this country, and a Commander-in-Chief who has had no experience of war in any country."

Feeling of the Native Army.

I regret I have not a copy of my letter to Colonel Curzon, but here is that Officer's reply, and it is not the first time I have been thanked for giving such information. When Lord Hardinge was Governor General, I received his thanks for giving him and Major Broadfoot information that the Seiks were intriguing with our Sepoys:—

Simla, 28th April, 1857

"My dear Colonel,—The Commander-in-Chief has desired me to express to you his thanks for your letter. I should hope that all the men of the 66th N. I. have not the same opinions as those your friend met. I think from what I saw of the 66th marching one morning into Meerut on their road to Almorah, that they have a good *many high Caste Sepoys*, consequently disaffected men, in their ranks, certainly some of them are anything but hill men, tall, thin fellows, who seemed to be much distressed by their march, while the smaller men, evidently hill men, seemed to be as fresh as if they had only just started. There is, I fancy, very little or rather no ill feeling in the Nusseree Battalion stationed at Jutog. On the contrary the men belonging to this Battalion have returned from attending the School of Musquetry at Umballa, fired their quantity of ammunition served out to them, and on the Europeans being dismissed and ordered to return to their Regiments, they also came back to theirs. Since they have been with the regiment, one man refused to live in their society, but he was not a Goorka but a Brahmin, although I believe, a hill man. There certainly seems to be considerable disaffection in the Native Army at the present time, and so many reasons have been given for it both in letters and public newspapers, that it seems difficult to find any good reasons for it. They have however so long been allowed to have their own way, by having their prejudices indulged in, and the discipline in many regiments, I fancy, is so slack, that it is scarcely to be wondered at, that some of the regiments should show signs of dissatisfaction upon their being ordered to do any thing out of the common way.

"There seems to be no doubt, however, that there is a great mistake in requiring the Sepoys to use the cartridges if they were really made of cow's fat, and other, equally to them, distasteful ingredients. The authorities at Umballa seem to think there can be no doubt that the last fires have been done purposely by the Sepoys, but whether by the

School of Musquetry men, or the men belonging to regiments at the station, does not seem certain, and there does not seem much chance of obtaining any clue to find them out at present at least. There have been attempts lately, but I should hope no more fires will occur. It is an expensive amusement teaching the sepoys to fire with the Enfield Rifle, at least as far as it has turned out at Umballa. It has cost, I believe, the Government by two fires alone some 32,700 Rupees, and I take the liberty of doubting whether the old musket in the hands of the sepoy was not quite as efficient an arm as the new one is ever likely to prove. The Government, I imagine, will now be inclined to open their eyes to the great disadvantage of having so many Sepoy Regiments, and perhaps they will think it even desireable to increase the European Force in this country, and decrease the number of Native Infantry Regiments.

I am afraid I have written you a very long letter, and you will be bored at going over it. I hope you enjoyed your visit to Hurdwar. We learn here very bad accounts of the country all about that place, and that the people are dying wholesale of cholera. I hope such is not the case, and that the Fair was as well attended as it was in 1854, when I went with General Anson to see it. It was certainly a very curious sight, and I should not mind seeing it again. The weather here delightfully cool. almost cold, and we all feel the full benefit of it I think, with the exception of Chester, who has not been well, and I am afraid as long as he has work to do, will suffer in health.

Believe me, my dear Colonel,

Sincerely yours,

R. M. Curzon.'

To Colonel Smyth,

Commanding, 3rd Light Cavalry, Meerut.

The King of Delhi.

Shah Alam, Emperor of Delhi, after having his eyes put out and having suffered every indignity from the hands of Gholam Kadir, fell into the hands of the Mahrattas in the year 1788. The emperor although vested with nominal authority over the city of Delhi, was kept in confinement more or less rigorous until the year 1803, when General Lake having seized Agra, marched with the British troops against Delhi. The Mahratta army drawn out at Patpanganji, six miles from Delhi, was attacked by General Lake and utterly routed. The city and fort having been evacuated by the Mahrattas, the emperor Shah Alam sent a message to General Lake applying for the protection of the British authorities; and on the 14th of September, the date since rendered more memorable by the successful assault in 1857, the British troops entered Delhi. From that time the kings of Delhi have become

pensioned subjects of the British Government, and have exchanged the state of rigorous confinement in which they were held by the Mahrattas, to one of more lenient restraint under the British rule. The king succeeded to the titular sovereignty of Delhi in 1837. He had no power whatever beyond the precincts of his palace; he had the power of conferring titles and dresses of honor upon his own immediate retainers, but was prohibited from exercising that power on any others. He and the heir apparent alone were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Company's local courts; but were under the orders of the Supreme Government.

The King of Delhi's Circular Letter to the Princes and People of India.

With the approving sanction of God, the Lord of the Nation! —(*Exposition of a letter written regarding the victory of the Faith.*)

All you Rajahs are famed for your virtues, noble qualities and liberality, and are moreover the protectors of your own faith and of the faith of others. Keeping your welfare in view, I humbly submit that God has given you your bodily existence to establish his different religions, and requires you severally to learn the tenets of your own different religious institutions, and you accordingly continue firm in them. God has, moreover, sent you into the world in your elevated position, and given you dominion and government that you may destroy those who harm your religion. It is incumbent therefore on such of you as have the power, to kill those who may injure your religion, and on such as have not, to engage heartily in devising means for the same end, and thus protect your faith: for it is written in your scriptures that martyrdom is preferable to adopting the religion of another. This is exactly what God has said and what is evident to every body. The English are people who overthrow all religions. You should understand well the object of destroying the religions of Hindustan; they have, for a long time, been causing books to be written and circulated throughout the country by the hands of their priests, and exercising their authority, have brought out numbers of preachers to spread their own tenets. This has been learnt from one of their own trusted agents. Consider then what systematic contrivances they have adopted to destroy our religions. For instance, *First*, when a woman becomes a widow they order her to make a second marriage. *Secondly*, the self-immolation of

wives on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands, was an ancient religious custom; the English had it discontinued and enacted their own regulations prohibiting it. *Thirdly*, they told people it was their wish that they (the people) should adopt their faith, promising that if they did so they would be respected by Government, and further required them to attend churches and hear the tenets preached there. Moreover they decided and told the Rajahs that such only as were born of their wives would inherit the government and property, and that adopted heirs would not be allowed to succeed; although according to your scriptures, ten different sorts of heirs are allowed shares in the inheritance. By this contrivance they will rob you of your governments and possessions as they have already done with Nagpur and Lucknow. Consider now another of their designing plans. They resolved on compelling prisoners with the forcible exercise of their authority to eat their bread. Numbers died of starvation, but did not eat it; others ate it and sacrificed their faith. They now perceived that this expedient did not succeed well, and accordingly determined on having bones ground and mixed with flour and sugar, so that people might unsuspectingly eat them in this way. They had, moreover, bones and flesh broken small and mixed with rice which they caused to be placed in the markets for sale; and tried besides every other possible plan to destroy our religions. At last some Bengali after due reflection said, that if the troops would accede to the wishes of the English in this matter, all the Bengalis would also conform to them. The English hearing this approved of it and said, "certainly this is an excellent idea," never imagining they would be themselves exterminated. They accordingly now ordered the brahmans and others of their army to bite cartridges, in making up of which fat had been used. The Mussulman soldiers perceived that by this expedient the religion of the brahmans and Hindus only was in danger, but nevertheless they also refused to bite them. On this, the English now resolved on ruining the faith of both, and blew away from guns all those soldiers who persisted in their refusal. Seeing this excessive tyranny, the soldiery now in self-preservation, began killing the English and slew them wherever they were found, and are now considering means for slaying the few still alive here and there. It is now my firm conviction, that if these English continue in Hindustan, they will kill every one in the country, and will utterly overthrow our religions. But there are some of my countrymen who have joined the English, and are now fighting on their side. I have reflected well on their case also, and have come

to the conclusion that the English will not leave your religion to both you and them. You should understand this well. Under these circumstances I would ask what course have you decided on, to protect your lives and faith? Were your wives and mine the same, we might destroy them entirely with a very little trouble, and if we do so we shall protect our religions and save the country. And as these ideas have been cherished and considered merely from a concern for the protection of the religions and lives of all you Hindus and Mussulmans of this country; this letter is printed for your information. All you Hindus are hereby solemnly adjured by your faith in the Ganges, Tulsi and Saligram; and all you Mussulmans, by your belief in God and the Kuran, as these English are the common enemy of both, to unite in considering their slaughter extremely expedient, for by this alone will the lives and faith of both be saved. It is expedient then that you should coalesce and slay them. The slaughter of kine is regarded by the Hindus as a great insult to their religion. To prevent this, a solemn compact and agreement has been entered into by all the Mohamedan chiefs of Hindustan, binding themselves that if the Hindus will come forward to slay the English, the Mohamedans will from that very day put a stop to the slaughter of cows, and those of them who will not do so, will be considered to have abjured the Kuran, and such of them as will eat beef will be regarded as though they had eaten pork; but if the Hindus will not gird their loins to kill the English, but will try to save them, they will be as guilty in the sight of God, as though they had committed the sins of killing cows and eating flesh. Perhaps the English may, for their own ends, try to assure the Hindus, that as the Mussulmans have consented to give up killing cows from respect for the Hindu religion, they will solemnly engage to do the same, and will ask the Hindus to join them against the Mussulmans; but no sensible man will be gulled by such deceit, for the solemn promises and professions of the English are always deceitful and interested. Once their ends are gained, they will infringe their engagements, for deception has ever been habitual with them, and the treachery they have always practised on the people of Hindustan is known to rich and poor. Do not therefore give heed to what they may say. Be well assured, you will never have such an opportunity again. We all know that writing a letter is equivalent to an advance half way towards fellowship. I trust you will all write answers approving of what has been proposed herein. This letter has been printed under the direction of Moulavy Syad Kutb Shah Sahib, at the Bahaduri Press, in the city of Bareilly.

Mussourie.

Shortly after the account of the Meerut and Delhi massacres was circulated here, a panic seized the residents.

Janpans, dandies, "ladies on horseback, with short dresses," "poodle dogs," dogs that had been accustomed to be kept in flannel, also canary birds, parrots, &c., &c., all hurried along to the "club house," which is composed of two buildings, at nearly right angles to each other—the one for dining room and ball room, the other for sleeping apartments; in the latter the "fair sex" soon congregated; and *such* a sight as was *never* before seen at the Mussoorie club house, was then presented to the astonished "puharries," who with a grin from ear to ear were hurrying along with the requisite furniture for their "fair masters." The next day this "panic" subsided, chiefly by the brave example of some of the ladies who never left their houses. All precautionary measures for tranquillity were taken at Landour by the commandant. A meeting of the residents of Mussoorie was convened at the club, strange faces might be seen whispering together, others laughing and enjoying the joke of the whole scene, which certainly was "one out of the common." The upshot of this was that fierce looking faces might be seen at any hour after 6 P. M., with guns, &c., &c., alongside of them, and if you were rash enough to take a stroll after that hour anywhere near their beat, you were suddenly asked your "intentions," and if by the cold or any other unaccountable means, your tongue had cleaved to your mouth, you were in great danger of hearing a bullet whistle past you. I heard of one party on horseback, who as nearly as possible was made "cold meat of," for not answering fast enough to the challenge of the enthusiastic watchman. At the other end of Mussoorie, I believe, the boys of the Rev. Mr. Maddock's school were armed, and patrolled round the premises, which they "enjoyed excessively," and called it "a continual night pic-nic." All very pleasant to them no doubt; yet the other party who had their "roosting places" taken from them, thought it too much of a good thing. However the "most timid of the timid," after a campaign of about three days returned to their former habitations.

Precautions were taken to meet any rising among the bazar people. The European soldiers of the Convalescent Depôt were armed and distributed through the bazars, and other parts of Landour and Mussoorie. Gentlemen volunteers also to a large number patrolled the road every night. With an occasional alarm at the native feasts of *Eed*, *Buqr-Eed*, &c., nothing occurred to disturb the quiet of either Mussoorie or Landour.

EXAMPLES OF MAHOMEDAN TREACHERY.

The following are a few of the many acts of outrage committed by the Mahomedans, holding Government employ, from the high and responsible grade of Principal Sudder Ameens (or native Judges) to the menial capacity of peons :—

1*st.*—Khan-Bahadoor-Khan (a Mahomedan) who was formerly a Principal Sudder Ameen, on a salary of some 700 per mensem, and pensioned ; to evince his utmost respect and sense of gratitude to the Government, for his high official position (as soon as he had it in his power) hung before the citizens of Bareilly in a most ignominious manner the two Judges.

2*nd.*—The Saharunpore Kotwal, (a Mahomedan) was suspected by Mr. Spankie, the Magistrate, of being in league with the King of Delhi, while at Juggadree, was seized with seditious papers, &c. It was ultimately proved that Mr. Spankie's suspicions were correct, and the Mahomedan Kotwal was hung.

3*rd.*—The Kotwal of Landour Bazar (a Mahomedan) to rescue one of his faith, a Mahomedan khitmutgar sentenced to receive 250 lashes for indecent and insolent conduct towards unprotected ladies, carried his Mahomedan spleen to such an extent, as to try and get all the Hindoos of the place to rise. To effect this, he cunningly and schemingly reported to the Commandant of Landour that a Hindoo temple near at hand, had become so dilapidated and injured by rain, that it would fall and injure passengers, if not immediately thrown down, hoping the representation of such emergency would cause an immediate order for its demolition to be given, without previous inspection ; but the Commandant very properly went to the temple, and to his amazement found it strong and complete in every respect. The Mahomedan had hoped to have killed two birds with one stone, first to have injured the Hindoo under the plausible pretext of " Sirkaree Hookum," (or Government Order,) and secondly he would have impressed all the Hindoos with the belief, that it was the intention of Government to throw down all the Hindoo temples, and thereby provoke them to insurrection against the Europeans.

4*th.*—Moonshee-Tukkee-Odeen, (a Mahomedan) attorney of the Civil Court of Monghyr, and Hajee Ahmud, the Mahomedan merchant, and Allee Hosane (a Mahomedan) Nazur or Sheriff to the Criminal Court, were all convicted by the Magistrate of Monghyr of corresponding with the King of Delhi to the effect, that one thousand four hundred Mahomedans should be ready on the Mahomedan festival, called " Bukra Eed," at the hour of prayer, to massacre the Europeans at Monghyr ; that the rising should take place simultaneously to secure success ; that the report of Delhi having fallen was falsely promulgated by the Government to allay alarm ; that all the Europeans before Delhi had been destroyed by the Faithful, whose valor and courage on that day were beyond praise. These men all held most influential positions, and two were in Government employ.

5*th.*—Ghosh Mahomed Khan, a Tusseeldar in Government employ (a Mahomedan), headed some four thousand Sowars and two hundred

Infantry from the City of Delhi, and proceeded to Allygurh, and proclaimed himself Subadar of that province for the King of Delhi, and zalously commenced making collections.

6*th*.—The Patna Magistrate discovered intrigue and disaffection in his Sheriff, who is a Mahomedan, and connected with the affray of Mahomedans at Patna, in which poor Dr. Lyell lost his life. This man was hanged.

7*th*.—Buckhtower Khan Subadar, (a Mahomedan) had been petted and made much of by all his officers, and all were ready to assert his fidelity to the salt he had eaten, his age, his long service, the prospect of handsome pension were all urged as arguments in support of his fidelity to the Government, and it was considered impossible for the old soldier to be disaffected ; but the inspiration of Mahomedan sacred writ, proved far more overpowering than all the salt he might have eaten ; the one was matter (of kismut) pertaining to the body, the other was a matter involving the salvation of his soul. The old Mahomedan could not resist the opportunity, after having acquired the most explicit confidence of his Officers by oaths and declarations, he began his scheme of treachery and vile ingratitude, but was discovered and paid the debt of being blown away from a gun.

8*th*.—Syud Fuzul Huq resident of Soneput in the Government employ in the Courts of Delhi (a Mahomedan), was hung for seditious correspondence ; amongst it was a regular condensed essence of treason, a letter from the Nazur or Sheriff of the Delhi Session's Court, (another Mahomedan) and a Government servant.

9*th*.—A Mahomedan Ressaldar took Troops from Delhi, and attacked Rohtuck. Bahber Khan, a Mahomedan, and large landholder, (though not in Government employ) obtained Troops from the King of Delhi, attacked and spread disaffection far and near throughout the Rohtuck District.

10*th*.—The Nawab of Jhujjur (a Mahomedan), though not a Government servant, but much favored, inasmuch as he was allowed a large independent tenure, refused to receive some European fugitives, after the Delhi massacre, and when called on by the Collector of his district to render assistance, and put down the mutiny, refused to do so. Notwithstanding one of the most essential conditions of the treaty with Government was that on any occasion of emergency he would be faithful and assist the Government.

11*th*.—Munnoolall (a Mahomedan) in Government employ as a zilladar of a Canal Chowkie (named Channie) in the western Division of the Jumna Canal, aided by his peons, all Mahomedans, named, Muzzar Alee, Gholam Nubbee, Khodah Buksh, Nunna Khan, Chand Khan, and several other Mahomedans, dependents of the Munnoolall, threatened the life of Mr. Goulding, a Custom's Patrol, on his seeking protection and shelter at the Government Chowkie, to which these men belonged, during the Delhi massacre, stating that the King of Delhi would be displeased with him, if he harbored or gave shelter to any European.

12*th*.—During the mutiny at Hansi, a Mahomedan chupprasse,

though only a menial servant, thought he was entitled to, and forcibly carried off Mrs. F. P.; she was an exceedingly handsome young person.

13*th.*—Brigadier Brind's table servant, a Mahomedan khansamah, a faithful old servant, whose integrity was unquestionable, proved at the eleventh hour, that he was a rank Mahomedan, and true to his prophet's mandate to slay the (kaffirs) Europeans wherever and whenever he could get a safe opportunity. This man was the great hero that led the mutineers at Sealkote.

14*th.*—Tooraub Allie (a Mahomedan) a man of 70 years of age, who had been employed in the 60th Regiment Native Infantry, as a mess table servant (kansamah) for a period of thirty-one years, on the rebels mutinying at Rohtuck, set to, broke all the mess crockery, glass, &c., but carefully shared the plate and silver, with the rest of the Mahomedan khitmutgars (table servants) and other rebels of his caste, after which he put himself into Colonel Drought's buggy and drove to the city of Delhi to offer his ("mobarruck bundghee") congratulations to the King of Delhi, on the occasion of his resuming the reins of the Empire of India. Tooraub Allie was (as most Mahomedans are) shrewd and plausible; he was considered out of the reach of all suspicion, being silvered with age, and having eaten the "Feringhee's neemuck," European's salt, for thirty-one years. He was thus far petted and beloved by his employers, that on calling to enquire after the health of an Officer, he was offered a chair, and every possible attention, kindness, and consideration shown him: but the mandate of the Prophet, which is to secure eternity to the Mahomedan's soul, was not to be forgotten, in the winter of his life. He knew his days were drawing to a close, and felt blessed, in having the opportunity of once being able to outrage the white faced Feringhee—the infidel—the unclean eater of swine.

15*th.*—The butcher at Meerut, who had been employed for years as an under-chowdrie, the bravest of the savage Mahomedans, thought he was pleasing the Prophet, and securing salvation to his soul, in cutting from the womb of a lady the unborn infant, and murdering it with its wretched helpless mother. His fears were, that in killing the mother alone, the child might die, but this would not be *slaughtering the two.* Hence the diabolical and fiendish act. This is not the only one of many far more vile and cold-blooded acts, that have been committed by these anti-Christs.

Whist and Warfare.

General Anson had entertained the project of fortifying his camp at Umballa. Having sent a telegraphic message to the Chief Commissioner (Punjab,) enquiring as to the best course to be pursued, Sir John Lawrence, who was at whist, replied shortly—"*When in doubt, win the trick.—Clubs are trumps, not Spades.*"

Sepoy Audacity.

To such a pitch was audacity carried that a sepoy of the 5th N. I. had the insolence to tear down at Roopur (Punjab) whither he and others had been despatched, ostensibly to keep the peace, a Government proclamation, and urged on the Hindoo citizens the necessity of interdicting the slaughter of kine.

In all this extremity of confusion it was casually ascertained that while the Europeans had only ten rounds of ammunition per man, the faithful sepoys were abundantly furnished with sixty! Of the two companies of the 5th despatched to Roopur to be kept out of harm's way, half melted away on their march; some it is said, having well weighed the subject made up their minds to decamp; and with a proper solicitude for their chattels, had despatched them to various villages; but thinking better of it, albeit some had actually started, they had the effrontery to ask for their property to be re-collected for them by the civil authorities, who were solicited to do so, but declined. This regiment on the day of the Meerut mutiny of the 10th of May, violently broke open their bells of arms and remained under arms for a whole day; but were pacified, interceded for, and forgiven.

Lieut. Eckford's Defence of his House and Office at Meerut.

About 6 o'clock, on Sunday after-noon, the 10th of May last, I heard a great uproar in the direction of the native infantry and cavalry lines. It increased and I heard shots fired, on enquiring from my servants and chuprassies, they said the native troops had mutinied, and were setting fire to their lines and officers' houses. I sent a man to find out what was going on, and he returned and said, the sepoys were murdering their officers. From the compound of my house I saw crowds of natives in front of the bazars and also some European officers and gentleman galloped past on horseback and drive furiously away towards the European lines in buggies, &c. At this time a number of the bungalows were on fire, and the noise and musket shot seemed to approach. I, therefore, although momentarily expecting succour from European troops of the station, prepared to defend the house (an upper-roomed pucka building) in which were my office and treasury, as well as my place of residence): at about 7 o'clock a man came running towards me and said, that the mob having killed Doctor Smith (my next door neighbour, whose house was on fire,) were coming into my compound; I had loaded the fire arms I had by me, and as soon as I saw a band of men (with arms and torches in their hands) enter my compound, I went out from the verandah where I had been standing, and having allowed them to advance to within about twenty-five paces of me, I fired with my double barrelled gun and shot down the leader, (who

was armed with a musket) and the contents of the other barrel I let drive at the others. They all turned and ran out of my compound.

The chuprassees and burkundauzes of my treasure guard now told me that the mutineers and mob would return in greater numbers; I, therefore, after having the body of the man I had shot removed, posted the burkundauzes in and over the treasury room and office, and having closed and barred all the doors made ready to defend the building.

I also shortly after determined to send my family away to hide in the garden.

In about twenty minutes after the disappearance of the first mob, the noise of a great number of men approaching was heard. Taking a brace of pistols, I went up to the flat roof of the portico (which was on a level with the upper rooms,) to the side nearest the treasury room, in order that I might deter any one from getting at it.

An old European pensioner and a private of the 60th rifles, who had been pursued by the mob, and sought shelter in my house, were told off by me, after being armed, to remain inside the building. The servants, &c., had begged of me to send these men away, as the mob particularly sought their lives, but to this suggestion I would not for a moment listen. I had hardly reached the portico to be on the look out (it was now dark) when a very large mob of sepoys and others entered the compound and made for the house. When they saw me they commenced firing, but none of the shots took effect on me.

Almost simultaneously I heard a heavy battering downstairs at the back of the house, a party having turned the rear of it. I rushed downstairs armed with a brace of double barrel pistols, and found about twelve or fourteen men in the large centre room, who had effected an entrance from the back; I dashed at them and fired two barrels at those on the right. All ran away except one man, who from his appearance I should say was a 3rd cavalry trooper. He made a rush at me with his sword, and although I gave him a pistol shot (which at the time appeared to take no effect, but as my servant afterwards saw him dragged out of the burning house by the legs, I conclude he must have been very hard hit), he cut me over the head with it (a severe wound), I tried to close with him, and gave him a blow over the head with my left hand pistol (the second barrel of which had missed fire;) he gave me sundry other cuts with his sword. The rifle-man who had been in the adjoining room, hearing the struggle came in, and my assailant staggered out of the doorway; I was bleeding profusely and much stunned, I therefore determined on again going up to the portico and making a stand there.

When I got up, I found myself so weak that I was obliged to sit down. I told the rifleman if he wished to go away and try to make his escape that he ought to do so. I made over to him my double barreled gun which had been re-loaded, and he accordingly ran downstairs; I heard two shots in rapid succession and was told afterwards that he got out of my compound, but was killed by a party of men on the other side of the wall out of the road. This man's name was, I believe, Fitzpatrick, of the G. company of the 60th.

The old pensioner (Chapman) whom I had armed with a spear made his escape previously during the melee to the gardner's house, where he lay concealed and ultimately escaped in safety to the artillery depôt. I lay on the portico for about two hours and more, sometimes insensible, and at other times in a faint.

The miscreants searched everywhere for me ; they more than once came close to where I was lying, but the shade of a tree (it was bright moonlight) most providentially was the means of screaning me from their view. They looked up at the roof of the upper story against which a small ladder was placed, and they evidently thought I had gone up there, but were afraid to ascend. They, however, gutted the house, broke open the treasure chests and boxes, and then having both in the lower and upper rooms heaped up the furniture, &c., set fire to the whole ; I saw the entire building before long in a blaze. They also for a time placed sentries round the house in the hope of capturing me.

I lay on the portico as I have before described for more than two hours, and then when I was conscious, and on hearing no noise or voices of the mutineers, I commenced crawling and staggering by the outer pucka steps which led from the front verandah and portico. I got down below and there met my tent-pitcher who conducted me to where my wife, sister and child were hiding. In about half an hour afterwards a litter having been made for me by my servants, &c , we made our way to the right pickets of the carabineers along the bed of a dry nulla, and got to the officers' bungalows, where my wounds were dressed.

With very few exceptions every thing in the house was plundered or burnt. After the 10th of May I was laid up with my wounds for about six weeks or more, and was unable to volunteer to go out with General Wilson's force to the Hindun, but as soon as I was getting better I wrote to offer my services to Colonel Becher, Quarter Master General of the Army, who was in the camp before Delhi. I knew the country round and about Delhi well, and thought I might be useful. Colonel Becher wrote back to say, the General commanding highly appreciated my offer of service, &c., and I accordingly rode across country with the few things (clothes, &c.,) I could take and join the camp. I had been appointed by the General to be attached to the Quarter Master General's Department ; I also carried on the duties of Executive Engineer of the 6th Division, Grand Trunk Road, except when making road inspections. I was with the Delhi force and engaged in the seige. On the day of the assault I attended Major Reid as his staff, and was with his column, the fourth in the attack on Kishengunge. Our column of 800 regular troops (Europeans and natives) was opposed by, it is said, 10,000 of the enemy ; our loss was about 300 and nearly two-thirds of the European officers. Although I was with the advanced sections of the column, I escaped with only a trifling contusion on the right leg, my cap was flattened by a blow from the butt end of a musket, which one of the enemy struck at me, but my head was saved by the top of the wall.

The fire was the hottest I was ever under. Five days after the fall of Delhi, on the 26th, I returned towards Meerut again. For a

week after the 14th, the day of the assault, I was laid up with a bad attack of dysentery brought on by exposure and fatigue.

The Nawab of Kurnal.

Mr. Le Bas, the judge of Delhi, after undergoing the greatest peril, escaped from that city to Kurnal. Soon after his arrival during the interval that preceded the advance of our troops from Umballa viâ Kurnal, and just as the defection became known when we had no military force near Kurnal, and all men watched anxiously the conduct of each local chief, the Nawab of Kurnal came to Mr. Le Bas and addressed him to the following effect:—"Sir, I have spent a sleepless night in meditating on the state of affairs; I have decided to throw in my lot with yours—my sword, my purse, and my followers are at your disposal."

So well did he act up to this engagement thus made, that after the fall of Delhi a testimonial was put into his hand by Mr. Le Bas, equally honorable to both. As a mark of regard the judge gave the Nawab his favourite horse and a letter of thanks for his public services.

Rebel Newspapers.

A newspaper lithographed by the rebels during the time that our troops were before Delhi, and dated to correspond with our 23rd August, 1859, contains a leading article from which the following extract will suffice:—

"Punjab.—Although it appears by report of travellers from Lahore, that the murder and destruction of the impure infidels has taken place, yet some eye-witnesses declare that they hold forts and may be seen moving about during the day time, and in short they have not been so thoroughly swept away, as by the favor of God, has been the case to the eastward. Still there is not a question that the government of the infidels is over in the Punjab and elsewhere. But they receive supplies from the Maharaja of Putialee, who above all ungrateful men assists and supports them. Therefore a force should be sent out against him, &c., &c.

The Ghoorkhas.

The anxiety, with which these brave little Nepalese were watched in their first encounter, was intense. The mutineers came out of Delhi and advanced towards the Goorkha post, calling out, "You will not fire at us, we are all of one caste, we are your brothers and friends." The Goorkhas made no demonstration until the sepoys had come close up to them, when they quieted them with a volley, a cheer and a rush, kookree in hand, which put all future ideas of fraterinzation out of the question.

FRANCOIS SISTEN'S STORY.

In the service of the Begum Sombre at Sirdhanah were several foreigners, French, Italians, and Germans. They appear to assimilate more readily with the people of the country they inhabit than Englishmen, and most of them had half-caste families at Sirdhanah. These descendants are Roman Catholic Christians, whose interests being identical with our own, have often been found useful in subordinate police posts. One of these, François Sisten, was, before the mutiny, Thanadar or Police Inspector, at Seetapore in Oude. He had got three months' leave, came to see his family in Meerut and some friends in Saharunpore, and called on the joint-magistrate of that place, Mr. R. Edwardes, to pay his respects. He was sitting native fashion in an ante-room of Mr. Edwardes' house with other police *employés*, when a Mussulman Tehsildar of the Bijnour district entered the room. Sisten was dressed, as usual, in native clothes; he buttoned his mirzaie (a sort of jacket) on the left breast, as Mussulmans do, the Hindoos buttoning it on the right. He appeared, in fact, to be a Mussulman, and, as the Tehsildar glanced at him, he inquired what service he held, and where. Sisten replied, he was a Thanadar on leave from Oude. "What news from Oude?" said the Tehsildar; "how does the work progress, brother?" "If we have work in Oude, your Highness will know it well," replied Sisten, who inherited a good deal of Hindoostance suspicion, and made the Tehsildar thus think him not ignorant but cautious. The trifling mutinies at Barrackpore, as they were then thought, had commenced. "Depend upon it, we will succeed this time," said the Tehsildar; "the direction of the business is in able hands." Now that Tehsildar was the Nawab Ahmud Oollah Khan of Nugeenah, nephew of the Nawab Mahmood Khan of Nujeebabad, and is, or was on the 1st of May, the leader of the rebels in Bijnour; but had Sisten reported, as he himself says, such a conversation as a matter of importance, he would at that time have been laughed at as an alarmist.

A GALLANT EXPLOIT.

I was returning, relates Lieut. DeKantzow, from reconnoitring, when information was brought me that five troopers of the 7th light cavalry (native) were coming along the road. An immediate pursuit was of course ordered by me, and my thirty-nine troopers tore away at full speed after them. I was just coming up to them, and had already let drive among the murdering villains; when, lo! I came upon two hundred of their comrades, all armed with swords, and some with carbines. A smart fire was kept up at a distance of not more than twenty-five yards. What could

thirty-nine do against two hundred regular troopers, well horsed and armed—particularly when walked into by the bullets of a hundred of the infantry! I ordered a retreat, but my cavalry could not get away from troopers mounted upon good stud-bred horses; so we were soon overtaken, and then commenced the shindy in earnest. Twelve troopers surrounded me; the first, a Mohammedan priest, I shot through the breast just as he was cutting me down. This was my only pistol, so I was helpless as regards weapons, save my sword; this guarded off a swinging cut given me by number two, as also another by number three; but the fun could not last. I bitterly mourned not having a couple of revolvers, for I could have shot every man. My sword was cut down, and I got a slash on the head that blinded me: another on the arm that glanced and only took a slice off; the third caught me on the side, but also glanced and hit me sideways. I know not how I escaped: God only knows, as twelve against one were fearful odds, especially as I was mounted on a pony bare back.' Escape, however, I did.' Twenty-four out of his thirty-nine *troopers were killed, wounded, or missing.*

THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH IN MAY, 1857.

Let us picture to ourselves Viscount Canning at Calcutta, examining every possible scheme for sending up reinforcements to the disturbed districts; Sir John Lawrence at Lahore, keeping the warlike population of the Punjab in order by his mingled energy and tact: Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, surrounded by Oudians, whom it required all his skill to baffle: Mr. Colvin at Agra, watching with an anxious eye the state of affairs in the North-West Provinces: General Anson at Simla, preparing, as Commander-in-Chief, to hasten down to the Delhi district; Lord Elphinstone at Bombay, as governor of that presidency; and Lord Harris, filling an analogous office at Madras. Bearing in mind these persons and places, let us see what was done by the electric telegraph on those two busy days—deriving our information from the voluminous but ill-arranged parliamentary papers on the affairs of India, papers almost useless without repeated perusals and collations.

First, then, the 16th of May, Sir Henry Lawrence sent one of his pithy, terse telegrams from Lucknow to Calcutta, to this effect: 'All is quiet here, but affairs are critical; get every European you can from China, Ceylon, and elsewhere; also all the Goorkhas from the hills. Time is precious.' On the same day he sent another: 'Give me plenary military power in Oude; I will not use it unnecessarily. I am sending two troops of cavalry to Allahabad. Send a company of Europeans into the fort there. It will be good to raise regi-

ments of irregular horse, under good officers.' In the reverse direction—from Calcutta to Lucknow—this message was sent: 'It appears that the regiment of Ferozpore [Seikhs] has already marched to Allahabad, and that, under present circumstances, no part of that regiment can be spared.' And another, in like manner, answering a telegram of the same day: 'You have full military powers. The Governor-general will support you in every thing you think necessary. It is impossible to send a European company to Allahabad; Dinapoor must not be weakened by a single man. If you can raise any irregulars that you can trust, do so at once. Have you any good officers to spare for the duty? All this, be it remembered was telegraphed to and from two cities six or seven hundred miles apart. On the same day, questions were asked, instructions requested, and information given, between Calcutta on the one hand, and Agra, Gwalior, Meerut, Cawnpore, and Benares on the other. Passing thence to Bombay—twelve hundred miles from Calcutta by road, and very much more by *telegraph-route*—we *find the two governors conversing through the wires concerning the English troops which had just been fighting in Persia, and those about being sent to China*; all of whom were regarded with a longing eye by the Governor-general at that critical time. Viscount Canning telegraphed to Lord Elphinstone on the 16th: 'Two of the three European regiments which are returning from Persia are urgently wanted in Bengal. If they are sent from Bombay to Kurachee, will they find conveyance up the Indus? Are they coming from Bushire in steam or sailing transports? Let me know immediately whether General Ashburnham is going to Madras.' The general here named was to have commanded the troops destined for China. The replies and counter-replies to this on the 17th, we will mention presently. Lord Harris, on this same day of activity, sent the brief telegram: 'The Madras Fusiliers will be sent immediately by *Zenobia*; but she is hardly fit to take a whole regiment.' This was in reply to a request transmitted shortly before.

Next, the 17th of May. Sir Henry Lawrence telegraphed from Lucknow: 'You are quite right to keep Allahbad safe. We shall do without Sikhs or Goorkhas. We have concentrated the troops as much as possible, so as to protect the treasury and magazine, and keep a communication. A false alarm last night.' He sent another, detailing what he had done in managing the turbulent 7th regiment. In the reverse direction, a message was sent to him, that 'The artillery invalids at Chunar, about 109 in number, have been ordered to proceed to Allahabad immediately.' The telegrams were still more numerous than on the 16th, between the various towns mentioned in

the last paragraph, in Northern India. From Bombay, Lord Elphinstone telegraphed to ask whether an extra mail-steamer should be sent off to Suez with news for England; and added: 'The 64th will arrive in a few days from Bushire; their destination is Bengal; but we can keep them here available, or send them round to Calcutta if you wish it.' To which the Governor-general replied from Calcutta, still on the same day, expressing his wishes about the mail, and adding: 'If you can send the 64th to Calcutta by steam, do so without any delay. If steam is not available, I will wait for an answer to my last message before deciding that they shall come round in sailing-vessels. Let me know when you expect the other European regiments and the artillery, and what steam-vessels will be available for their conveyance. Have you at present a steam-vessel that could go to Galle to bring troops from there to Calcutta? This must not interfere with the despatch of the 64th.' Another, from Lord Elphinstone, on the very same day, announced that the best of the Indus boats were in Persia; that it would be impossible to send up three European regiments from Kurachee to the Punjaub, within any reasonable time, by the Indus boats then available; that he nevertheless intended to send one regiment, the 1st Europeans, by that route; and that the 2d Europeans were daily expected from Persia. He further said: 'Shall I send them round to Calcutta; and shall I send the 78th also? General Ashburnham leaves this to-day by the steamer for Galle, where he expects to meet Lord Elgin; he is not going to Madras.' While this was going on between Calcutta and Bombay, Madras was not idle. The Governor-general telegraphed to Lord Harris, to inform him of the mutiny, on the previous day, of the sappers and miners who went from Roorkee to Meerut; and another on the same day, replying to a previous telegram, said: 'If the *Zenobia* cannot bring all the fusiliers, the remainder might be sent in the *Bentinck*, which will be at Madras on the 26th; but send as many in the *Zenobia* as she will safely hold. Let me know when the *Zenobia* sails, and what force she brings.' If we had selected three days instead of two, as illustrating the wonders of the electric telegraph, we should have had to narrate that on the third day, the 18th of May, Lord Harris announced that the Fusiliers would leave Madras that evening; that Viscount Canning thanked him for his great promptness; that Lord Elphinstone received instructions to send one of the three regiments up the Indus, and the other two round to Calcutta: that he asked and received suggestions about managing a Beloochee regiment at Kurachee; and that messages in great number were transmitted to and from Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Agra, and other large towns.

The Romance of Mutiny.

We cannot resist the temptation of quoting from a letter on the subject:—

"The account of the mutiny of the 22nd regiment beats any romance; they guarded their officers and their bungalows after mutinying, placed sentries over magazines and all public property, sent out pickets to prevent the townspeople and servants from looting, held a council of war, in which the cavalry (Fisher's irregular) proposed to kill the officers, but the 22nd objected, and informed the officers that they would be allowed to leave, and might take with them their private arms and property, but no public property, as that all belonged to the King of Oude. Their officers asked for boats: the rebel commissary-general, a Ressaldar, was ordered to provide them. He did so, but merely small *dighies*, so that they could only bring away a bundle each, and then they were presented with 900 rupees which the rebels had taken from the treasure chest to give them. When the officers tried to recall them to their duty, they respectfully assured them that they were now under the orders of their native officers, and that the soubahdar major of the 22nd regiment had been appointed to the command of the station, and that each corps had appointed one of its officers to be their chief."

Captain Forbes's Escape.

Captain H. Forbes, acting-commandant of Daly's Horse, had at the same time a narrow escape. He had proceeded to Cawnpoor, in order to overtake and take command of the squadron of his regiment on duty with Captain Hayes, and was travelling up the Trunk Road, in advance of Gall's party, in a post-carriage. He was fortunately seen and stopped by the Seikh Naib Risaldar Sheyresingh, who was returning from the scene of Hayes' disaster, just in time to save him from destruction; for a few miles only in advance, the road was covered with mutineers, horse and foot, from whom escape would have been impossible.

General Neill.

As Colonel Neill is one of the characters figuring in the suppression of this mutiny, who rose at once to the surface, and never sank below it, it may be as well to give some brief outline of his character.

It is told in a very few words, and may be illustrated by one example. Colonel Neill was the type of a resolute, dertermin-

ed, energetic Englishman—a man of very quick observation and an iron will. He saw the true bearings of a question in an inconceivably brief space of time, and acted always at once; he was not to be trifled with when he gave orders: he always knew that he would be obeyed. His character was quickly appreciated by those with whom he came in contact.

The illustration is as follows:—When he arrived in Calcutta at the head of the Madras fusiliers, he was ordered up with a detachment by railway. The train was to start at a certain hour; but owing to some delay on the part of the authorities in procuring boats, a portion of the detachment seemed likely to be a few seconds behind time. Colonel Neill had already arrived. The station-master, addressing him, stated that he was behind time, and could not wait for his men and that the train should go without them. As he rose to execute this threat, Colonel Neill ordered his men to seize and detain him till the rest of the detachment should arrive. When they came up, the station-master was let go, the men got into the carriages, and the train started. A military man who could thus brave the civil power, was not likely to shrink before mutineers.

Sir Henry Lawrence.

Sir Henry Lawrence was indefatigable, and seemed almost never to sleep. Often would he sally out in disguise, and visit the most frequented parts of the native town, to make personal observations, and see how his orders were carried out. He several times had a thin bedding spread out near the guns at the Bailey-guard gate, and retired there among the artillerists, not to sleep, but to plan and to meditate undisturbed. He appeared to be ubiquitous, and to be seen everywhere. All loved and respected the old gentleman, and indeed every one had cause, for none was too lowly for his notice, and no details were too uninteresting for him. Every one working under him, no matter how subordinate his position, knew that, if he performed his duties cheerfully and well, Sir Henry, who was a keen observer of persons, would not allow him to go unrewarded. The uncovenanted, particularly, had a kind friend in him, and with the common soldier he was equally if not even more popular. On Sir Henry's removing the head-quarters of his office from cantonments into the Residency he was loudly cheered by the men. "Long life to Sir Henry; long live Sir Henry," resounded from all sides: and a long and loud "hurrah" continued as long as he was visible. One poor man vociferated so loudly that he brust a blood-vessel—a heavy price for a little enthusiasm.

The Continuation of Captain Tytler's Narrative of the Outbreak at Delhi.

[Captain Tytler's statement in Part II. of the Annals, abruptly broke off at page 135, but we are now enabled to continue his narrative.]

On the men running off towards the city, and yelling out like fiends, *Prethiviraj ke jai*, both Captain Gardner and myself rushed after them, and ordered those within reach of hearing to return to their post; when orders failed, entreaties were resorted to, but proved of no avail; however thirty or forty men of my own company and about an equal number from Captain Gardner's returned; these were chiefly old soldiers that had served with me in Affghanistan. My men having thus deserted, I felt quite at a loss how to act and what to do, for we were perfectly ignorant that there was a mutiny and massacre in Delhi, so strictly did the sepoys keep all information from us, isolated as we were at this out-post. When shortly afterwards Lieutenant Mew of the 74th native infantry came to my post and said, that the Brigadier required a hundred of my men to take up a position near the rear guard of the 38th native infantry, I replied we had not a hundred men with us, and now for the first time learnt that there was a general mutiny and massacre of all Christians in the city, and that the officers, ladies and children were assembled at the flag-staff tower on the ridge. On hearing this, in a moment I formed my plan, collected my men and marched to the flag-staff tower, picking up all the troops in the shape of guards I could find on the way. On arriving at the flag-staff tower I found the tower full of ladies, children and servants; the Brigadier, European officers and civilians were congregated in front of the door facing the road leading to the Cashmere Gate of the city, from whence they expected momentarily an attack to be made on them by the mutineers in the city; in front of this body of officers, were the only two remaining guns of the Delhi brigade in position, and to their left was a cart containing the mangled remains of the officers murdered in front of the church in the city, chiefly officers of the 54th native infantry. The remnants of the native infantry regiments were to the right of the tower, sitting and standing in groups in a most sulky mood, whilst in rear of the tower stood some of the carriages and horses of the officers. After reporting the arrival of my party I made enquiries about my wife and children, for I had given Mrs. Tytler positive instructions not to leave on any account our house till I returned for her, and I dreaded to hear the worst, for had she remained in the bungalow, as I had asked her to do, she would have been murdered in cold-blood, as will be shewn hereafter; but the Almighty had willed it otherwise, and she was with the rest of the ladies in the flag-staff tower. On returning to the groups of officers I shall never forget the sad and unhappy but resigned countenances of all. Gardner and myself were, comparatively speaking, fresh, for we knew nothing of the horrors of the mutiny till Lieutenant Mew told us of it, whereas those we now saw had felt all the pangs of an

anticipated speedy massacre, and seemed patiently waiting with resigned Christian fortitude the result of their fate, and that from about twelve o'clock noon, the hour they had assembled at the flag-staff. The smile and scornful look of defiance and exultation in the looks of the natives were unmistakeable and unbearable, contrasted with the meek resigned Christian fortitude of our men, women and even children. The manner in which our ladies helped in passing up to the top of the tower, the muskets and amunition, and in their entire bearing and presence of mind showers the greatest credit on all present. No women in such peril and imminent danger, could ever have been expected to act in the praiseworthy manner, that those assembled in the flag-staff tower did. When I went into the tower, I found that for their better security, they had been sent into the narrow confined stair-case leading to the top, which added to their misery and discomfort, from the suffocating heat of the day. Seeing the helpless position we were all in, I at once decided that an immediate retreat was absolutely necessary ; and particulary after hearing that the cavalry mutineers had left the city and were approaching cantonments from the Subzeemundee side, I went to the Brigadier, and apologizing to him for the liberty taken, recommended and begged for an immediate retreat to Meerut by a ford on the right of cantonments, which I was well acquainted with, having often been there whilst out shooting. The proposition of a retreat appeared to take all by surprise, and whilst it cheered and held out hopes to many, the majority strongly opposed it, considering it would be an act of insanity leaving the tower, feeling convinced that I had been talked over by the men, who, they said, were anxious to get us away from this position, to fall on us at once ; and that we ought to stop, and defend it to the last. My views however differed, and I earnestly urged on the Brigadier the necessity for an immediate retreat, pointing out to him that the few men of the 38th that were left, were composed of the best men in the regiment, and that I felt convinced they would protect us and cover our retreat. The Brigadier, overwhelmed as he was with anxiety, fatigue and the responsibility of his painful situation, listened to my request and told me to ascertain the feelings and disposition of the sepoys of the 38th. I accordingly went to them, they were about 150 or 200 strong, besides men of the other two regiments. I begged of our sepoys not to deceive us but to tell me, would they cover our retreat to Meerut or elsewhere whichever the Brigadier might think most advisable; they solemnly declared they would. I pointed out to them that we had been upwards of twenty-three years together, serving in Affganistan and several other places, the character our corps had always borne, and why should they now disgrace that regiment we had always been so proud of, and join in such foul cold-blooded murders as had been perpetrated this day? I appealed to them as the best men of our regiment, telling them to tell me honestly and not to deceive us, for I stood amongst them, unarmed and in their power, would they, or would they not, protect us and cover our re-

treat ? Most of the men came up to me and put their hands respectfully on my head, whilst with the most solemn oaths they swore they would protect us and cover our retreat, in which declaration all joined, but begged that I should take personal command of them, and that the two guns now with us should be kept in advance of, and near the infantry, for being as they declared they were disaffected, they would seize the first favourable opportunity of firing into them for protecting us. They also entreated to be taken where water could be had, as they had not tasted water since the morning. All this I promised should be done, reminding them of their solemn oath to be faithful to us. I hurried back and reported the result to the Brigadier, begging of him as it was nearly evening, that we had not one moment to lose, but to retire at once, for I had heard that the troopers of the cavalry from Meerut glutted with their spoil and blood-thirsty deeds, had left the city and were then resting themselves and horses near Subzeemundee, prior to their intended attack on cantonments, which would take place the moment they were refreshed. The number of voices which opposed this movement exceeded those who agreed with me, thus naturally causing the Brigadier to doubt how to act, for the responsibility of his position was fearfully great. I again and again entreated and urged the necessity for our immediate retreat, a second and a third time he sent me to ascertain the real feelings and disposition of our men, and the result was the same, and my opinion each time stengthened, that we had not one moment to lose, and that the men would protect us. Still hope clung to that solitary tower in the breasts of many, it seemed to them their only safety, and they could not be persuaded to leave but to remain, defend and die in it. What a helpless situation to be murdered in, which it would have been, had not the Almighty willed it otherwise. A small solitary building isolated from all others, built on a ridge, a conspicuous object from every side, full of men, women and children, without a drop of water, or a particle of food, a frail piece of brick and mortar suffocating in itself from the intense heat in the month of May. The Brigadier, thank God! saw the necessity of acceding to my request, and said, "Well, what is to be done?" I replied, "Put all the ladies and children in every available carriage, the guns to follow with the infantry close behind them, the latter I will take command of"; at the same time I proposed that it would be advisable, if the European officers would keep with the infantry, thus shewing a degree of confidence in the men. This however would not be listened to, for none had any faith in the sepoys with us, having seen during the day the treachery of the others, and which I was, comparatively speaking, ingnorant of. All the officers of the 38th remained with me, as well as several Civilians, and we left the flag-staff tower as proposed, when I had put Mrs. Tytler, my children and Mrs. Gardner into my palanquin-carriage. My pay havildar Omrow Sing, and a sepoy Thakoordeen, both men that I had every confidence in, came to the carriage, and

with tears in their eyes, entreated of me to make my family over to them, and that they would take them to Meerut, by hiding them from village to village amongst their people, and thus protect them. They begged and implored of me to listen to them, for they said, we had not five minutes to live, and that an escape was impossible, for that the sowars had sworn to take the blood of every Christian. I said, "No, I am perfectly satisfied that the men of my regiment will protect us." They then entreated of Mrs. Tytler, to get me to listen to them, she spoke to me, and talked of our children, but I was too resolved; if we were to be destroyed, God's will must be done, but I would not hear of their plan faithful as I then considered them, still I doubted their power of assistance in a case and trial of this nature. I now returned to the infantry column, reminded the men of their sacred pledged oath, and gave the word, "sections right shoulders forward quick march," the sepoys moved off, steadily enough till we reached the bottom of the ridge in cantonments, when two men of our regiment, that had been on duty at the magazine in the city, at the time it was blown up, joined our party, scorched in a frightful manner, a group of at least one-third of our men surrounded them, innumerable questions were put, and replied to, the purport of which was that the English had designedly blown up the magazine for the wilful destruction of the natives, and of the native guard, and that the whole of the 38th guard were destroyed, they only having escaped. I now heard a murmur of disgust and disapprobation, and could plainly hear words to this effect uttered, "let it be so, we will see and taste the blood of the English yet." I was standing next to the two men, as they related their tale, and told them it was false, no Englishman would ever destroy their own guard wilfully, it must have been an accident, they said "no, we saw it ourselves, it is true, and we were all blown up." Many of the sepoys now came up to me, and said in a sorrowful but respectful manner, "where are the guns, Sir, that you promised should be with us?" I told them the guns were on ahead, they said, "yes, they are on ahead, they have gone a great distance off, and we know what they will do to us for following you." Others began to move off toward the lines as well as the bazar, and took not the slightest notice when called. Many of the old sepoys said, "Oh, Sir, see after those guns and get them back, for without them we can do nothing for you." I said, "let me go to the head of the column, and see what can be done;" one or two sepoys said to me, "Sir, we cannot follow you, the Europeans and natives are two, we fight for you, we spill our blood for you, and you treat us in return by blowing up our brothers with gunpowder, go, Sir, go, you have been our father and mother, always kind to us, with *bahana* (misleading,) we will prevent the cavalry from following you; but we cannot come ourselves." I felt bewildered, all seemed now frustrated by the coming of these two sepoys from the city, still my men were respectful to a degree, and I had hopes, strong hopes, that they would remain with us, if I could but get the guns, the absence of which they seemed so

much to dread. I ran to the head of the column, and there saw Captain Nicolls, who told me in answer to my question, that the guns had gone on at a rapid pace on the Kurnaul road. I regretted this, and asked Nicolls if he would lend me his horse, for I was on foot, and that I would go after them, and if possible bring them back. I accordingly went after the guns, and found the last tumbril at the junction of the *cutcha* with the *pucka* road leading to the city, this was about two miles from the tower. On calling out "halt," the men on this last tumbril said, "Oh, no, no halting now, when we do halt, it shall be in the city of Delhi," and they were insultingly insolent. I now returned with the intention of informing the Brigadier of my unsuccessful endeavour, and had reached the bridge near cantonments, when it occurred to me, one chance more remained, and that was to see Captain DeTessier, commanding the artillery, and ask him to assist me in using his influence to bring back the guns, the only chance of the infantry following; the road was now crowded with carriages and horses, and foot-men running, so I returned at a full gallop, came up to and headed the guns. Captain DeTessier was in his carriage, his horse having been shot by the men of the 38th, during the day, and this was the only means he had for going on. De Tessier told me it was impossible, the men would obey no orders, and as we were now on the Kurnaul road, perhaps it was just as well to continue on it, besides which it was now a general flight. I asked him, if he knew where my wife and children were, he pointed out the carriage, I thought they had gone the road to the ferry that I had proposed, but they had gone on with the guns. Never shall I forget the look of entreaty my wife gave me, to come into the carriage, and assist them. I saw it was a general flight, and I wavered between two duties, but my family and those I had left behind, the agony Mrs. Gardner was in about her husband, and her entreaties for me to go in search of him, decided my resolution at once. My wife, I am proud to say, did not even murmur. I told them for God's sake to hurry on towards Kurnaul, andconsigning them to the care of the Almighty, for I never expected to see them again, I hurried back to cantonments. The road now had the appearance of a large fair that had suddenly broken up, carriages, horses, men running and screeching to each other in sad and awful confusion; poor Glubb was sick, seated on a tumbril, on another was Major Abbott of the 74th. I recognised his friendly voice, telling me to look after my family, and shew less zeal, for it was a general flight. His words were too true, he had judged rightly, it was indeed, a flight of all that remained of the Delhi Brigade; still I went on through this confused crowded mass, and on reaching the bridge entering cantonments, I saw Gardner, running and walking quite faint and exhausted, I rushed up to him, and told him to jump up behind me, there was no disgrace now in attempting to save those near and dear to us. The Brigadier and his party had known the worst, so I could have nothing

more to tell them. I asked several of the natives, if they knew where the Brigade-Major was, they did not know. I longed to see him, for I was on his horse. We now saw dense crowds of natives pouring into cantonments, like fiends from the Subzeemundee side, and with a heavy heart went off at a full gallop after our carriage. On passing Holland on the road, he told us, he could not go on faster, his horse was ill and had been bled that morning, poor fellow, he took the Meerut road, and was overtaken by the sowars, and severely wounded in the back, and left for dead by them. This shews how close the sowars must have been to us, when we left the flagstaff tower ; fortunately they were so taken up with the spoil in the houses on the road to cantonments from the city, that they delayed following us up, and then only came up to those that were furthest behind or unable to proceed faster. What my feelings were on this occasion, I cannot tell, God grant, I may never experience such feelings again, fleeing from that which had once been our happy, but now no longer home, with a brother officer behind me. Before we reached my carriage, now some distance on ahead, two desperate attempts were made by Goojurs to stop us ; they saw I was unarmed, for my sword, the only weapon I had, had fallen out of its scabbard and was lost ; Gardner had a revolver and his sword, but from his position and holding on behind me, he was unable to get out either in time; seeing this one man in particular made a dash at the reins, and an attempt to strike with his stick, but failed in both; we now reached the carriage, and I thanked God for his great mercies to us, my syce that had been driving, I put on horse-back, Gardner stood behind the carriage, and I sat on the coach-box and drove, telling the syce to keep near us. We had scarcely gone a quarter of a mile, when the syce was knocked off the horse by a blow from a Goojur's lathee, and the horse carried off, there was nothing for it, but to put him on the top of the carriage, and take him with us ; we now drove at a rapid pace, my object being if possible to pass the next horse stage, or even the one beyond it, before the enormous crowd of fugitives should arrive, and my horse though old was fully capable of doing it ; when we arrived at the second stage, I called out to the syce for a fresh horse, his reply was, very well, but who is the coachman, I said, never mind, but bring the horse quickly; he still persisted in not bringing it, so I went to the stable, when three or four natives assumed a most insolent manner. I called Gardner, he came, and the appearance of his revolver and sword had the desired effect, they gave us a good horse, and we gave them five rupees from the little money our French servant Marie had with her. We now went thankfully, though anxiously along having our dear families with us, but we shuddered on looking back to see the fiery glare and blaze of the bungalows in cantonments burning. I never saw such a grand sight as it appeared from the position we were in, though it added to the horror and anxiety of our feel-

ings. We had not proceeded above two miles, when we heard the distant rumbling of a dâk garry from Kurnaul; on its reaching us, we found it conveyed a lady passenger going to Meerut, viâ Delhi; we stopped the carriage, told her, what had taken place advising her strongly to return at once to Kurnaul, we then drove on ourselves; scarcely had we gone a mile further, when the right front wheel of our heavily laden carriage broke into pieces, to mend it was out of the question, so we got out and walked taking the little children in our arms; it was a clear moon light night; after walking some distance, the carriage we had stopped with the lady passenger in it, again reached us, we apologised, as well as we could, and urging the necessity of present circumstances, we put the ladies and children into her carriage, taking our position on the top, I again drove; our misfortunes were not to end here, for the carriage which we found out to our cost afterwards, was an old ricketty veritable apology for a carriage, now that it was so heavily laden, threatened to fall to pieces, and in less than an hour, the right back wheel rolled off, the axle tree from the carelessness of the nuts being imperfectly screwed, the screw nuts were lost, and it was therefore impossible to secure the wheel, besides which the axle tree became slightly bent, and we were quite at a loss what to do; whilst in this helpless situation, a cart with a lady on it from Delhi, came up to us at a rapid pace, her coachman was a man who understood cases of this nature, and with our united assistance, he put on the wheel securing it with pieces of string, the lady went on in her cart promising to send a conveyance for us from Kurnaul, and we followed driving at a very slow pace; scarcely had we gone a mile, when the two front springs of this old carriage, simultaneously broke, and the carriage went to pieces, we now had to abandon the carriage and walk, it was a perfect wreck, in this way we proceeded another mile, when an empty Government Magazine Cart going from Kurnaul to Delhi, came up to us, we at once took possession of it, placing the ladies and children inside, the two men in charge were inclined to be very insolent, but that we at once silenced, they left us with a malicious scowl on their countenance. Gardner and I had therefore to drive two fresh unmanageable bullocks, as well as our ignorance of such driving admitted of, and in this manner we arrived at Paneeput, prior to this, the two Government bullock drivers returned, and insolently demanded their cattle which we refused giving them. At Paneeput I went to the Thusuldar, and asked him to assist us if possible with carriage, he said it was quite out of his power. No carriages being obtainable, so we went on again, the ladies sitting in the cart, with the little children asleep in their laps, it was now day break in an hour or two we observed a gentleman on horse back approaching us. This was Mr. O'Conner, the husband of the lady we had stopped and brought on with us, he had heard from the lady who had passed us on the cart of our coming, and had at once sent off to Kurnaul for a conveyance which joined us soon afterwards; we now left the bullock cart and told the

drivers to take it back to Kurnaul, they replied no, we are going to Delhi. During the night, we passed a party of the 38th sepoys, returning from rifle practice from Umballa, they did not recognize me, but screeched out like demons as we passed them, on arriving at Mr. O'Conner's house on the banks of the canal, (his post,) we ate a hurried breakfast, and then hastened our departure as much as we could, for there was evidently an unnecessary attempt for delaying us on the part of the Mahomedan coachmen, everything was wanting, or not to be found; at last the carriage was ready, as well as an old cart, the difficulty in getting these two conveyances ready was beyond all conception, we separated our now large party, and went on to Kurnaul, the two coachmen were suspiciously dressed, each armed with a double barrel gun, sword and pistols, and amused us the whole way, with news about Umballa having fallen, that the European Artillery guns had been seized by the native troops, and various other fabrications, advising us strongly to leave the road and strike off to the right; when they found this would not answer, they tried to separate our two carriages, as much as possible, by one driving rapidly, and the other very slow, this however, we soon put a stop to, as we were now, through Mr. O'Conner's kindness, pretty well armed ourselves, this enabled us to keep a high hand with these two scoundrels, and so arrived at the Post Office of Kurnaul, where the Post Master Mr. Maddock, and his wife shewed every attention and kindness to us, and on several other fugitives from Delhi, who now began to come in in rapid succession. I met Captain Garstin, Assistant Quarter Master General, at the house of the Collector he had just arrived from Umballa, I told him the whole tale, he asked me to accompany him to Umballa, for the purpose of making my report to the General, I would have done so, but as Glubb of my Regiment, had also arrived and was ill, I asked him to take him instead, for he could report all that was necessary, telling them if possible to send out a party of European cavalry, to assist the fugitives in their escape from Delhi, for I felt convinced the mutinous cavalry would try and follow us up, (which they did, and wounded Holland,) besides which the Goojurs, who had formed fresh bands, were in reality to be dreaded, as much as the mutineers. After seeing Garstin and Glubb off, I returned to Mr. Maddock, where every preparation was made for the safe escort of our now very large party to Umballa, all the bullock carts and carriages he could get were collected, and we left the same evening for Umballa, which we reached the next morning, here I made my official report to Sir H. Barnard, commanding the division, and to Brigadier Hallifax, requesting if possible that British cavalry might be sent to aid the rest of the fugitives, this was impossible, the state Umballa itself was in, required every available European to be present. During our journey from Kurnaul to Umballa, we were constantly told, that the native troops had risen, and had taken possession of the European Artillery guns, and when an escort of the 4th light cavalry passed us on their way to Thanassur, some of the

troopers called out to our cart-men, "drive on, let them go, they have only three days to live." When we arrived at Umballah, the treatment we received from Major Ewart, Assistant Adjutant General, and from Captain Maisey, the Deputy Judge Advocate General, and their families, both of whom received us into their houses, sheltered and fed us, treating us with every attention and kindness, is beyond all praise. General Anson, and his British troops, began now to arrive from the hills, and the aspect of affairs assumed a more cheerful appearance, for up to this period, since our arrival at Umballa, we were all every night obliged to leave the bungalows, and sleep in one of the barracks of the dragoon lines, protected by European Cavalry, as a rise was expected every moment in the 5th and 60th Regiments Native Infantry. When the first and second European Bengal Fusiliers arrived many touching instances of gratitude occurred, which proves the heart of an European so different to the cold blooded treachery and lies of Asiatics. Their lying and treacherous nature I well knew, having experienced it in every shape from Affghanistan to Bengal, and now that the honest gratitude of the Englishman was displayed, it contrasted so strongly with my experience of the Asiatic, that I could not but forcibly see the difference. I had brought out with me a large draft of men from England, and many of them were in the 1st and 2nd Fusiliers, when these noble poor fellows heard of the plight we were in, several came down at night, and said they wished to speak to me, on going out it was too dark to recognise the speaker, when in a feeling tone of voice he said, "I beg your pardon, Sir, we know it is a great liberty, but you were always so kind to us, and we have never forgotten that—we have not much, Sir, but we have made up a bundle, we are sorry to hear what has happened to you and your family, we have plenty more clothes," and before I could thank and recognize the speaker, the poor fellows had left the bundle and had hurried away. In this bundle were shirts, trowsers, sheets, stockings and every other thing, their little and scanty store admitted of; how different was this to what we had lately experienced from those cut-throat-brutes at Delhi—this was not the only occasion, but one out of several which occurred whilst we were at Umballa. The army now began rapidly to form, and I was placed in charge of the Military treasure chest, the treasury was escorted by a hundred men of the 60th Native Infantry, with their due proportion of native officers; vain and continuous were the shallow attempts of these scoundrels to instil confidence in me, in hopes of obtaining the General's permission to allow the treasure to go on a day in advance of the first troops, saying the crowd was so great, and what danger could there possibly be, when *they* were our guard! Finding this would not do, I was surprised to find the next morning, that almost every sepoy had in addition to his musket, a native tulwar, I at once ordered this irregularity to be discontinued, the native officer said, it was the custom of his regiment, whenever going on service to take swords with them, the Non-commissioned officers backed him in rather an insolent style, but I insisted, and they were put aside. When we passed Kurnaul, numbers of the city-people, chiefly Mahomedans,

lined the streets, the guard of the 60th, shouted out constantly Ya Hydree, Ya Hossain, &c. &c., the towns people taking up the shout, and saying, "go on brothers, it is your fate now, but bring them back prisoners," and whenever an European soldier passed us, the insulting sound of *dhutt dhutt*, like driving away a dog, was heard; there was evidently an unmistakeable and good understanding existing between the towns people of Kurnaul, and the men of the 60th Native Infantry. When we arrived at Alleepoore, I brought these circumstances to the notice of the Major General, (Sir H. Barnard), the guard was relieved by H. M.'s 75th, and the subsequent conduct of the 60th Native Infantry at Rhotuck, is well-known to all, the battle of Badlee-ke-Serai was now fought, the 8th of June, 1857, and on the same day we encamped on the parade ground of the Native Infantry Regiments in Cantonments. Mrs. Tytler had accompanied me, and so had Mrs. Holland, who was most anxious to gain any information about her husband as he was supposed to have been killed, and it was not till after our arrival at Alleepoore, that we heard of his safety at Meerut; it was owing to the kindness of the Hollands, that Mrs. Tytler had been enabled to leave our bungalow at Delhi, on the 11th of May, they sent their carriage for her, and insisted on her leaving the house at once, else she would have been murdered by my khidmuttgar, as will be seen hereafter. Mrs. Laughton, the wife of the Chief Engineer also accompanied her husband. Mrs. Holland went shortly afterwards over to Meerutt; with an escort to join her husband, and Mrs. Laughton went to Umballa, so that Mrs. Tytler was left alone, *the only lady* present in camp throughout the whole seige and capture of Delhi; our little children were with us, and Marie our French servant. God forbid it should fall to the lot of any lady ever again to be present in a camp throughout such a critical time. Our little infant son was born in our waggon on the 21st of June, 1857, under heavy cannonading, and was Christened Stanley Delhi-force, in commemoration of the event. There is a very curious and remarkable coincidence connected with the birth of this child; we were anxiously looking out for, and expecting reinforcements, our losses daily were heavy, and our troops were more and more exhausted and harrassed, still no reinforcements; this little child was born early in the morning, small groups of soldiers were formed about my treasure guard, and one of them said, "Now we will get our reinforcements, this camp was formed to avenge the blood of the innocents, and the first reinforcement sent to us, is a new born infant." Strange to say European reinforcements arrived the next day; the child was always looked upon with deep interest by the men.

After the capture of Delhi, I made every kind of enquiry about the 38th, and the conduct of the men of my late Regiment in the palace, we found several of our Christian band-boys, they had been kept as prisoners, and were well-treated by the men of the 38th Regiment; it seems that the 38th were with the party that attacked Brigadier Wilson's party at the Hindoun, and were there most severely cut up; they were also the principal leaders at Badlee-ke-Serai, where the

remainder were destroyed, or so entirely cut up, that they appear never to have kept in a body again.

Dulthuman Sing, a Subadar of the Regiment who came in command of the rifle practice party from Umballa, was so averse to the proceedings of the Regiment and the conduct of the men, that he remonstrated with them, and told them, he would never sanction such outrageous and unlawful actions, they accordingly looted him and three other sepoys who followed his example, and with ignominy sent him across the bridge of boats.

Issewry Apudia, the Havildar Major, entreated of the men to join the British on their approach, and beg for forgiveness, he pointed out to them, that they had not yet committed any murders, but that they had been misled, and might hope for forgiveness from a merciful government; his entreaties were unheeded, and they put him into irons; however he was released by his party, and escaped from Delhi at night, with at least fifty men before the battle at Badlee-ke-Serai, and went to their homes.

Kulwunt Sing, Subadar of the regiment took command of the 38th, on its arrival in the palace, called himself the Colonel, and A. D. C. of the King, he used to strut about in full uniform in the Dewan-i-Khass, and a portion of his duty every morning was to shake-hands with the King, and assure him, that his regiment was faithful to their cause.

Peharry our big-drum-player, a man who had been fifty years in the service, a most sneaking character, became the principal A. D. C. to Mirza Mogul.

Richardson, a band-boy was shot by a shell, whilst a prisoner in the palace.

One of our Mahomedan band men, is now a bhistie working about in disguise in the city.

The regimental bazar chowdry is holding some situation in the Delhi Police, and has been seen in the city at the end of Lallkoa street.

Thakoordeen, a sepoy who was constantly employed by me, followed us several miles on the Kurnaul road, he then returned to Delhi, and was killed at Budlee-ke-serai.

Omrow Sing, my pay Havildar, and Sheik Bechun, were both present in the palace, the day of the capture of the city.

My khidmutgar, named Shere Khan, a man whom I had treated with kindness, went to my house on the 11th May 1857, loaded my double barrel gun, and waited in my bungalow, in hopes we should come home, and then murder us, therefore if Mrs. Tytler had remained in the house, she would have been murdered with the children, had not Holland through God's mercy, made them leave the house. Shere Khan was seen by Munsub, the son of our respected worthy Subadar Major and Bahadoor, Meer Munsoor-ally, when he asked Shere Khan, what he was doing with my gun, he said the master is certain of coming for some of his things, and I am ready for him; this man afterwards joined the rebel cavalry, and I trust he met with his reward.

Our Subadar Major Meer Munsoor-ally is still at Meerut, he is the native officer, who was president of the Court Martial on the

troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry, he went over from Delhi with Subadar Ablock Doobey, to Meerut, and both have been there ever since. Munsoor-ally is about the best native officer in the service and faithful to a degree, he has served our Government for upwards of fifty-two years, and in consequence of his invariable exemplary conduct, has always been much esteemed and respected by Europeans.

An Untoward Occurrence.

Early in April an occurrence took place, which showed sufficiently the jealousy which then existed in the minds of the native soldiery on the subject of their caste and religion. One of the three regiments stationed at the capital was the 48th N. I. This corps had long been reputed to be one of the finest in the service. Sir H. M. Wheeler, the General commanding at Cawnpoor, had long been its colonel; and for several years it had been commanded by an officer second to none in Upper India, Colonel Colin Troup. It was now commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer. Dr. Wells, the surgeon of the regiment, having occasion to visit the medicine store of the hospital, and feeling at the time indisposed, incautiously applied to his mouth a bottle taken from the hospital medicines containing a carminative. This act was in contravention of the rules of Hindoo caste. No high-caste Hindoo could afterwards have partaken of the medicine contained in the polluted bottle. The native apothecary, who attended Dr. Wells, was unfortunately on bad terms with him, and informed the sepoys in hospital of what had been done. The consequence was an outcry among them, and refusal to touch any of the medicines prescribed for them. Colonel Palmer assembled the native officers, and in their presence destroyed the bottle which the Surgeon had touched with his lips, besides subjecting Dr. Wells to a deserved rebuke.

It was hoped that these measures would have satisfied the sepoys, and that the matter would have been forgotten. But it was not so. The men in hospital, indeed, no longer persisted to refuse their medicines; but the doctor's offence was not forgiven. A few nights after, the bungalow in which he resided was fired, and Dr. Wells escaped, but with the loss of most of his property. It was well known that the incendiaries belonged to the 48th N. I., but as no proof could be obtained, punishment could not be inflicted.

Fate of Mr. and Mrs. White.

Poor Mr. White went to Mr. Sinclair, whose firm he intended entering as partner; but a fatality seemed to hurry him on to his doom. He left for Allahabad the same day on which he arrived, Sinclair accompanying him, reached that

station, returned to Cawnpore with his wife, and, after vacillating for some time between Lucknow and Agra, both which routes were unsafe, it was said, he branched off to the latter town. He was never more heard of. He and his wife must have been murdered by the mutinous cavalry, who, on that very day, had despatched Captain Hayes and the officers belonging to the detachment which he had accompanied.

Narrow Escape at Lucknow.

One poor woman, Mrs. Y——y, came to us, with two of her children, next morning, with nothing but a shift on, while her husband was picturesquely attired in loose night-trousers, a sheet thrown over his shoulder, as a toga, and a helmet-shaped pith hat on his head. In spite of their miserable plight I could not help bursting into laughter at the little man's ridiculous appearance. However, he had shown considerable pluck; for notwithstanding the numbers he had to oppose, he succeeded in saving his wife from a fate worse than death, and availing himself with wonderful presence of mind, of some interruption which diverted the attention of the ruffians for a time, managed to take his family into an adjoining field, where they lay all night shivering with cold and in the most agonising suspense.

Murder of Mr. Mendes.

On Sunday, the 31st of May, a rather tragic event occurred at Mooshagunge, Oude, in the city, Mr. Mendes, an uncovenanted clerk in the Chief Commissioner's office, had, in spite of the warnings of his friends, gone back to his own house in order to enjoy a quiet siesta. No sooner had his presence been made known to his neighbours, than, aided by the treacherous door-keeper in his employ, he was surprised and attacked by these fanatical Mussulmen, who had long owed him a grudge for having treated them with contempt on previous occasions. He must have retreated from room to room, for everywhere on the floor were bloody footprints visible. A hundred wounds in his body testified to the cruelty of his enemies. Two barrels of his revolver were found to be discharged, with what effect could never be learnt.

Incidents of the Mutiny at Lucknow.

Lieutenant Thain, of the 13th, and Lieutenant Campbell, of the 71st, would not allow the mutineers to disturb them in their game of billiards, till a volley of musketry, too much for even their *sang-froid*, at last obliged them to conclude it.

The latter as he passed a sentry, placed there by ourselves was challenged by him. "Hookum durr," cried the man. The word "Friend," pronounced in good English and not

with the Hindustanee accent, as "perhind," had no sooner escaped his lips, than a bullet whistled past his ears within half an inch of him. Brigadier Handscombe now advanced on the 71st lines, with a company of the 32nd regiment. It was dark as pitch, and nought could be seen but the flash of the rebels' muskets. The order to "fix bayonets" was given; and our Europeans could scarcely be restrained from charging without orders. They expected that word of command every instant; but it was never uttered. Colonel Handscombe, still wavering, said, "Do not fire. You might kill friends." Friends, indeed! He paid dearly for his confidence. Giving the order to halt, that fated officer advanced singly to the lines, with a view to address the mutineers, and bring them back to a sense of their duty. He was shot dead.

Our men, seeing their leader fall, advanced to the charge; but they found the lines deserted. They accordingly returned to the artillery ground, where Sir Henry and his staff were. The sepoys had advanced to the attack; but a few rounds of canister fired by Lewin soon made them retreat. Many rebels fell; but the grape, passing through the tent of Colonels Inglis and Case, killed also a number of the servants of those officers.

Major Mariott's Expedition in Oude.

Major Marriott, the Pension Paymaster, had, according to the policy then prevalent, been sent out into the district, ostensibly to pay the native pensioners, but really to try and restore our authority and to report on the state of the country. He was accompanied by two companies of the 48th Native Infantry, under Captain Burmester, and Ensign Farquharson, of that regiment, and a body of the 7th Light Cavalry, officered by Captain Staples and Lieutenants Boulton and Martin. Encamping near a village in Oude, Major Marriott had become aware of the mutinous state of the native soldiery under his orders. Before sitting down to dinner, he apprised his brother officers of his intention to return to Lucknow, at the same time giving them permission, and strongly advising them to do the same. But Captain Burmester said that he had the most implicit confidence in his sepoys, and the other officers likewise remained.

Lieutenant Boulton had already made every preparation for escape, for he was less confident than his brother officers. His horse had been tied to a tree at a distance, and, accompanied by Captain Staples, whom he had persuaded to join him, he arrived safely at the tree favoured by the darkness of the evening. Unfortunately they had but one horse, for Staples had only at the eleventh hour determined on quitting. They mounted the same animal, and galloped off. They were seen,

fired at, and Staples, who was behind, was shot through the back and fell. The other officers were all killed while at dinner, but Boulton effected his escape. He was pursued by seven of his men, and a bullet sent after him wounded him in the wrist. He rode six miles for his life, and, jumping a broad ditch, left his pursuers behind. He succeeded at last in reaching Cawnpore through the whole of the enemy's camp. Lieutenant Hutchinson, who had also been sent somewhere into the interior, was equally fortunate; he was pursued to the very Residency by a few of his rebellious cavalrymen. Lieutenant Bax, of the 48th, commanding an Oude Irregular corps in the district, also fell a victim to the treachery of his men.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE SHAJEHANPORE SLAUGHTER.

[This letter was written at Mohomdee, by Mr. C. J. Jenkins, Junior magistrate of Shajehanpore, a day or two before the persons mentioned in this list were slaughtered at Mohomdee.]

TO THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT N. W. PROVINCES.

Dated Mohomdee, June 2, 1857.

SIR,—I have the honor to report on the lamentable occurrences at Shejahanpore on the 31st ultimo. Mr. Ricketts and myself, together with most of the officers and ladies of the 28th N. I., were attending Divine service, when with a yell six or seven sepoys, armed with tulwars and lattees, rushed in upon us. Ricketts received one tulwar wound as he stood by my side, when he ran through the vestry door, and must have been cut down by some murderers who were waiting outside. Captain Lyshat, with some other officers and myself, succeeded in closing the church doors against our murderous assailants, who ran on the approach of a single man, Captain Sneyd, with a gun; about one hundred sepoys rallied round us, and our servants brought us guns and pistols, &c. We placed all the ladies in the turret, and for rather less than an hour held our position, and were joined by all the officers of the 28th N. I. except Captain James, who was shot on the parade. Dr. Bowling was shot dead while driving up to the church to join us. I found poor Ricketts's body about thirty-five yards from the church vestry door. I then strongly advised the whole party to escape to Powaeen, the post guns having been taken by the insurgents, and all the bungalows in a blaze. This they agreed to, started off the ladies all in a carriage and buggy. I then, accompanied by two sowars—whose names I will hereafter forward, for their fidelity and courage deserve no mean reward—went down to Mr. Ricketts's house, and took a horse from his stable. I then went, and met some twenty of the sepoys who stood by us at the church, and told them I was going to Powaeen, and those who were faithful could

follow. I then, accompained by two sowars, rode down by the chur of the river, and about two miles from the station came up with the fugitives. After accompanying them for some miles, I rode on ahead to make arrangement with Juggernauth Sing, the Rajah, for their reception. He received me but coolly, and though I think he himself is true at heart to the British Government, yet his conduct on the following day in almost forcing us to leave his place, though he supplied us with carriage and escort, showed me but too truly the animus of his people. His excuse to me was, he was unable to protect so large a party, and that in the event of the insurgents coming up what could he do? He further refused to take charge of the Tehsil treasury. Under such circumstances, and in consequence of the flight of most of the Tehsil chuprassees, through fear of the release of the prisoners, who were fast coming in, I could do nothing but advise our party and myself accompanying them over to Mohomdee, as Mr. Thomason had in reply to a note I sent him from Powaeen that they were still safe there, and we accordingly reached this in safety yesterday morning at eleven A. M. I have this morning despatched two sowars with a letter to Ahmudhossein Khan, the deputy collector, to immediately despatch to me all the available sowars, and a full and true account of the state of the district and city; should such be favorable I will myself return to the district. From what Mr. Thomason has heard, it appears that some Nawab has set up as king there. Immediately on receipt of further information I will send a further report. The treasury was looted, and the insurgents I hear afterwards went to Delhi, via Bareilly. I enclose a list of the killed, missing, and escaped. Mr. Thomason has already sent a list from me to Mr. Christian. The gaol I forgot to mention was broken open.

The following is a list of killed:—Mordaunt Ricketts, Esq., C. S.; Dr. Bowling, Civil Assistant Surgeon; Captain James, 28th N. I.; Mr. LeMaitre, Clerk, Magistrate's Office; and Mr. Smith, Head Clerk.

The fate of the following is doubtful:—Revd. Mr. McCullum; A. C. Smith, Assistant Collector; Mr. Shields, Timber Agent; Mr. Brand, Sugar Boiler; Miss LeMaitre

The following officers and ladies escaped:—Captain Lyshat, Mrs. Lyshat, Captain Sneyd, Lieutenant Key, Mrs. Key, Lieutenant Robertson, Captain Saimon, Mrs. Bowling, Mrs. Verence's servant, Lieutenant Rutherford, Mrs. Scott, Lieutenant Scott, Miss Scott, Lieutenant Pitt, Ensign Spence, wounded; Ensign Johnstone, Ensign Scott, Mrs. Shields, wife of Lieutenant Shields; Sergeant Grant, Mrs. Grant, and two children.

Lieutenant Peile's Escape from Delhi.

[Since the publication of Lieutenant Piele's Narrative at page 181 of the Annals, the subjoined account has been received of that officer's Providential escape from Delhi.]

I am desirous that the public should be informed as correctly as possible, on all the events of the Delhi fearful tragedy.

For several weeks previous to the mutiny I had been laid on a sick-bed, and as the nature of my complaint, in the opinion of my medical attendants, required a change of climate, I had made all arrangements to quit Delhi en route for the presidency on the 15th May 1857, but fate had destined that these my intentions should be frustrated. I had sold off by public auction on the 9th, only two days prior to the massacre, all my furniture, &c. none of the proceeds of which by the by had I received, and had procured the greater portion of the outfit for myself and family for the journey. About 9 o'clock A. M., on the 11th rumours to the effect that some of the mutineers from Meerut had entered the city, and had already commenced murdering all Europeans that crossed their path, and plundering their property, reached cantonments, and although at first I doubted the correctness of the reports, yet they were soon after too truly corroborated, by the fact of the 54th N. I. marching away from their lines to the city. Even then I could not bring myself to credit all I heard, and it was not until I learned that several officers of the above named corps had been killed, and poor Colonel Ripley severely wounded, that the true extent of our calamities became apparent to me. I remained in my house until about 2 o'clock, P. M. fearing, that as I was on the sick list, by leaving it I might incur censure, although several natives informed me that the 3rd cavalry sowars had entered cantonments. About this time it occurred to me that in such emergencies the services of every European officer would be acceptable; weak and ill as I was, I wrote to the brigade major, requesting him to intimate my desire to the brigadier to be allowed to do my duty. I had heard that Colonel Ripley had been brought up to cantonments and was lying in one of the artillery bells-of-arms, I therefore determined on going to his assistance, until the answer to my letter to Captain Nicoll arrived. I sent my horse to the artillery lines to await my arrival there, and having procured a conveyance drove off. On my arrival I was shocked in the extreme to witness the agonies of the poor sufferer who was most fearfully cut about. After having bathed the wounds with warm water and procured some brandy, that diluted with water being the only thing he could keep on his stomach, I by his desire mounted my horse and

rode to his house at the other end of cantonments, to fetch his private papers, which I succeeded in finding. On my return I found the Colonel much revived and able to talk a little. He told me that on reaching the city with his regiment, a trooper fired at him, but missed his aim, whereupon he returned the compliment and killed the sowar with one shot. The men of his own corps then set upon him with their bayonets and inflicted several wounds, but the most severe were received from the sabres of the cavalry. About 4 o'clock P. M. a message was brought to take the colonel to the flagstaff where all the ladies, officers, &c. were assembled. I forthwith sent for the hospital bearers, whom I directed to carry the colonel on the charpoy. We had not however proceeded far when we met a crowd of the bazar people running towards the parade ground. They begged of us not to proceed, as the cavalry had surrounded the flagstaff tower. After consulting together, we came to the conclusion, that, as, if we returned to the artillery lines we were sure of being murdered sooner or later, it would be better to go on and if possible join our friends, which we did unmolested. After placing the colonel inside the tower, I was accosted by Captain Tytler, who begged of me to assist him in getting the men of the 38th together, to which request of course I acceded immediately, and although it was nothing but my duty, that officer deemed it fit to represent the willingness with which I preferred my services, to the brigade major. Brigadier Graves early in the day had telegraphed to Meerut for aid, but as none such had arrived and evening was beginning to draw in, the question arose what was to be done. The brigadier and some few others were for staying at the flag-staff and defending ourselves, but as the majority were in favour of retreating to Kurnaul, the former yielded, and, by the combined efforts of Captain Tytler, who virtually was commanding the 38th regiment light infantry, myself and one or two others, the men having been got together, the bugle sounded the retreat, and the whole then moved off down the hill. The confusion that then ensued baffles all description, ladies and children rushing frantically about seeking their conveyances. My wife and that of Dr. Wood were provided by a Mr. Berkeley with a buggy, and my little boy was placed in the carriage of a Mr. Murphy, who conveyed him safely to Meerut, where he still is. Dr. Wood had been severely wounded in the day-time, and to the rescuing him, Mrs. Peile's and Mrs. Wood's subsequent trials and hardships, a description of which will be found elsewhere, may be attributed.

After the regiment arrived near their own lines, they one

and all, under pretence of drinking water, left the road, and although every possible means were used by the officers to induce them to resume their retreat towards Kurnaul, all proved of no avail. I then thought it high time that the ladies should leave, and having seen them safe, as I thought, on their road, with the Doctor following them in his gharrie, I returned to the quarter-guard of my regiment, thinking it possible that still the sepoys might be brought back to a proper sense of their duty. On my arrival there, I found Lieut.-Col. Knyvett and Ensign Gambier, 38th L. I., Lieut. Addington, 74th L. I. and several other people a sembled, seemingly with no fixed determination as to their future movements. By degrees these all left, leaving Lieut.-Col. Knyvett, Ensign Gambier and myself alone. Thinking it useless to remain longer, as our lives were evidently in danger, but still wishing if possible to save our colors, I consulted with Ensign Gambier, who consented to accompany me on horseback taking them with us. I obtained the consent of Colonel Knyvett to their removal, but on demanding them from the sentry over them, he refused to deliver them up unless the colonel himself verbally gave the order. On turning round however to ask him to do so, to my astonishment I found he had quitted the guard-house, and I never saw him after. Ensign Gambier thinking I conclude that further persuasion was useless, left also, and I have since heard joined the colonel somewhere outside. I was determined however on making one more attempt, and having called together a few men of my own company, who had always shown me the greatest respect, they pursuaded the sentry to allow of my taking the regimental color, but on taking it outside what was my horror and disgust to find that my syce had decamped, taking my horse and a large quantity of cheroots with him. As I could not, particularly in my weak state, carry it on foot, my only remaining course was to replace the standard and flee. On again coming into the open air a trooper took a deliberate aim at me with his carbine, but the ball passed harmlessly through my basket helmet, and as the man was so close to me I drew a pistol from my belt and shot him dead. Another man then levelled his musket at me, but it was instantaneously knocked aside by a sepoy of my regiment, who immediately after ran his bayonet through his body, at the same time calling him by a name which it is not here necessary to repeat. Several men then crowded round me, telling me to run across the parade ground, but not to venture near the lines, as the cavalry, 74th and 54th sepoys were murdering every Christian they came near. I took their advice and eventually arrived in the Company's

garden on the other side of the nullah, but not before I had fallen several times from shear weakness and fatigue, and had had two more bullets pass through my hat and one through the flap of my coat. Once in the garden I felt perfectly incapacitated from proceeding further, and therefore tried to conceal myself under some brush-wood. By this time it was quite dark, and the bungalows were blazing away. It must have been nearly 10 o'clock P. M. I had not however been long in my hiding place, before a party of Goojurs, numbering about twenty, discovered me, and having dragged me out by the legs, forthwith commenced stripping me of my rings, studs, clothes, &c., leaving me with nothing on but a flannel waistcoat and socks. So fully also were they pursuaded that I had buried money in the garden, that to extort from me its whereabouts, they threw me down, and while one man knelt on my chest, another having torn off the sleeve of my shirt, attempted to strangle me with it. The agony I felt at this time words cannot describe, and very soon I became insensible. I must have been in this condition about an hour and a half, when consciousness again began to return, but with it a burning fever. In a state of nudity, with the exception of the clothes above mentioned, I managed to crawl more than walk to where the cantonment and city roads meet. Here a Government chuprassee took me into the police chowkee and after providing me with a blanket permitted me to lie down until dawn of day, but sleep was out of the question, not only on account of the fever and the fear of being again detected, but the bands of robbers passing laden with loot from the cantonments, and glutting over their spoil, made such a fearful noise that to rest was impossible. As soon as day broke, the burkundauze directed me to resume my march bare-footed, and by 10 o'clock 12th May I reached Allipore, a distance of eleven miles, having been frequently stopped and my life threatened on the road. There also I was surrounded by about 200 of the villagers, who asked me all kinds of questions, intimating that if I lied they would kill me. After answering them as satisfactorily as I could, they permitted me to go to the tessildar, who gave me some old native clothes, a pair of shoes and an old pugree. This latter was most acceptable to me of all, as the boiling sun over my head was beginning to drive me almost delirious. I also procured some sweetmeats and some water, the first that I had had to quench my parching thirst for about twelve hours. I was not allowed to remain long here, but was directed to make the best of my way to Bagh Put, across country, and soon to Meerut. After walking about six miles I came to a large village, but here

also I was denied shelter, although the villagers brought me chupatties and water outside the village. After eating a little, I laid under a tree and slept for about one hour when the zemindar ordered me on my road again. After travelling about two miles, a Brahmin who distributes water to the wayfarers, invited me to take some, and whether out of compassion for my wretched condition, or curiosity to hear my story I know not, induced me to sit down in his hut. After lapse of about an hour, he asked me to go with him to his village, the zemindar of which he told me was a kind old man and would be delighted he felt confident, to put me up and feed me until the Feringhees regained their raj. I was, but too glad to accept his kind offer, and forthwith accompanied him. We soon found the zemindar, who immediately provided me with a charpoy and bedding, and the best food procurable. After staying with me about two hours he left me to resume his work in the *khates* and being extremely fatigued I soon fell asleep. I had not been in the arms of Morpheus more than an hour or so, when I was awakened from my slumbers, by some one tugging violently at one of my legs, and on raising myself up I saw an old hoary man, with a fiendish countenance standing at the foot of the charpoy, who asked me what business I had there. I told him I was the guest of the zemindar, and on his requesting me to get up and go outside, found that my limbs refused to do their accustomed duty. He then went to the door and called to some one, and immediately after two 3rd cavalry sowars rushed in with their sabres drawn and a lathee in their hands. They threatened to kill me, but on one taking me by the hand, to drag me up he found that what I had told them was correct, and that I really could not stand. Whether from compassion at my helpless state or from what other cause I am unable to judge, they relented and said I should not be injured and having called for hookahs sat down by my bed side conversing with me. They informed me that they had been imprisoned by sentence of the court martial at Meerut, at the sametime corroborating their assertions by showing me the marks of the shackles, but had been released by their brother mutineers, had arrived at Delhi on the day previous, and had been instrumental in placing the king on his throne, and finished off by relating with *gôut*, how they had butchered several Europeans. They honored me with their agreeable society for about one and half hours when they returned to Delhi, having given me to understand that they had come thus far in search of two officers, who I conclude must have been Brigadier Graves and Capt. Nicoll. That night I slept very comfortably,

and waked refreshed, although feeling still very stiff, and the whole of my body, legs, feet and arms in one large blister from the heat of the sun on the road. That day passed off well enough, although my anxiety of mind regarding the safety of those most dear to me was intense. About 8 o'clock however the next morning, while both I and my protector were asleep, a man rushed into the room and having waked us requested my old friend to lose no time in getting me out of the village, as about fifty sepoys all armed had come into the next village about one mile distant, and were searching for European refugees. Of course not an instant was to be lost, and off we started for the fields. After travelling about two miles we reached a peepul tree, under which was a well. The old zemindar directed me to sit down and wait there his return, having given me his own lotah and rope to draw water for myself. Although the ryots found me out and would not let me remain there, I however hovered near the spot fearing lest my benefactor would be unable to find me on his return. About 11 o'clock A. M. I espied him coming towards me, and having joined me he took me to another field where his own people were at work. He had brought me some dinner, but fearing lest some of the sepoys might be lurking about would not permit me to go to the village. After refreshing myself I covered myself over with a chudder or sheet, and went fast to sleep under a large mangoe tree. The sepoys had searched his village, but finding no Europeans, had gone on their journey towards Sidhana near Meerut, which place they said they intended to ransack. About 7 o'clock in the evening the zemindar again came to me and took me with him to the village, but as he feared treachery he made me sleep all night in a stable with a mare and a colt, the latter amusing himself, as he was unable to rest himself, by preventing my doing so, by pulling off my blanket. The next morning all was reported safe, and I therefore came out of my retreat, and wandered over the village, a man at large, accompanied by a whole host of men, women and children following me to obtain a look at the Feringhee refugee. In this way time passed on until Sunday morning, when on going to the door of my apartment, the glittering of bayonets in the line at some little distance again disturbed the equilibrity of my mind, and I once more had recourse to the stable, but I soon had the pleasant intelligence brought me that my fears were needless, as the owners of the bayonets were merely two chuprassies who had come from Agra viâ Delhi and were proceeding viâ Bagput to their homes. They had two gharries with them, laden according to their own account with grain, &c., but as the guns they

carried were fusils belonging to the 4th company, 38th L. I., I had little doubt in my mind that plunder formed part of their baggage, but I did not deem fit, in justice to my chance of future escape to ask any impertinent questions. In course of conversation with them, they told me that three days before about ten miles from Delhi they had overtaken two ladies with the doctor sahib of the Balumteer-ka-pultun, who had been wounded and that on account of his weak state they could only travel five miles a night. Knowing that Dr. Wood and the two ladies had at the time of leaving Delhi, conveyances, I was at a loss whether the party he mentioned could be they or no, but nevertheless his description of them so completely tallied with those with whom of all others I most wished to meet, that I determined at all risks to make my way to the Grand Trunk Road, and by dint of enquiry seek them out. The zemindar was very averse to my quitting his house, saying that as the order for the russet had arrived, that European troops would be at Allipore soon, when, I could travel in safety, but I was deaf to all remonstrances, and persisted in setting off forthwith. The old man seeing I had made up my mind, at last consented to lend me his horse and having given me a complete new suit of native clothes and some money for my expenses, accompanied me with about eight other armed men to the Kurnaul road, where with tears in his eyes he left me. I was not long in finding out that my wife and the Doctor and his wife had been seen on the road three nights before, and as I knew they could not travel very far at once, and as it was only about 10 o'clock A. M., I felt certain of catching them up before dark. I went on and on until I came to a large village near Rhye. Into this I went, and although I procured food and water, and was politely offered a situation by the head man at a salary of Rs. 100 per mensem as an assistant to him in his dacoity excursions, which of course I as politely refused, I could obtain no satisfactory information of those in search of whom I was. I resumed my journey and soon after I arrived at Rhye. Here also I met with some very suspicious looking gentry, but the leader of the band signed to his comrades not to touch me but leave me to his tender mercies. He told me he knew where my friends were and offered to escort me thither. After proceeding a short distance he made me strip, but found only the rupee my old friend Ramsahaye, the zemindar of the village Jumnaie, where I was so kindly treated, had given me. This he returned to me. A little further I was again molested by some other people, who took me into their village stripped me naked, in the presence of a large crowd of men, women and

children, but they also only found the one rupee which again was returned to me. My companion and I then went on our road, and soon after conducted me to the village of the Ranee Munglu Dabee named Balghur, and here to my great delight I was introduced to Major Paterson, 54th N. I., who had arrived about two hours before me, my wife, Dr. and Mrs. Wood. The three latter had been housed for two days here. As Mrs. Wood has given an account of our journey from thence,* it would be needless my troubling the reader with a repetition. I may add that previous to my visiting poor Colonel Ripley, Mrs. Peile, Mrs. Wood and Mrs. Paterson had been to him, and had done their utmost to alleviate his sufferings and attend to his wants, and they only left him, after having done all in their power for him, to seek a place of security. My poor little boy was taken to Meerut by Mr. M——, who one might have expected to look to his comfort during the absence of his parents, and in such times of misfortune, but I regret to say, on arrival at Meerut he took no care of the child, who is now in charge of a very respectable man in H. M.'s rifles.

The Nana's Palace at Bithoor.

Captain Mowbray Thompson gives the following description of the Nana's palace at Bithoor:—

The palace was spacious, and though not remarkable for any architectural beauty, was exquisitely furnished in European style. All the reception rooms were decorated with immense mirrors and massive chandiliers in variegated glass, and of the most recent manufacture: the floor was covered with the finest productions of the Indian looms, and all the appurtenances of eastern splendour were strews about in prodigious abundance. There were saddles of silver for both horses and camels, guns of every possible construction, sheilds inlaid with gold, carriages for camel driving and the newest turn-outs from Long Acre; plate, gems and curiousities in ivory and metal; while without in the compound might be seen the fleetest horses, the finest dogs, and rare specimens of deer, antelopes and other animals from all parts of India. It would be quite impossible to lift the veil that must rest on the private life of this man. There were apartments in the Bithoor palace horribly unfit for any human eye, in which both European and native artists had done their utmost to gratify the corrupt master, from whom they could command any price.

* See page 179.